

A

PREFATORY ADDRESS

To all her Majesty's Protestant Subjects of all Persuasions, in Great-Britain and Ireland, against the Pretender, on behalf of the Protestant Religion, the Queen, the House of Hanover, and our Liberties.

THE Flaming Divisions of Protestants have no where been a greater scandal to Religion, nor more dangerous to the Civil Liberties of any Nation in the World, than amongst us in Great-Britain and Ireland: All Europe knows it, and all the Contending Parties Confess it. And yet alas! the fatal Disease continues: This makes us appear to the sber thinking Part of Mankind, as if we had a mind to dispute our selves out of our Religion and our Liberties, as if we scorn'd our Deliverance, and courted our Ruin, while Unity amongst our selves (the chief, if not the only means under God, of saving us) instead of Meeting with a due Regard, is treated with Insolence and Contempt: And Moderation and Moderate Men loudly Decry'd, and Ridicul'd both from Prefs and Pulpit; And now we are brought to that Pass, that these who wou'd cure our Divisions, can't; and they who can, won't.

If we search into the unhappy Causes of these continu'd Divisions, we'll find 'em all Reducible to Two General Heads. 1. The different Sentiments that are amongst Protestants, about Church-Government, Liturgies and human Ceremonies in Divine Worship, and about the Terms both of Ministerial, and Private Christian Communion with respect to these Things. 2. Their not Exerting themselves according to the Common Principles of the Protestant Religion, wherein they are all agreed, and the true Interest of British Subjects. As to the first, 'tis neither the Design of this Book nor of this Address, to touch the Merits of
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the Cause, or to enter upon the Controversies that are Agitated amongst British Protestants upon these Heads. But the second Cause is what I am resolv'd to lay open, and to offer my humble Advice for the speedy and effectual Cure of it. And I am confident that all Pious and Good Protestants will find from Experience, that wou'd we all do what the Common Principles of the Protestant Religion we are agreed in oblige us to do, our differences about the debated Points wou'd either insensibly dwindle away, and be Compromis'd; or, if continu'd, wou'd be Manag'd with that Charity and Meekness that wou'd allay our Heats, and prove the Glorious Harbinger of the Peace of Jerusalem, as well as a strong Pillar for the support of our happy Civil Constitution. While any Protestant, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent stands Musing with himself what can be the reason why all the Desires and Endeavors of good Men for the Union of Protestants have met with no better Success; it wou'd very well become him, to make an Enquiry whether Protestants of all Denominations have not provok'd an Holy God to permit a Spirit of Discord to rage amongst 'em, as a punishment for their not Practising the Matters they are agreed in, which are the Substantials and Vitals of Religion. It is certain, that the shining Beauties of true Holiness are Attractive of the Love and Reverence of all good Men, it Unites their Affections, and links 'em into a Harmony of Measures.

Brotherly Love and Meekness, the Essential Ingredients of true Religion, have so much of the Temper of Heaven in 'em, that they wou'd soon make us all easy. Charity wou'd put the best Construction upon the Principles and Practices of one another. It wou'd not strain Consequences, nor insafe grounds: It distrusts, nor wilfully misrepresent Matters of Fact, nor use bitter Scurrilous Expressions, to alienate the Affections of Protestants and keep 'em at a distance from one another. It wou'd cover and forgive real Faults instead of Raking into Imaginary ones. It wou'd make all good Men Honor Men of worth and real Goodness, tho' of a different Persuasion from themselves, much more than the Dutchesses of their own Persuasion. A Charitable Churchman wou'd esteem a pious Presbyterian much more than a Profligate Wretch of his own Communion, who thinks to recommend himself by Carling, Swearing, Drinking and Mobbing for the Church; and so wou'd a Charitable Presbyterian have a real value for the Image of God in a Churchman, and despise a Prophane Presbyterian, let him profess what Zeal he pleases for Presbyteriany to the highest Degree. This wou'd make Men Impartial in their Judging of Principles and Persuasions, and not load a Community with Reproaches upon the Account of the Faults of some Knaves and Fools which belong to it. In a Word, it wou'd make us all abandon every base Party-Interest; it wou'd cure Bigotry on all sides, and keep Men from running Matters to Extremes. And as the Angels

rejoyce over one sinner that repenteth, whether he hath obtain'd that Repentance by the Gospel Preach'd in a Parish Church or a Meeting House; So wou'd this Heavenly Quality of Love to God and the Souls of Men, make us all rejoyce in the real Good that is done or got by any of another Persuasion, and renounce and bewail the sin and folly of any of our own.

This Holy Religion which all of us profess, and which teacheth us all these Divine Lessons I have been mention'g, ought to be inviolably maintain'd, by uniting our best Interests and Endeavors against the Common Enemy. It can't be unknown to discerning Protestants, that since our Happy Reformation from Popery, Hell and Rome have been at Work, always by secret fraud, and some times by open Violence, to reintroduce into these Nations the Tyranny, Idolatry, Heresy and other abominable Superstitions of the Roman Antichrist, & that for compassing their Accurs'd End they have always employ'd their Engines of Division for destroying our Happy Civil Constitution, and embroiling the State. They have endeavor'd to debauch our Morals and destroy our Liberties, that by being made Atheists, and Slaves, we may be made Papists or any thing. For he that can renounce his God and his Country, will stick at nothing; for he has nothing left him that's worth keeping.

The great hopes of that wicked Party have been still rais'd by the Expectations of a Popish Prince upon the Throne. What encourag'd the Popish Plot in King Charles 2's Reign, but the hopes of a Popish Successor? And they could never hope for Success, but by blinding the Eyes of Protestants, and making 'em Fools to promote their Interest. The Noble Patriots of that Reign us'd their utmost Interest for Carrying the Bill of Exclusion; and yet Protestant Hands must throw it out to the Dishonor of Religion, and the Enslaving these Nations. But Almighty God who sent us the Great King William and the late Glorious Revolution, to convince us of the Obstinacy and Folly of these who had given Occasion for it, hath blest the Crown and Kingdoms with a Train of Successive Glories; one of the greatest whereof is, a perpetual Law of Exclusion of all Popish Princes from the Throne; and our Noble Legislature have settled the Succession in the illustrious Protestant House of Hanover; in whose Interest our Religion, Her Majesty's Happy Government over us, and our Civil Liberties are deeply embark'd; and without which they can't in all human Probability, be preserved. And therefore our Common Principles as Protestants and Loyal Subjects lay us under the most solemn and indispensable Obligations, to maintain it, and to oppose the Popish Pretender.

Tho' we be so unhappy, as not to agree in our Religious Sentiments about the Establish'd Terms of Church-Communion, yet this is a Noble Center of Union,

For us all to join in as one man in defending the Reform'd Religion, the Queen, the Hanover-Succession, and our Country, against the Pretender and his Abettors. Our greatest danger is from the Protestant Jacobites the Monsters of our Age, and those who are blindly led into their Measures. And therefore let us all unite against them, and practise the Advice given us by our late Glorious Deliverer in his l. st Speech to his Parliament; ' Let me Conjure you (says he) to ' Disappoint the only hopes of our Enemies by your Unanimity. I have shown and ' will always shew, how Desirous I am to be the COMMON FATHER of all my ' People. Do you in like manner lay aside Parties and Divisions. Let there be ' no other Distinction heard of among us for the future; but of those who are ' for the Protestant Religion, and the present Establishment; and of those who ' mean a Popish Prince, and a French Government.

It is near Forty Years since England has been struggling for a Bill of Exclusion, and it cou'd not be obtain'd until we werè all ready to be devour'd by Popery and Slavery, and until our Gracious God sav'd us by a Revolution, which was next to a Miracle; and thus he taught us as Gideon taught the Men of Succoth by Briars and Thorns; may his Infinite Mercy prevent the Necessity of a second instruction of that kind. Shall we be such an Ungrateful Generation both to God and Man, as to reject our Mercy and Freedom, and prefer our old Chains to our Valuable Liberties! For God's sake, let us not follow the Wicked Example of the murmuring Israelites, who were for returning to the Egyptian Bondage, after God had deliver'd 'em from it, and brought them thro' the Red Sea. Can Insatiation it self do worse, than to throw up at once all the Religion we have gain'd since the Reformation, and all the Privileges we ever had since we were a People? Or, shall we be so vain and Credulous, as to believe that the Pretender, who if he comes to the Crown, must come fraughted with all the Vengeance that Enrag'd Resentments of his suppos'd Father's being unjustly Dethron'd and himself injur'd can supply, will ever protect the Religion and Liberty, which he has been taught from his Infancy to destroy? Shall we be so Demented, as to think that the Model of a French Government, and the Doctrines of the Popish Religion will ever sute the Completion of a British Protestant? Or, can any man of sense believe, that the Ridiculous Report of the Pretender's turning Protestant has any Reality in it; our Adversaries are so sensible of the strength of the Protestant Interest in these Nations, that they dare not attempt to obtrude the Pretender upon us, but under a Protestant mask: But the accur'd Dissimulation of the Pope and Jesuites, and their dispensing with Oaths and all that's Sacred to serve a Turn, has made 'em too Infamous, to gain Credit to such a Forgery, as the Pretender's being Protestant.

Let any wise Man consider his Education in a Court which hath destroy'd one of the fairest Protestant Churches in the World, aim'd at the Ruin of all the rest, and who would never have Maintain'd him unless they had been assur'd of his being a true Son of the Church of Rome; in which his Interest has been so great very lately, as to procure the Promotion of a French Abbot to a Cardinal's Cap. And he has never shown the least disregard to what the French Court Authoriz'd to be Publish'd as his Father's Dying Advice to him, viz. That he should never change his Religion, and always look on the French King as his Father. When he attempted to invade Scotland Anno 1708. he did not so much as pretend to be a Protestant. And during the whole War, while he had any hopes of a French Power to force him upon us, never allow'd his Friends once to suggest his Change in Religion. But now when there seems to be no hope left him, but by Dissembling a Change, nor no other way to blind the People and put an Argument into the Protestant Jacobites Mouth, he's, all of a sudden, given out for a Protestant. Did not his Pretended Father for some years, while Duke of York, call himself a Protestant; yet no man in England doubts of his having been at that very time as much a Papist as he was in the moment of his Abdication; but he put on a Protestant Mask, to deceive the People, until he had ripen'd matters, by procuring the severe Persecution of the Protestant Dissenters, the Disgrace of all Moderate Churchmen, and the exalting of all men of Arbitrary Principles, and doing every thing which the then Court gave out for an advancement of the Glory and Grandeur of the Church of England; by which they meant only a Party, rais'd to ruin their fellow-Protestants, and by that means to make way for the next bloody Popish Scene that was to be open'd. Let any man compare all this with the familiar Arts and Impudent Forgeries of the Church of Rome, and try if he can reconcile himself to the report of the Pretender's turning Protestant.

And yet this gross Artifice is pursu'd with such Impudence by some of the Jacobites, as they step not to insinuate their hopes of bringing in their Popish Master, under the Notion of a New Convert, by the Legislature, and in form of Law: This they suggest to weaken and discourage the Friends of the Hanover-Succession. But this can't go down with any, but with those who have a mind to asperse our Noble Legislature as a Company of worthless Subject Slaves, as men abandon'd to all that's Sacred, and Dear to them and us as Men and Christians.

There is not one Member of Parliament that can sit or vote in either House, until he has first Abjur'd the Pretender and sworn to maintain, to the utmost of his Power, the Hanover-Succession. And is it possible to imagine that the Peers and Commons of Great-Britain should render themselves so infamous to the whole world, & fix such an indelible stain of Prejury upon themselves to all posterity? Shall a Rogue be pillory'd and Cropt for false swearing, when he aims but at the Estate and

Use of one Subject; and shall the Parliament of Great-Britain, the most August and Honorable Senate in the whole World, at once perjure and destroy themselves, and ruin the Crown & Subject, & Religion the Honor of both? The Legislature were it possible for 'em to arrive at that monstrous degree of Wickedness, are too wise to do a thing which all good Protestants must look upon as a Nullity in it self, as being founded in Perjury. and the vilest of Crimes.

They know that tho' a Jacobite's Conscience be preparing a Solution for our Oaths against the Pretender, it is not possible for all the Jesuitical Quibblers to advance any thing that's Tolerably Plausible. 'Tis true, 'tis more than whisper'd, that our Oaths oblige us only to maintain the Hanover-Succession, while it continues to be settled by Act of Parliament, but if the Legislature shou'd alter the Succession that our Oaths determine, & are no farther Obligatory. The Weakness of this Unconscionable Divinity will appear, if we consider, that besides that God has a Right by our Oaths to our utmost Endeavours to perform the thing we have vowed to him, which Right no human Law can supersede; besides this, (I say) the Legislature have no power to alter the Succession: not only because they have sworn and must swear before they can act any thing, that they will never alter it (having sworn to maintain it to the utmost of their Power, to which nothing can be a more direct Contradiction than the altering it) and therefore altering it being an Act of Perjury, is a Nullity in it self. And no Christian can have the face as to say, that the Perjury of one Man or of the whole Legislature can excuse the Perjury of another.

They have Abjur'd the Pretender without leaving any Room for receiving him, let his Profession of the Protestant Religion be what it will. For they have sworn to maintain, defend and support the Succession as the same stands limited &c. to the Princess Sophia and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants; and therefore let the Pretender call himself what he will, we must stand by the House of Hanover, or be Perjur'd. The Law settling the Succession in that Illustrious Family, hath provided, that if any of them shou'd turn Papist or Marry a Papist, He or She so doing shall lose their Right for ever to the Crown, and the next Protestant Heir shall succeed as if He or She were dead; from whence it is plain, that there is no Room left for receiving such a Person again upon his turning Protestant, for he is looked upon as dead, and the next Heir has as sure a Title as if he were dead. Our Laws are so careful for preventing a Popish Succession, and for securing the Crown to Persons, whom the Nations may have no just Cause to respect of Popery, that they render Papists incapable for ever of inheriting the Crown; and when a Protestant Prince, only for his marrying a Papist shall lose the Crown, tho he ever was and continues to be a Protestant, and is yet disabled from succeeding; and all for fear of Popery and Popish Councils shall any Protestant or Common Sense think it safe for us to receive the Pretender, whose being a Bigoted Papist all his days, Educated in Principles Destructive

to our Religion and Liberties makes him much more dangerous to us (let him profess what he will) than a Protestant who only Marries a Papist, and continues a Protestant himself; who yet stands excluded by our Laws: and seeing the Abjuration-Oath was impos'd for securing the Government and Nations against all those Evils, 'tis reasonable from the Intention of the Imposers and the Nature of the thing, as well as from the express Words of it, to interpret it in the utmost Latitude possible against ever paying Allegiance to the Pretender upon any Pretence whatsoever.

And we ought farther to observe, that the Hanover-Succession is not a meer Act of the Legislature, but an Indissoluble Covenant: for it is one of the Articles of the Union of Great-Britain by a Positive Covenant between the two British Nations, upon which they became one: and the Parliament of Great-Britain must first have a Power to destroy themselves and the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, before they have any Power to alter the Succession; which is now become a Covenant with the Dutch, who are Guarantees of the Succession: and whose Interest can never allow 'em to consent to the Alteration of it.

From all these Reasons it is plain, the Hanover-Succession is an Unalterable Fundamental Constitution of these Kingdoms, by our Obligations to God, and the World, the Reformed Religion, the Liberties of Great-Britain and Ireland, and even of all Europe. We have therefore one of the best of Causes to assert, the firmest human Laws that can be devis'd to support it, & our Gracious Queen at the Head of 'em, all the Protestant Churches in the World on our side, and none but Papists, and some Distracted People who call themselves Protestants, against it; whose part no Protestant can take but at the Expence of his Conscience, Honor and Interest.

Let us then contend for it as for OUR ALL, Let us not render one another Uncapable of Defending the Common-Cause, or resisting the Common Enemy; let us not persecute or disgrace one another, when our United strength is all little enough against these who would rejoyce in nothing more than in widening our Breaches large enough for letting in the Pretender, to ruin us all; and because, as matters are stated, the Church of England is the only Party that have Power enough to Oppress the Presbyterians, therefore the Papists and Jacobites are at work to push 'em on to Persecution, a thing so Opposite to the Nature of the Protestant Religion, and declar'd by the Church of England to be against her Constitution. And yet some Unwary Bigots (not considering whose Cause they manage) are Industrious to Misrepresent the Pre byterians in Great-Britain and Ireland as men of Disloyal Principles and Practices, as Jacobites and Incendaries; the utmost

Charity that is due to those who are guilty of reproaching them, is, that this proceeds from a blind Zeal against 'em, which makes 'em take every thing upon Trust, that is said against a Presbyterian. But I must observe, that a Man can't do more Effectual Service to the Pretender, than to create a Jealousy between the Church of England and Presbyterians, and to make the World believe the latter to be Jacobites. For, if the Church of England believe the Presbyterians to be Jacobites pray what heart will the honest Hanoverian Church men have, when they conclude that all the Papists, the Presbyterians, and a part of the Episcopal Church (which every body owns) are for the Pretender? Won't this exceedingly discourage Hanover and his Friends? and indeed, were it true, it were to be fear'd the Pretender wou'd not long delay paying us a visit. And the Design I had in Composing the following Book, is to show the Ridiculousness and Madness of those who serve the Interest of the Pretender by Aspersing the Presbyterians with Disloyalty. Their Keenest Adversaries can't find an handle to go upon, but by reproaching them in the first place; for, if they be supposed to be Loyal Subjects, all Protestants wou'd call it Persecution to molest them; and therefore seeing they can't persecute 'em without pretending 'em guilty of Disloyalty, every one must see, that reproaching 'em is a step towards their Persecution. And seeing there is not any Party of Protestants within Her Majesty's Dominions that are more united in their Zeal against the Pretender and for the Hanover-Succession than they, and that all Men must own 'em to be a very Considerable Body, it's humbly submitted to all Protestants, whether the persecuting, disabling and disheartning of such a Loyal People be not one of the most Effectual ways to ruin the Protestant Religion and Succession. I beg the Reader may seriously consider what I have offered upon the Methods and Severities of K. Charles 2d's Reign against the Protestant Dissenters, where I have prov'd, from the Votes and Addresses of Parliaments, the Speeches and Authority of the Greatest Patriots in England, and of the Communion of the Church too, that all these Severities were contriv'd and executed either by Profest Papists or their Protestant Tools, to serve the Popish Interest, advance the Popish-plot, and bring a Papist to the Crown. And therefore I beg, that when the Protestant Jacobite wou'd just play the same Game over again, and by the same Means, that we may grow wise from Experience, and show that the Friends of the Queen and Hanover Family shall **ALL STICK TOGETHER.**

And for the Encouragement of all honest Gentlemen of the Churches of England and Ireland, to join hands with the Presbyterians, and to confide in 'em, I have in the following Book shewn the Loyalty both of their Principles and Practices; wherein I have not propos'd to my self to serve any Party-Interest, but to prevent

and remove the Jealousies, which if entertained, may be Fatal to all true Protestants, and hinder them from uniting against the Common Enemy. I have sincerely designed to promote her Majesty's Interest, and the Preservation of the Protestant-Succession in the illustrious House of Hanover, by showing that the Presbyterians may be depended upon as Cordial Friends to both. And I am Confident all honest Men of the Churches of England and Ireland will rejoice in it; and therefore I persuade my self that no wellaffected Protestant of any Persuasion, will be offended at my undertaking to prove that our Common-Interest hath more friends to stand by it, than some People wou'd allow off.

And I thought this Design cou'd not be so well obtained unless I shou'd look back into the Behaviour of Presbyterians in former Reigns, and compare the whole with the Loyalty of their Principles, and ANSWER the most Considerable Calumnies that have been raised against 'em: And this hath obliged me to Intermix with this Historical Essay several very Material Points of the Civil History of these Kingdoms, which were necessary for setting my Subject in a clear Light.

And I have been so far from Partiality in my inquiries, that the most Considerable Defences I have made for the Loyalty of Presbyterians are grounded upon such Vouchers as were Profess Members of the Church of England. and who were Zealous Patrons both of her Government and Worship, as the Reader will find, when he comes to peruse the Book it self. And where I have adduced any of their own Manuscripts, or built upon their own Authority, I have demonstrated the Credis of my Vouchers by such Arguments as are sufficient to induce the belief of all Unbias'd Judges. Where I set forth and explain their Principles, 'twas absolutely necessary to have Recourse to their Confessions of Faith, the public Declarations and Actings of their Ministers and Elders, consider'd as a Society and Body, acting in Name of the whole. For every Party must be allow'd to know their own Principles best, and no Principle ought to be father'd upon them, but what they have own'd and espoused by some thing that may be justly called the act and Deed of the whole Body. And therefore shou'd the Reader find any Mistakes in what I have asserted of them in this Book, these ought not to be imputed to the whole, but to my self; who, tho I write in their Defence, yet write not in their Name, except in these Passages which are quoted from their public Confessions, Addresses, Apologies, and such like Authentic Instruments declaring their Common Sentiments, whereof I am only the Transcriber and not the Author.

While I was laying the Scheme of my answer to the Calumnies of their Adversaries, having perused several of the Uncharitable Libels publish'd both in former Reigns,

and since the late Happy Revolution 1688. I met with two Pamphlets that furnished me with a Collection and an abridgment of the most material of them all, with additional Accusations to any thing that had formerly appeared in print against them; and therefore I have refuted these two Pamphlets in particular, as they came to be consider'd in the Method of my History; The first of them is Entitul'd a Sample of True Blew Presbyterian Loyalty in all Charges and Turns of Government, and was publish'd Anno 1709. The second is Entitul'd, The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland with respect both to Church and State, and was publish'd, Anno 1712. They are both done by one Author; in both of 'em the Author does either wretchedly misrepresent the Principles and Practises of Presbyterians, or draw false Consequences from them; and the Genius of both his papers (which are contain'd in two Letters to his Friend) breaths of either the one or 'tother of these Errors; of which they are so entirely made up, that he has scarce a Paragraph that's free of them, or that he does not improve by the Assistance of some of them, as an handle of Calumny against an harmless, Loyal and Peaceable Body of her Majesty's good Protestant Subjects. His stile is bitter and Virulent, rais'd by the Warmth of Imagination, and stuff'd with Multitudes of Uncharitable, Satyrical, and Groundless Insinuations. I have endeavor'd to consider calmly and Patiently what he hath advanced in heat and haste.

My Design obliging me to take a much larger Compass, than a bare answer to his Papers, I have mix'd my answer to him with the Body of this Historical-Essay, and contriv'd the whole so as to enlighten the main Subject I had in view; and tho' I shou'd think it a Peculiar Advantage to my Book, that my Reader wou'd be at the Pains of Comparing both his and mine together, yet I have made my Answer so clear, as my Readers that can't easily get his Papers into their hands will find the whole Subject laid before 'em; and his Objections farther Illustrated and more fully urg'd in divers places, than what he has done himself; for my design in meddling with his Papers being (as I observ'd before) to consider 'em as an Abridgment of the most material Calumnies that had been publish'd against Presbyterians, I have not only fairly repeated 'em, but supply'd out of other Authors what seem'd to be wanting in him, and obviated what Cavils he may be suppos'd to make against my Reply.

After I had prepar'd my Book for the Press, I met with an Answer to the first of his Pamphlets, viz. A Sample of True Blew Presbyterian Loyalty, printed this Year at Glasgow; wherein there are many Valuable Memoirs. well-improv'd, which are more than an answer to that Pamphlet, and yet the nature of my Subject made it necessary to answer both his Pamphlets notwithstanding. For his second Letter refers in many Particulars to his first, and is built upon the

mistakes contain'd in it: and therefore my answer to the second had been Incomplete and not intelligible, unless I had answer'd the first too; and tho' the first has been more than answer'd by another hand. yet that Answer, and this Book may not happen to get into the same hands; and if they shou'd, there is such a variety of matter in 'em, as neither of 'em makes the other useless and Needless.

The Second and Third Part of the Conduct of Dissenters consist of particular pretended Facts, which the Author does not reduce to any one Period or Reign: and therefore I have been oblig'd to consider them distinctly, in the third part of this Book. And the Reader will perhaps censure me for taking any notice of such of these pretended Facts, as he will be fully satisfy'd upon Perusal of this Book, to be but Trivial. But the reason why I did it, was, to show the strain that the Accusers of the Loyalty of Presbyterians go upon: they must up every little story they can catch at, and pick up all the private Chat they can find over a Bottle of Wine, or at a Tea-Table, and run straight to the Press with it, where they represent it in wrong Colours: And there can't be a stronger Argument of the Loyalty of Presbyterians, than the Weakness of these trifling Objections, which are made against it. For had their Adversaries any thing that's material to offer, they wou'd not insist on these little things, which bear the Tattle of tale-bearers, are but very indifferent Vouchers for an Historian; tho' good enough to fill up a Libel, or garnish a Satyr. And where I met with 'em in his Letters, I have endeavor'd to refute 'em both shortly and sufficiently, and then to proceed to some Material Piece of History, that may be more entertaining to my Reader.

I find different Copies of the Conduct of the Dissenters pag'd in a different manner, some of 'em beginning at page 35. (as I suppose because his first Pamphlet ended there) others beginning at page 1. I have follow'd the latter in my Quotations; of which it was necessary to give the Reader this Advertisement, lest he shou'd fall upon one of the Copies that is otherwise pag'd.

I shan't detain the Reader with any farther account of the Method of this Book, of which the Contents will give him a view at once. And the Alphabetical Table at the Close will direct him to the Principal Points in this Treatise. All I shall add, that I earnestly desire the Reader may peruse it carefully with the same regard to Truth and Charity that I had in composing it, and with that Glorious End of Uniting all Protestants in Zeal for the Retin'd Religion, Loyalty to our most Gracious Sovereign the Queen, and hearty Concern for the Succession in the Augustus House of Hanover, and for extinguishing and utterly defeating the hopes of the Pretender and all his Abettors.

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Wherein the last four Facts charg'd upon Presbyterians in the second Part of the Conduct of the Dissenters, &c. viz. 1. Their Erecting New Congregations, and particularly one in *Drogheda*. 2. Their disturbing the Establish'd Clergy in the Burial of the Dead. 3. Their Printing Books of bad Principles, against the Government, and, 4. Their Entertaining of some Ministers amongst them who have not taken the Abjuration-oath; are examined and answered from p. 510. to p. 540.

C H A P. III.

Wherein the four Presumptive Facts Charged upon Presbyterians in the third Part of the Conduct of Dissenters &c. viz. 1. Their taking the Solemn League &c. 2. Their Common Funds against the Church. 3. Their Enslaving People by their Certificates; and 4. The many Dreadful things, prevented by the Test-Clause, are examin'd from p. 540. to the end.

ERRATA.

Which the Reader is earnestly desired to correct with his pen, before he peruse the Book.

Page 4. line 10. read *Ast.* l. 11. r. *contrary.* l. 12. r. *his.* p. 6. l. 19. r. *Perusal.* p. 8. l. penult. adde *but.* p. 20. l. 17. r. *their.* p. 24. l. 15. r. *prevented.* p. 27. l. 15. r. *same.* p. 28. l. 5. r. *self.* p. 33. l. 32. r. *Words.* l. 36. r. *Strom.* p. 35. l. 34. r. *Æquum.* p. 36. l. 5. r. *intra.* p. 42. l. 19. r. *defined.* p. 49. l. 5. r. *Ecclesiastical.* p. 49. l. 21. r. *necessary.* p. 52. l. 8. r. *Apostolical.* l. penult. r. *Churches.* p. 56. l. 29. r. *strictly.* p. 57. l. 6. r. *familiar.* p. 57. l. 22. r. *one.* p. 60. l. 10. r. *I have.* p. 65. l. 25. r. *without.* p. 67. l. ult. for *at* r. *14th.* p. 70. l. 22. r. *points.* p. 72. l. penult. r. *Wickliffe.* p. 76. l. 15. r. *resents.* p. 77. l. 18. for *at* r. *between.* *ibid.* dele *between* l. 20. r. *at Avignon.* p. 92. l. 33. r. *illius.* l. 35. r. *Demi.* p. 94. l. 5. r. *word.* p. 98. l. 16. r. *Reformers.* l. ult. r. *Prepossess'd.* p. 102. l. 16. r. *urg'd.* p. 103. l. 15. r. *publick.* p. 111. l. 19. r. *Burleigh.* p. 116. l. 22. r. *Romists.* p. 138. l. 11. r. *blatrdly.* p. 142. l. 31. r. *forty.* p. 146. for *id.* *ibid.* r. *Cald. Hist.* p. 167. l. 6. r. *untouyable.* p. 180. l. 20. r. *Animating.* p. 186. l. 15. dele *not.* p. 189. l. 4. after *further.* adde *to.* p. 192. l. 2. r. *Arbitrary.* p. 193. l. 29. r. 1640. p. 200. l. 2. for *ag* r. *upon.* p. 213. r. *enrolments.* p. 218. l. penult. r. *Oppressive.* p. 219. l. 25. r. *vacating.* p. 223. l. 25. r. *for.* p. 239. l. 9. r. *Miseries.* p. 258. l. 5. r. *Indictments.* p. 270. at the bottom r. *Cox's.* p. 280. l. 4. r. *his.* p. 289. l. 14. r. *for.* p. 308. l. 8. r. *understanding.* p. 326. l. ult. r. *have.* p. 339. l. 28. r. *understand.* p. 343. l. 33. r. *October.* p. 348. l. 1. r. *severely.* p. 351. l. 27. r. *Subornation.* p. 371. l. 24. r. *statute.* p. 375. l. 15. r. *absurd.* l. 324. l. 34. r. *consider.* p. 385. l. 21. r. *from.* p. 395. l. 9. r. *made.* p. 398. l. 24. r. *were.* p. 407. l. 29. r. *there.* p. 411. l. 25. r. *Trophies.* p. 415. l. 11. r. *Distinction.* p. 416. l. 7. r. *where* p. 417. l. 2. r. *their Interest.* p. 419. l. 21. r. *h2.* p. 430. l. 22. r. *Disfranchis'd.* p. 443. l. 11. r. 1713. p. 447. l. 25. r. *subscrib'd.* p. 450. l. 1. dele *of whom.* l. 21. r. *it.* p. 456. l. 32. r. *several.* p. 457. l. 32. after *so.* r. *far.* p. 473. l. ult. r. *Succession.* p. 476. l. 35. r. *Priestly.* p. 477. l. 7. r. *Crossing.* l. 20. r. *absolutely.* l. penult. r. *Censure.* p. 483. l. 8. r. *afternoon.* l. 25. for *no.* r. *nor.* p. 485. l. 32. after *concerned.* adde *in.* p. 500. l. 18. r. *auxiliaries.* p. 503. l. 6. r. *perverters.* p. 516. l. 1. r. *that.* p. 535. l. 15. r. *animadverting.* p. 548. l. 10. r. *Disloyalty.*

PART FIRST.

The Loyalty of *Presbyterian* Principles
in all *Reigns* Stated and Argu'd :
and the Loyalty of *Presbyterian* Prac-
tices in the Reigns of Queen *Eliza-
beth* and King *James* I. Vindicated.

CHAP. I.

The Loyalty of Presbyterian Principles

IT has been the Ancient practice of a certain Sort of men, to brand the best of people and their most *laudable Designs* with the odious Characters of *Disloyalty*, *Rebellion*, and *Faction*; that they might run 'em down at once with the blows of Civil Authority, and draw upon 'em the Vengeance of Secular powers. With this *mighty Engine* did those go to work, who wrote to *Artaxerxes* against building of the House of God, & the City of *Jerusalem*. They recommend him to the *Records* of his *Fathers* as their *Authentic Vouchers* : so shall thou find (say they *Ezra* 4. 15.) in the

Part. I. *book of the Records, and know that this City is a rebellious City, & hurtful unto Kings and Provinces, and that they have mov'd Seditions within the same of oldtime, for which Cause was this City destroy'd.*

Our blessed Saviour was traduc'd and persecuted as an Enemy to *Caesar*. And his holy Apostles as turning the World upside down, And doing contrary to the Decrees of *Caesar*, Acts 17. 6, 7. Our Glorious Reformers, who (under God) rescu'd Religion from Idolatry, Tiranay and the other Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, mett with the same Fate. From all which 'tis easy to determine whether those men be true friends to Magistracy who by their bold and scandalous Libels do promote Jealousies and misunderstandings between the *Magistrate* and *Subject*, and thereby endeavour to subvert the very fundamentals of lawful Authority, while they try to bend the *Straight Scepter* of Government into a *crooked Rod* of Tyranny and Oppression.

They degrade the *Higher Powers* from their Throne of Impartial Justice; and wou'd paum upon 'em the little *Sneaking* office of revenging their private quarrels, to the ruine of the public.

Whether the Author of the Pamphlets I am now answering, deserves any part of the above Censure, I leave to all impartial men to Judge.

Each of his Performances is one continued bitter Invektive against *Presbyterians*, as *Disloyal*, *Rebellious*, *Seditious*, &c. And what he advanceth to support these Scurrilous Reflections is either false in it self, or altogether inconsequential and Sophistical.

And therefore no body can blame these he so falsely accuseth, if they expreis a Just Resentment of these Intolerable abuses put upon 'em by this Author; especially, seeing the Consequences of those things concern no less than their Lives, Fortunes and Reputations, beside the many Evil consequences to the Public.

The Author's profess'd design in his first Letter is to refute the prevailling Opinion he mentions *p. 3. viz. That the Presbyterian Dissenters of Ireland have ever been, in all Revolutions, most Loyal Subjects to the Crown*: The *Presbyterian* Ministers in the North of *Ireland* do assert it (as he observes) in their Address to the Queen *Feb: 1708*; The Author of the *Parallel* do's likewise maintain it, but is far from giving up the point Entirely in Relation to the *Presbyterians of England and Scotland*, as our Author alledgeth.

I can't find the least Insinuation to that Purpose in all that Pamphlet, & therefore I cou'd wish the Author had been pleas'd to have pointed to some of his Expressions, as the foundation of his Remark; And especially seeing he founds a considerable part of his Reasonings upon that *single point*, supposing it all along as a matter not deny'd, *That the Presbyterians in England and Scotland rebell'd against the Queen's Royal Ancestors.*

Seeing he endeavours to prove his Charge against the Presbyterians of *Ireland* chiefly from their Agreement with those of *Great-Britain* and thence concludes all *equally Guilty*, I must needs say, he founds his Argument (to use his own Phrase in another case) upon what is a *strong averment*, of his own: It passeth with him as *notoriously true beyond all Contradiction*, And the Author of the *Parallel* hath granted it; that's proof enough with him; tho' both these Premises are *notorious* mistakes.

Seing *Loyalty* is the subject of this debate, we must first of all fix the true notion of it, before we enter upon the detail of this Controversy.

And here I desire one point may be granted me *viz.* *That the Essential and Fundamental Principles whereupon the late happy Revolution Anno 1688 was effected, and the great Blessings consequential upon it farther settled and Establish'd, are Just, and honest, and consequently consistent with Religion and Loyalty.* Methinks he that denies this seems to have borrow'd his notions of Loyalty from *St. Germain's*, and therefore can't be allow'd to be a very proper Judge of *untainted Loyalty* to the Queen.

These High-flown Notions of Loyalty, which sacrific'd all that's dear to us as men and Christians to the Arbitrary will of Princes, are effectually destroy'd by the *late Happy Revolution*, which was built upon the Ruins of that *slavish Doctrine of Non-Resistance & Passive Obedience.*

If any call for proof of this Assertion, they may have it from the most noted Divines of the *Church of England*, among whom let the Rev^d. Mr. *Hoadly* be first heard, because his Testimony has the honour to be confirm'd by the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, whose vote is in these words.

Mercurii 14 die Decembris 1709.

“ Resolv'd, That the Rev^d. Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*, Rector of St.

“ *Peter’s Poor London*, for having often strenuously Justify’d the Principles on which her Majesty and the Nations proceeded in the late happy Revolution, hath Justify’d the favour and Recommendation of this House.

The whole strain of Mr. *Hoadly’s* Writings, to which the above vote refers, is Levell’d against *Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience* as inconsistent with the Revolution-Principles, of which take the following Passages.

“ If (a) therefore they (*i. e.* Magistrates) use their power ——— to the hurt and Prejudice of humane Society, ——— they ~~is~~ ^{act} not in any such Instances by Authority from God, but contrary to his Will: Nor can they, in such Instances, be called ~~any~~ ^{his} Vice-gerents, without the highest Profaneness: And therefore to oppose them in such Cases, cannot be to oppose the Authority of God; nay, a *Passive Non-Resistance* would appear, upon Examination, to be a much greater opposition to the Will of God than the contrary. For tho’ He himself ——— appointed this Person to govern; yet his chief design in this being the good, and happiness of Society; *tamely to sit still*, and see that entirely ruin’d and Sacrific’d to the Irregular Will of one man, seems a greater Contradiction to the Will and Design of God than any Opposition can be: For it is a *tacit Consent* to the Ruin and Misery of Mankind, whose public Peace and Happiness is the sole end of Government.

“ For (b) tho’ his (*i. e.* the Magistrate’s) Authority in carrying forward the *end* of his Power cannot be resisted without the highest Guilt; yet his Power in acting contrary to that end may be opposed without the shadow of a Crime, nay with honour and Glory.

He excellently qualifyeth this Doctrine (c) when he says “ it is the Indispensable Duty of *Subjects* to submit themselves to such Governors as answer the good end of their Institution, to such Rulers as he (*i. e.* *St. Paul*) here describes; such as are not a *terror to good Works, but to the Evil*, such as promote the public good and are continually attending upon this very thing. To these the profoundest Reverence, and lowest Submission is due, as to the

(a) *Serm: before Lord Mayor. of London Sep^r 29. 1705!* Rom.

13. p. 8. (b) p. 9. 10. (c) p. 7. *ibid.*



“ the greatest Blessings a Society can enjoy ; and resistance to these
 “ is a most unpardonable sin.”

“ There (d) have been many Divines of the first Rank in these
 “ latter Ages, who have publickly espous’d the Doctrine I have
 “ taught ; or laid down such *Principles* as inevitably tend to it,
 “ the great and Judicious Mr. *Hooker*, Bishop *Bilson*, and others
 “ might be nam’d. But what is of most moment, the whole *Con-*
 “ *vocation*, the Church of *England* Representative, in Queen *Eli-*
 “ *zabeth’s* Reign, publi.kly acknowledged it Glorious to assist *Sub-*
 “ *jects* in their resistance to their *Sovereigns*, and their Endeavours
 “ to rid themselves of their Tyranny and Oppressions, It is now
 “ generally acknowledg’d that the Doctrine of Non-Resistance was
 “ carry’d too high in some late Reigns &c. We (e) have been
 “ effectually saved from Imminent Ruin by the Practice of that *Doc-*
 “ *trine*, which I have taught : And therefore methinks, there is
 “ little reason to think it an *unseasonable* attempt, to Justifie that
 “ *Resistance*, without which we had not now been in the good E-
 “ state in which we find our selves. For I must observe, that it is
 “ not to the *present Establishment*, that we originally and chiefly
 “ owe our happiness, but to that *Resistance*, without which the pre-
 “ sent Establishment cou’d not have been made. Is it therefore sea-
 “ sonable to endeavour to render people perfectly satisfy’d and easy
 “ under the Reign of her *Excellent Majesty* ? If it be, how can
 “ it be prov’d unseasonable to endeavour to satisfy the minds of
 “ men about the lawfulness of Resistance, without which she cou’d
 “ not in all human appearance, have been seated on this Throne ?
 “ Is it seasonable to endeavour to make men satisfy’d and easy in
 “ the prospect of the *Protestant Succession* ? Why then must it be
 “ thought unseasonable to endeavour to persuade the Consciences of
 “ men, that the foundation of this *Establishment* and that *Resistance*
 “ without which it cou’d not have been, are lawful and honoura-
 “ ble ?

Dr. *Burnet* present Bishop of *Sarum* in his *Enquiry into the Mea-*
asures of Submission to the Supreme Magistrate Justifies Resistance, and
 among

(d) *The measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate*, p. 149.

(e) *Ibid*: p. 169. 170.

Part. I. : “ among many other reasons gives this for one there (f) is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a free Nation, that has its *Liberties* and *Properties* reserv'd to it, by many positive and express Laws : if then we have a Right to our property, we must likewise be suppos'd to have a Right to preserve it : for those Rights are by the Law secur'd against the Invasions of the Prerogative, and by consequence we must have a right to preserve them against these Invasions. It is also evidently declar'd by our Law that all Orders and Warrants, that are Issu'd out in Opposition to them are null of themselves ; and by consequence any that pretend to have Commission from the King for those ends, are to be consider'd as if they had none at all.

The same Reverend and Learn'd *Prelate* in his Speech in the House of *Lords* in *Great-Britain* upon the first Article of the Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverel*, proves that the Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience was rejected by the most Celebrated *English* Reformers, by Queen *Elizabeth* and the whole Clergy of *England*, of which the following Passages are recommended to the Readers serious perusal : “ Since it is grown to be a vulgar Opinion, that by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, all Resistance in any case whatsoever, without Exception, is condemn'd ; I think it is incumbent on me, who have examin'd this matter long and carefully to give you such a clear account of this Point, as may as fully satisfy you as it did my self. ———— When the Articles of Religion were settled, the Books of the *Apocrypha* were indeed declar'd not to be a part of the Canon of Scripture, but yet to be useful for the Example of Life, and the *Instruction of manners*. And a great part of these are the Books of the *Maccabees*, which contain the History of the *Jews* shaking off the Yoke of the Kings of *Syria*, when they were broke in upon by a total overthrow of their whole Law, and an unrelenting Persecution. *Matthias* a private Priest began the Resistance, which was carried on by his Children, till they shook off the *Syrian* Yoke, and form'd themselves into a free Government, under the Family of the *Maccabees*. It were easy to shew that the *Jews* had been for above 400 Years subject first to the *Babylonian*, then to the *Persian*, and at last to the *Grecian* Empire : So that by a long Prescription they were subjects to the Kings of *Syria*. It were easy also to shew that this Resistance was foretold by *Daniel*, in Terms of *high Commendation*, and is also mention'd

“ in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as the Work and effect of their
 “ *Faith*. If then all Resistance to Illegal and Barbarous Persecution is
 “ unlawful, these Books contain nothing but a History of a Rebellion,
 “ and all the Devotion that runs thro’ them is but a Cant, and
 “ instead of reading them as *Examples of Life, and Instruction of man-*
 “ *ners*, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with Detestation.
 “ I shall afterwards shew what use was made of these Books; not
 “ only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole
 “ Body in Convocation was about to determine.

“ The next step to be made, is to consider the *Homilies*: The se-
 “ cond Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against *wil-*
 “ *ful Rebellion*, is generally believed to have been composed by Bi-
 “ shop *Jewell*, who was by much the best writer in that time. It is
 “ certain, he understood the meaning of them Well: Now I will
 “ read you two Passages out of his Defence of his apology for the
 “ Church of *England*; from whence we may clearly gather what his
 “ Notion of Rebellion was, and that he thought a defence against
 “ unjust and Illegal Violence was not Rebellion. In one place he
 “ has these words;

“ *The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the sword, nor attempted,*
 “ *War against the Prince: They sought only the Continuance of God’s*
 “ *undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your*
 “ *Barbarous and cruel Invasions: They remembred, besides all other*
 “ *Warnings, your late dealings at Vassay, where great numbers of their*
 “ *Brethren were murder’d, being together at their Prayers in the Church,*
 “ *holding up their Innocent hands to Heaven, and calling upon God.* In
 “ another place he writes, *Neither do any of all these (Luther, Melan-*
 “ *chthon) teach the people to rebel against their Prince: But only to de-*
 “ *fend themselves by all lawful means against Oppressions, as did David*
 “ *against Saul, so do the Nobles in France at this Day, they seek not to*
 “ *kill, but to save their own Lives.*

“ These Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent
 “ rising against a Prince executing the Laws, which was the Case of
 “ the three Rebellions in *England* that they had in View: that in *K.*
 “ *Henry the 8th’s*, in *K. Edwards*, and in *Q. Elizabeth’s* Time,
 “ where the Papists took Arms against their prince, who was exe-
 “ cuting Laws made in matters of Religion, and that with a great
 “ Gentleness.

“ Let us next look thro’ *Q. Elizabeth’s* long and Glorious Reign,
 and

Part. I, " and see what was the Constant Maxim of that time.

" The Year after the Queen came to the Crown, the war in *Scotland* broke out between the Queen Regent that Governed by Commission from her daughter then Queen of *France* and the Lords in *Scotland*. She to obtain the Matrimonial Crown to be sent to *Francis* the 2^d. gave assurances for the Exercise of the Reformed Religion; but that point being gain'd, she broke all her Promises, and resolv'd to force them to return to the Exercise of the *Popish* Religion, Upon which the Lords of *Scotland* form'd themselves into a Body, and were call'd the Lords of the Congregation. Forces were sent from *France* to assist the Queen Regent; upon that *Q. Elizabeth* enter'd into an agreement with the *Scottish* Lords, and sent an Army to their Assistance, which continu'd in *Scotland* till all Matters were settled by the Pacification of *Leith*; And in a *Manifesto*, that I have in my hands, set forth 25 years after that, I find her reflecting upon that Interposition in the Affairs of that Nation with great Satisfaction.

" The year after this War was ended, upon *Francis* the 2^d's. Death *Charles* 9th, who was a child, succeeded in *France*, Edicts were granted in favour of the Protestants, These were soon after broken by the Triumvirate, and upon that follow'd a series of war often pacified, but alway breaking out again, by reason of the Violence and Cruelty of the Government. All these Wars, till *Hemy* the 4th. Was settled on the Throne, were in a Course of 28 years that which some wou'd call *Rebellion*, being carry'd on against two succeeding Kings. Yet the Queen was in all that time still assisting 'em with men and money.

" In the Year 1568, the Provinces in the *Netherlands*, threw off the *Spanish* Yoke; that was become intolerably severe and cruel. The Queen for some Years assisted them more covertly, but when the Prince of *Orange* was kill'd, and they were in danger to be over-run, she took them more openly into her Protection; and by the *Manifesto* which I have in my hands, she publish'd the Grounds upon which she proceeded. She laid down this for a Foundation that there had been an Ancient League not only between the Crown of *England* and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, between the Subjects of both Countries under their seals interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. If this was

a good reason for the Queen's giving aid to the Oppress'd People of the *Netherlands*, then if the case had been revers'd, that the People of *England* had been illegally and cruelly oppress'd, it furnish'd the Princes of those Provinces with as good a reason for assisting them. In this assistance given the States, the Queen persisted till the end of her Reign; nor was this only done by the Court, but both Parliament and Convocations granted her several aids to maintain these Wars: And in the Preambles of those Subsidy Acts, *The Queen's Proceedings in these Particulars were highly approv'd and magnify'd.* *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, and several other Writers in that time, Justify'd what she did; and not one that I ever heard of censur'd or condemn'd it.

Upon King *James's* coming to the Crown, the first great Negotiation was for a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*; which lasted several Years. The States insisted on a Preliminary, that they shou'd be acknowledg'd free, Sovereign and Independent States; the *Spaniards* wou'd not yield to this, nor wou'd the States recede from it. Some here in *England* began to say, they were Form'd in Rebellion, and ought not to carry their Pretentions too far: Upon that King *James* suffer'd a Convocation to meet; and a Book of Canons, with relation to the Supreme Authority, was prepar'd; in which tho' the Authority of the Prince, even when he becomes a Tyrant, is carry'd very far; yet the Case of the *Maccabees* is Stated; and it was determin'd, that when a new Government, tho' begun in a Revolt, is come to a thorough Settlement it may be own'd as lawful.

But I saw much clearer into the matter by an Original Letter of King *James*, which a worthy Gentleman sent me. I knew his hand well, the Letter is in Print; but I will read some particulars of it. It is directed to Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It begun with Censuring some Positions concerning a King in Possession, the same with our modern Term of a King *de facto*: He goes on in these Words, *My reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments, how far a Christian & a Protestant King may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their own Sovereign upon the account of Oppression, Tyranny or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's time this Kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with Arms and Advice; and none*

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of your Coat ever told me, that any Scrupled about it in her Reign: Upon my coming to England, you may know, it came from some of your selves to raise scruples about this matter, yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I call'd my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the World about us, of the justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say. I wish I had not. ----- Here is a full account of King James's Thoughts of this matter, which was then the chief subject of Discourse all Europe over. ----- This lets us see, that the Words in King James's Speech that year to his Parliament, were not chance words that fell carelessly from him, *A King leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Govern by Law: In which the King's Conscience may speak to him, as the poor woman to Philip of Macedon, Either govern by Law, or cease to be a King.*

There is another eminent Instance towards the end of that Reign that shows what the sense of our best Divines was in this Matter; When the Archbishop of York's son and Mr. Wadsworth had chang'd their Religion in Spain, Wadsworth writ over a bold Defence of that; and among other things, Charg'd the Reformation with Rebellion. This was answer'd by one of the best Books of that time, writ by Dr. Bedell, dedicated to the Prince of Wales, who afterwards promoted him to a Bishoprick. His words on this Head are full: I will read some of them. *Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their fellow-Subjects, or to their Prince, at their meer Wills, against their own Laws and Edicts? You wou'd know quo jure the Protestants Wars in France and Holland, are Justified. First, The Law of Nature which not only alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth every living thing to defend it self From Violence. Secondly, That of Nations, which permitteth those who are in the Protection of others, to whom they owe no more than an honourable Acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Sovereigns, and to usurp their liberty, to Resist and stand for the same. And if a lawfull Prince, who is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods, shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion, after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own Guard, and being assailed, resist Force with Force*

“ as did the Maccabees under Antiochus: In which case notwithstanding, the Person of the Prince himself ought always to be Sacred, and Inviolable; as was Saul to David; No Commentary is wanted here. Part. I.

“ My Lords, You see how this Matter stood during King James’s Reign. In the first year of King Charles’s Reign, *Grotius’s* Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, was publish’d at *Paris*, dedicated to the King of *France*, while *France* was under the Administration of the wisest and most jealous Minister of the late Age Cardinal *Richelieu*. In that Book, in which he asserts the Rights of Princes with great zeal yet he enumerates many cases in which it is *lawful to resist*: particularly that of a total Subversion, And that Book is now all *Europe* over in the highest Reputation of any Book that the Modern Ages have produc’d. In the beginning of King Charles’s Reign, a War broke out in *France*, against the Protestants; upon which he sent over Ambassadors, by whose Mediation a Peace was concluded; but that being ill kept, the War broke out again; and the King thought himself Bound by his Mediation to protect the Protestants. So in the Second Session of the Parliament 1628. in the Demand of a Supply that the Lord Keeper *Coventry* made in the King’s Name these words are to be found, *France is sway’d by the Popish Faction, and tho’ by his Majesty’s Mediation, there were articles of Agreement between that King and his Subjects, that Treaty hath been broke and those of the Reform’d Religion will be ruin’d without present help*. Upon this the Commons petition’d the King for a Fast, and desir’d the Concurrence of the Lords who join’d with them in it. The King Granted it: and an Office was Compos’d suitable to the Occasion; in which among other Devotions, the Nation was directed to pray for all those, *who here or elsewhere were fighting God’s Battels and Defending his Altars*. Thus the whole Body of the Legislature did concur for a Fast for that, which if this Doctrine is true, was no better than Rebellion; and yet the whole Nation, Clergy and Laity were required to pray for Success in it.

The same point is clear’d by the Learned Bishop of *Oxford* in his Speech upon the same Article, from whence I shall quote the following Passages; ‘ If in a Legal Monarchy, where such Laws have been enacted by Common Consent of Prince and People, as are to be the measures of his Government as well as of their Obedience that,

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‘ that limit his Power as well as secure their Rights and Properties,
 ‘ the Prince shall change this Form of *Government* ; into an Absolute
 ‘ *Tyranny*, set aside those *Laws*, and set up an *Arbitrary Will* in the
 ‘ room of them : When the Case is plain, and when all *Applica-*
 ‘ *tions* and *Attempts* of other kinds prove unsuccessful ; if then the
 ‘ *Nobles* and *Commons* join together in defence of their *Ancient*
 ‘ *Constitution, Government* and *Laws*, I cannot call them Rebels.
 ‘ Allow me, my Lords, to lay before you a few things in mainte-
 ‘ nance of what I have Advanc’d. And,

‘ 1. I would humbly offer some Effects, which I allow do not di-
 ‘ rectly prove what I have said to be true, but they do prove it to
 ‘ have been the Opinion of our Princes, Parliament, Clergy and
 ‘ People in the Reigns of those three great Princes, Q. *Elizabeth*,
 ‘ K. *James*, and King *Charles* 1. I mean the *Assistance* which these
 ‘ Princes gave to the Subjects of other Countries that were resisting
 ‘ their Respective Princes; and to enable them to do so, they had
 ‘ *Subsidies* given them in *Parliament* and *Convocations*----- and there
 ‘ were Prayers Compos’d and us’d for the Success of their
 ‘ Arms.

‘ Surely, my Lords, if those *Princes, Parliaments, Clergy* and
 ‘ *People* had been of Opinion, that the *Resistance* of Subjects a-
 ‘ gainst their Princes, was in no Case lawful, but always Dam-
 ‘ nable *Rebellion* ; they wou’d never by aiding and assisting such
 ‘ *Rebels* have involv’d themselves in the Guilt, and expos’d them-
 ‘ selves to the Dangerous Consequences of such a Sin. I mention
 ‘ not the particular Stories, because they are better known to your
 ‘ Lordships than to me, and because I doubt not but in the Course
 ‘ of this Debate, some *Lord* or other will give a large *account* of
 ‘ them ; but I cannot forbear observing one thing relating to that
 ‘ Assistance, which that pious Prince, and now glorious Saint in
 ‘ Heaven, K. *Charles* 1. gave to the *Rochellers*, who were surely the
 ‘ Subjects of the King of *France*, he order’d a Fast by *Proclamation*,
 ‘ and appointed a *Form of Prayer*, to be drawn up for the imploring
 ‘ of God’s Blessing. It is highly probable that Bishop *Laud* had the
 ‘ great hand in composing those Prayers, he being then Bishop of
 ‘ *London*, and in great favor, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 ‘ *Abbot*, at that time in Disgrace, but whoever compos’d them,
 ‘ I beg leave to read part of one of the *Collects* in that Office. O
 ‘ Lord God of Hosts, that givest Victory in the Day of Battle, and
 ‘ Deliverance.

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Deliverance in the time of Trouble, We beseech thee to strengthen the Hands, and encourage the Hearts of thy servants in fighting thy Battles and defending thy Altars that are among us, and in all the Reformed Churches. It seems the Reformed Churches were thought to have God's Altars among them: then, however they have been vilify'd since. But that which I would observe from this Passage is this, that neither that Excellent King who commanded those Prayers to be compos'd nor the Bishops who compos'd them, nor the Clergy and People who us'd and join'd in them, cou'd in so solemn a manner have recommended those Forces to the Divine Protection and Favour, and as such as were fighting God's Battles, if they had thought they were fighting against God in his Vicegerent, and as defending his Altars, if they believ'd they were resisting his Ordinance.

2. I could produce several Authorities in support of what I have laid down, but I shall mention but one; It is in a Book written profess'dly on this Subject and the passage I shall quote, comes home in point to the matter in hand ————— The Book I mean, is intitul'd, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*. It is written by way of Dialogue between a Christian whom the Author calls *Theophilus* & a Jesuit whom he calls *Philander*. I beg leave to read a Quotation out of it. *Theophilus* the Christian says, *I busy not my self in other mens Commonwealths as you (the Jesuits) do, neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist, to be Rebels: Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the people may plead their Right against their Prince, and not be charg'd with Rebellion. Philander* the Jesuit asks, *as When for Example?* *Theophilus* the Christian reply's thus. *If a Prince shou'd go about to subject his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or charge the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws established by Common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasure? In these and other Cases, which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their Ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels. This Book is said, in the Title Page, to have been perus'd and allow'd by public Authority; was written by a great Man, Dr. Bilson then Warden of Winchester-College; Printed at Oxford by the University Printer, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, and the Author was afterwards made Bishop of Winchester. I could offer many other Authorities ————— But I am superseded in producing,*

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and your Lordships trouble sav'd in hearing more particular Quotations to this purpose, by what is yielded by a Rev^d Divine of great Parts and Learning, far enough from the suspicion of being prejudic'd against the Rights of Princes; or partial to those of the People, I mean the Revd. Dean of *Carlisle*, who in a latin Discourse preach'd and printed in this Town upon the *Duty of Submission*, Statine some Cases of Extreme Necessity, and putting the Question, *Whether it may not be lawful for the People in such Cases to Resist?* Answers *Viriboni & graves, &c.*

That good and Judicious Men, men that have taken great and useful pains in defending the Rights of Princes, and repressing popular License, have contended that it is lawful: He adds indeed whether they have done right or wrong, let others judge; and does not give his own opinion. But since he has granted, that such Men as he has describ'd, Men of *Probity and Judgment*, Zealous Assertors of the *Rights of Princes*, and *Repressors of Popular License*, have contended that in Cases of *extreme Necessity* it is lawful for the People to defend themselves; I may comfort my self, If I err in my Opinion, that I err in good Company. But I humbly conceive I do not err, and that,

3. For this plain Reason, That if it be utterly unlawful to resist in any Case whatsoever, even that of a total Subversion of the Constitutions and Laws: then there is no Distinction of Governments, of *Absolute* I mean, and *Limited*: or if there be a Distinction, it is a *Nominal* one without any *real* Difference, for what Difference is there between a Prince's Governing Arbitrarily without Law, and Governing Arbitrarily against Law? Betwixt having *no Laws* at all, and having *precarious Laws*? that depend intirely on the Will of the Prince, whether he will observe one of them or subvert them all, and if he does, the People *cannot help themselves*.

But, my Lords, I hope and believe that there is a real Distinction of Governments, and that the Subjects of all Governments are not in the same wretched Condition that those of *France* and *Turkey* are in. I hope we have not boasted falsely or vainly of *our own Form* of Government, that we are bless'd with a Constitution more happy than any other Nation in the World enjoys, that allows and secures as great and (I had almost said) God-like Power and Prerogatives to the Crown

as any wise and good Prince can desire, a power of doing every thing that is good and nothing that is ill, and at the same time secures most valuable Rights and Priviledges to the People.

Dr. King (now Archbishop of Dublin) in his first Chap. of his *State of the Protestants of Ireland*. Justifies this Doctrine of Resistance and says. 'It (g) Then in *some Cases* the Mischief of Tamely submitting to the Tyranny and Usurpation of a Governor may be worse and have more dangerous and mischievous Consequences to the Common-wealth, than a War, I suppose it ought to be granted, that where this necessity is certain and apparent, people may lawfully resist and Defend themselves even by a War, as being the lesser evil.

Mr. Johnson says in his Notes on the Pastoral Letter, 'It (h) is vain to talk of Laws which secure to us our lives, Liberties and Estates, when *Passive-Obedience* comes into play: For the Property we have in these things, which makes them all our own, is swallow'd up by *Irresistibility*.

In his *Argument proving the Abrogation of King James to be according to the Constitution of the English Government*, he quotes some of the oldest and most Famous Lawyers, as *Bracton, Fortescue &c.* And the most famous Laws of the *English Constitution*, in favor of this Resistance from *Knyghton's History*.

Dr. Sacheverell's Council gave up the Cause of Non-Resistance, and allow'd that the General Doctrine admitted of Exceptions of cases of *extreme Necessity*, which is all that either Presbyterians or any other Loyal Subjects plead for. And I shall here insert a Passage or two from two of their Speeches: The two Gentlemen do now fill the most Eminent Posts in Law within Her Majesty's Dominions; Sir. *Simon Harcourt* being *Ld. High Chancellor of Great Britain*, and Mr. Phipps (now Sr. *Constantine Phipps*) *Ld. High Chancellor of Ireland*.

The former pleads for the Dr upon the first Article of his Impeachment thus: 'My (i) Lords, There is nothing further from our hearts, nor is any thing less necessary to the Doctors Defence, than for us to dispute or call in Question the Justice of

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of the Revolution; we are *so far* from it, that we look on our selves to be arguing for it, whilst we are endeavouring to show your Lordships, that the *Resistance used at the Revolution, is not inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Church of England, and with the Law of England, and that the Doctor uses no other Language, than what they both speak.*

I humbly apprehend, my Lords, that Extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity are always implied, though not express'd in the General Rule. *Such a Case undoubtedly the Revolution was, when our late unhappy Sovereign, then upon the Throne, misled by evil Counsellors, endeavor'd to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.*

The latter makes the very same Concession in these words: To (k) carry this yet further, suppose that the urging the Illegality of Resistance on any Pretence whatsoever, had been a Substantive Clause, and had no Relation to or Dependance upon any other Clause or Sentence; or suppose such a General Assertion can be collected from any part of the Doctor's Sermon, yet it must be taken only for a general Proposition; And if such General Propositions are true in the general and to a common Intent, tho' they are subject to particular Exceptions, yet it is submitted whether the Doctor is not well warranted in asserting such a general Proposition, without mentioning the particular Exception? For *all general Rules have Exceptions, and yet the Person that Cites them, seldom or never mentions the Exceptions; for when ever such general Propositions are urged, the Exceptions are always understood & implied, And, there was less Reason to mention the Exception in this Case, because it is so universally known: It had the Concurrence of the whole Nation and was so often establish'd and approv'd by the Legislature.*

And the Doctor entirely concurs with the Gentlemen of the House of Commons that the Revolution is an Exception; and is not Adversary to one of the Learn'd Managers, who was pleas'd to admit, it was the only Exception from this general rule; and I submit to your Lordships, if the naming that Exception would not be a greater Reflection on the Revolution, than the preaching that Doctrine in general Terms without naming it? For to name now, since the Revolution, would be

be to suppose, that it was not implied and understood as an Exception, out of that general Proposition, before the Revolution, and then the Exception is to be warranted by the Revolution, which is to infer, that no Resistance was lawful till the Revolution; whereas we say, *That such an extraordinary Case, as that of the Revolution, was always implied as an Exception out of that general Doctrine, and so the Doctrine Justifies the Revolution.*

Those Eminent and Learn'd Lawyers spoke agreeable to the Heroic and Just Principles asserted in the Associations Subscrib'd by so many Persons of Honor and Integrity, upon the happy Arrival of our late *GLORIOUS DELIVERER*, then Prince of *Orange*, & afterwards King *William* of *IMMORTAL MEMORY*, two whereof I shall here transcribe. The Association sign'd at *Exeter* runs thus.

' We (*l*) whose Names are hereunto Subscrib'd, who have now joy'd with the Prince of *Orange*, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws, and Liberties of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secur'd to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by which cause his Person might be expos'd to Danger, and to the Cursed attempts of *Papists*, and other Bloody Men; We do therefore solemnly engage to God, and one another, That if any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a Just Revenge to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the Execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the Vigor that so Barbarous an Action shall deserve.

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(*l*) vid: The Secret History of Europe Part 2d p. 192.

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In the Northern Association, which (as the Author of the *Secret History of Europe* says) was honor'd with the presence of the Bishop of London, and even of her present Majesty Queen Anne, there are these Remarkable words, ' We (m) being made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, that is, by the Influence of Jesuitical Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, that not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a Condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Illegalities do inevitably threaten; We will, to the utmost of our power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange, &c. And herein we hope all good Protestants will, with their Lives and Fortunes, be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of Rebels, by which they would fright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations; for we assure our selves, that no Rational and Un-biass'd person will judge it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronation; which Oath how well it hath been observ'd of late, we desire a Free Parliament may have the Consideration of. We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law, but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to resist such a one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence, &c.

The above mention'd Author makes this Reflection upon that Association; ' These (n) were the Sentiments of those Church men and Patriots. These were the Sentiments of the Duke of Leeds, the Bishop of London, and a great number of Lords and Gentlemen; who had their Swords by their sides to defend them, and make good what they asserted of the Lawfulness of Defence against Tyranny.

The Office for the 5th of November plainly implies that Solemn thanks are returned to God Almighty by the Clergy and all of the Establish'd Churches of England and Ireland for his Blessing the Resistance made to K. James, and his defeating the Opposition made to the Prince of Orange, in these Words, ' We bless thee for giving his Majesty that now is, a safe Arrival here, and for making all opposition fall before him, till he became our King and Governour.

vernor:

It wou'd be tedious to trouble my Reader with all the Quotations that might be adduc'd on this Head; but I have singled out those already mention'd, to show the true State of the Controversy, the *Just Limitations* of the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and some of the chief Arguments to support it, from the *Law of Nature* and *Nations*, *positive Laws of God*, the *Constitution of England* and the Opinions of the *most Learn'd Episcopal Divines*, and even of *whole Convocations*; from which the World may see, That 'tis neither a *Peculiar Presbyterian Tenet*, nor repugnant to the Duty and Allegiance that is due to Magistrates; but on the contrary, a necessary and honorable Defence of Her Majesty's Title, a Security to the *Protestant Succession* in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, and a just *Barrier* of the Liberty of the Subject. Of all which the *British Parliament* were so fully sensible, as to pass a most Solemn Censure, and fix an *Indelible Stain* upon the Opposite Doctrine, in the Deliberate and Just Issue of the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*.

Seeing then this Doctrine of *Resistance* in Cases of *extreme Necessity* is supported by the *Law of Nature* and *Nations*, the Judgment of the most *Eminent Divines* and *Lawyers*, the happy Constitution of *Great Britain*, and the *most Renown'd Monarchs* that ever sat upon a *British Throne*, and is an *Essential Fundamental Principle* of the late happy *Revolution*, and the source of all the Blessings deriv'd to us from it; it's plain that neither *Presbyterians* nor any other People can be justly charg'd with *Disloyalty*, for the practice thereof. If ever *Presbyterians* *resisted* their Sovereign when he was acting for the end of his Office, the *Public good*, *Religion*, *Liberty* and *Property*, they must confess *guilt*, but this is what they deny: If all their *Resistance* was to the *unjust Invasions of Liberty* by the *Prerogative*, and when the Prince us'd his *Power to the hurt and Prejudice of human Society*, and in no other Case, I should think them fairly acquitted of all *Rebellion* and *Disloyalty*, upon the same Principles on which her Majesty and the *Nation* proceeded in the late happy *Revolution*; And for my own part, I am free to ascribe the *whole Cause* upon this Issue: Let it stand or fall by that unshaken Test of true *British Loyalty*.

A Native Consequence of what has been advanc'd concerning the Doctrine of *Resistance*, is, that a decent and modest Discovery of the Subjects uneasiness and grievances under some part of the Admi-

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nistration of the Prince's Government, is very Consistent with a
 Dutiful and Loyal Behaviour. To assert *Infallibility* in the Church,
 is Popery; and to lodge it in the Prince, is Slavery; and both of
 them are dangerous Errors, refused from the consideration of the
 Universal Corruption and lapsed Estate of mankind. There is no-
 thing more odious than a fullsome Flattery, with which some peo-
 ple in all Ages and Nations have entertain'd their Magistrates; as
 if their Government were like that of God Almighty's, without the
 least shadow of a blemish, and incapable of being mended, as being
 entirely faultless. 'Tis true, a Giddy Populace have often ground-
 lessly censur'd the laudable Actions of their Superiors, and murmur'd
 against the *Best* of Governments; Such Factious *Male-Contents* are to
 be discourag'd in all Societies. But then 'twere highly unreasonable
 on the other hand, to Abridge the Subjects of their Native Liberty
 of complaining, when they are hurt; or of letting their Magistrates
 know (so it be done with a becoming Humility and Decency) their
 just Desires of being eas'd of their Pressures, and protect'd in there
 just Rights, according to the true ends of Government. To
 doom the Subject to a perpetual and *unmanly* Silence in such Cases, for
 preventing of Faction, is such a Remedy, as the *shutting of one's*
mouth to prevent his *ever saying* an ill thing; and to make men *slaves*
 least they shou'd turn *Rebels*.

Another Notion of Loyalty as false as any of the former is, That a
 Subject must be of his Prince's Religion, or the Religion of the State.
 God is the *Lord of Conscience*, and therefore it does not belong to
Cesar. Religion is of a Divine Original founded upon the Laws of
 God, and can't receive an higher Affront than to make it such an un-
 stable and mutable *Piece of Vanity*, so precarious and uncertain as to
 be turn'd into all the shapes of *human Policy*, and modell'd by the va-
 riable *Civil Constitutions* in the World. Shall God depend upon
 Man? or a Rebellion against the Creator be honor'd with the name
 of Loyalty to the Creature? No. Must a Man be a *Mahometan* in
Turkey, a *Papist* in *France*, and a *Pagan* in other places in the World;
 because the Magistrate is so? No sure. And this shows, that we
 must not choose our Religion, *because it is the State-Religion*, but
 because it is the Religion of the *Bible*; and consequently, that a man
 can't be Disloyal *merely for differing* in Religious Matters from the
 public Establishment. I confess, that some bad men and bad Subjects
 may espouse pernicious Principles destructive of Civil Government,

and

and incorporate them into the Body of their Religious Tenets; as the Papists do, and some of the wildest German Anabaptists did: Part. I.
 But these Errors are to be refuted and condemn'd, *not because* they are contrary to the Religion of their Prince *but because* they are contrary to the *true Christian* Religion, the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to lawful Civil Authority agreeable to it.

The Uncharitable and Mistaken Notion of Loyalty which some Bigots in these Nations have, is this, That *Conformity* to the Establish'd Church is *Loyalty*, and *Non-Conformity* Disloyalty: The Falshood whereof abundantly appears from what has been said: Indeed, if our Author or any other can prove, That the Presbyterian Non-Conformists have embody'd any Rebellious or Disloyal Principle into their *System of Divinity*, they must yield the Cause. But I hope to make the contrary appear in the Sequel of this Chapter, and that the same true Conscientious *fear of God* which makes 'em dissent from the *National* Establishment of the *Church*, does bind 'em to *all* the Duty and Allegiance which *good Subjects* owe to Her Majesty, who is too Wise and Religious a Prince to believe that any *Sett* of People who have robb'd God of His Right, shou'd ever Conscientiously assert Her's; or that those who wou'd *Compliment* Her with their Consciences, which belong to God, shou'd have any Conscience left 'em to give Her Majesty that which is *Her own*: For 'tis generally true, That those who wou'd give Magistrates too much, ha'n't Honesty to give 'em *enough*, and are among the first who desert them in their Straits.

Having thus detected and refuted the most Popular false Notions of *Loyalty*, I come to show wherein it consists, and I humbly conceive it may be describ'd thus.

True Christian Loyalty Consists in the *Subjects paying an high Reverential honour to the Person of the Supreme Magistrate, and in their maintaining and supporting (in their several Stations) all the Authority, Power and Prerogatives justly belonging to him or her by virtue of the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, the Original Compact between the Prince and People, and the just Laws of the State, by paying of due Tribute, obeying the just Acts of Lawful Authority, venturing life as well as Fortune in defence of the Prince and Constitution upon a Good Call, and by Prayers to Almighty God for a blessing on his or her Person or Government; and in doing all this for Conscience sake.*

Upon this Foundation, I proceed to consider what our Author has

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has advanc'd against Dissenters; wherein he first attacks their Principles, and next their Practice.

With respect to the first, he says p. 5. "I do not purpose at present to make so exact an Enquiry into all their *Political Principles*, as perhaps I shall in some time; but such only as relates to those Principles, which are productive of their pretended *Loyalty*." If the Author shall think fit to make and publish such an *Enquiry into all their Political Principles*, I wou'd humbly advise him to make a more *exact* one than what he has pretended already to have made relating to *those Principles, which are productive of their (real, and not only pretended) Loyalty*. This Enquiry of his is *justly chargeable* with two things, any one whereof is sufficient to demonstrate with how little exactness it has been made. 1. It is *extremely Defective* in the Enumeration of those very Principles he pretends to discover. 2. These Principles he mentions are unaccountably misrepresented, and wise-drawn into the worst sense & harshest Construction which can possibly be put upon them, contrary to the *Rules of Christian Charity*, and sound *Reasoning*.

1. *It is extremely Defective in the Enumeration of those very Principles he pretends to discover.* I can't guess at the Reason of this Omission, unless it be this, that such of their Principles as he has thought fit to pass are so indisputably clear and natively *productive of Loyalty*, as to be beyond the reach of malice itself, which can't find in 'em the least shadow of a Crime, and therefore it was not for his purpose to mention them. But I hope the Impartial Reader (who will be still satisfy'd to hear what can be said *Pro* and *Con*) will excuse me, if I shall mind him of some of these Principles, which our Author, for reasons best known to himself, has omitted. Such as I mention are contain'd in the following Passages; the first whereof is the 25th Article of the *Confession of Faith for the Church of Scotland*, compos'd *Anno* 1560. confirm'd by the Parliament of that Kingdom; and subscrib'd by King *James* himself and his household *Anno* 1580. and by persons of all Stations *Anno* 1581. In pursuance of an act of the *King & Privy Council*: And the whole Nation oblig'd themselves to maintain and defend it *Anno* 1583, upon which Account 'tis call'd the *National Covenant*; And 'tis to this day own'd and Establish'd as the *Confession of that Church*. The Passage is this

25. *Of the Civil Magistrate.*

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We confess and acknowledge Empires, Kingdoms, Domini-
 ons and Cities, to be distincted and ordain'd by God; the Powers
 and Authority in the same, be it of Emperors in their Em-
 pires, of Kings in their Realms, Dukes and Princes in their
 Dominions, and of other Magistrates in their Cities, to be *God's*
holy Ordinance ordain'd for manifestation of his own Glory, and
 for the singular profit and Commodity of mankind: So that
 whosoever goeth about to take away, or to Confound the whole
 State of Civil Policies, now being establish'd, we affirm the same
 men, not only to be Enemies, to mankind, but *wickedly to fight*
against God's expressed Will. We further confess and acknowledge
 that such persons as are plac'd in Authority, are to be *lov'd,*
honour'd, feared and holden in most Reverend Estimation, because,
 they are the *Lieutenants of God,* in whose Sessions God himself
 doth sit, and judge: Yet, even the Judges and Princes them-
 selves, to whom by God is given the Sword to the praise and
 Defence of good men, and to revenge and punish all open Ma-
 lefactors. Moreover to *Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates,*
 we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the Conservation
 and Purgation of the Religion appertain, so that not only they
 are appointed for Civil Policy, but also for maintenance of the
 true Religion, and for suppressing of Idolatry and Superstition
 whatsoever: As in *David, Josaphat, Ezeccias, Josias,* and others
 highly commended for their zeal in that case, may be espy'd.
 And therefore, we confess and aver, That such as *resist the Su-*
preme Power, doing that which appertaineth to his Charge, do *resist*
God's Ordinance; and therefore, cannot be guiltless. And fur-
 ther, we affirm That whosoever deny unto them their aid, their
 Counsel, and Comfort, while the Princes and Rulers *aligently*
travel in the Execution of their office, that the same men deny
 their help, support and Counsel to God, who by the presence of
 his Lieutenant doth crave it of them.

The second Passage is taken from the Westminster Confession,
 allow'd also and receiv'd by the Church of *Scotland,* and by the
 Presbyterians in *Ireland,* as the Confession of their Faith, and as
 such subscrib'd by all the Ministers and Preachers of both, and com-
 pos'd.

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pos'd by an Assembly of the most Famous *English* Presbyterian Divines. In 23d. Chap. of the said Confession we have these words.

‘ God the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordain’d Civil Magistrates to be under him, over the people, for his own Glory, and the public good ; and to this end hath arm’d them with the Power of the Sword, for the defence and Encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evil Doers  
‘ The Civil Magistrate may not assume to himself the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Yet he hath Authority, and it is his duty to take order, that Unity and Peace be preserv’d in the Church, that the Truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all Blasphemies and Heresies be suppress’d, all Corruptions & abuses in Worship and Discipline prevented, or reform’d ; and all the Ordinances of God duly settled, administred and observ’d. For the better effecting whereof He hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide, that whatsoever is transacted in them, be according to the Mind of God.

‘ It is the duty of People to pray for Magistrates, to honour their persons, to pay them Tribute and other Dues, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be Subject to their Authority, for Conscience sake. Infidelity or Difference in Religion, doth not make void the Magistrates just and Legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him . From which Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted &c.

The 3d. Passage is taken out of a Book entitul’d *English Puritanism containing the main opinions of the rigidest Sort of those that are call’d Puritans in the Realm of England*, wherein they hold Chap. 6. ‘ That there shou’d be no Ecclesiastical Officer so high but that he ought to be Subject unto, and punishable by the meanest Civil Officer in a Kingdom, City or Town, not only for Common Crimes, but even for the Abuse of their Ecclesiastical Offices; Yea, they hold that they ought to be more punishable than any other Subject whatsoever, if they shall offend against either Civil or Ecclesiastical Laws. They hold, that the Civil Magistrate is to punish with all Severity the Ecclesiastical Officers of Churches, if they shall intrude upon the Rights and Prerogatives of the Civil Authority and Magistracy, and shall pass those bounds and limits that Christ hath prescrib’d to them in his word. They

‘ They hold (Chap. 5. concerning the Censures of the Church) That the keys of the Church are not to be put to this use to lock up the Crown, Swords or Scepters of Princes and Civil States, or the Civil Rights, Prerogatives, and Immunities of Civil Subjects in the things of this Life.

The 4th Passage is taken out of a Book entitl’d *English Presbytery, giving the main Opinions of Presbyterians in England* p. 11 (Concerning the Civil Magistrate) they say, ‘ That they do with all Thankfulness to God, own and revere his Ordinance of Civil Magistracy; and are so far from encroaching upon it, that they believe no Minister of the Gospel ought to employ himself in it. But to give up himself to Meditation and Prayer, and the meer spiritual Oversight of the flock of Christ committed to him.

‘ For the Due Form of Government, or power of Governors in any Nation, they believe God’s word hath fix’d no universal Rule, only confirming the just Laws of Kingdoms and Policies, And they believe it to be their Duty to be obedient to such Governors in all places, as the Laws in that place have establish’d, and in the exercise of such power as those Laws have given him: From the Obedience to which no person upon the account of Religion can pretend to an Immunity. And in the exercisewhereof no Magistrate ought by any to be resisted.

The 5th Passage is taken from Mr. Corbet’s *Account of the Principles and Practices of several Non-Conformists*, which Book was approv’d by them, as appears by the Title page: In it they say p. 8. ‘ We believe that the power of Civil Magistrates is God’s Ordinance, necessary for the Government of the World——We acknowledge that Supreme Magistrates have a Civil Supremacy in all Ecclesiastical Matters, and a Political Episcopacy over the Pastors of the Church in their Sacred Administrations, and may compel them to the performance of their Duty, and punish them for their Negligence or Male-Administration, that they may call Synods, make Canons, and warrantably thus reform the Church, when it stands in need of Reformation.——Moreover, we believe that the Higher Powers are not to be mere Executioners of the judgments of Ecclesiasticks, but that they may and must be judges hereof themselves, in order to their own execution.

The 6th and last Passage is taken out of the Book entitl’d, *A vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry* publish’d, by the Ministers

## Part I.



nisters and Elders, met together in a Provincial Assembly in London November 2d. 1649. ' We do freely acknowledge, that *Magistracy* is an *Ordinance of God*, appointed for the great good of Mankind; so that, whoever are enemies to *Magistracy*, are enemies to Mankind, and to the *Reveal'd Will of God*. We desire to hold up the honor and greatness, the power and Authority of lawful Magistracy, against *Papists, Anabaptists*, and all others, that *despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities*. We say, that the Magistrate is, in a civil Notion, the *Supreme Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical*; the keeper of both Tables; the *Nursing-Father* of the Church: That belongs to him, by his Political Power, to reform the Church, when corrupted; to preserve it, when reformed; to suppress Blasphemy, Idolatry, Heresie, Schism, and prophaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to Godliness and sound Doctrine; that the people under him, may *lead a quiet life, in all Godliness and Honesty*. That he is sent of God, for the punishment of evil doers (amongst which, are Hereticks, as well as others, and therefore call'd *evil Workers*; and Heresies *evil Deeds*, Phil. 3. 2. 2. Ep. John ver. 11.) and for the praise of them that do well. That he is the *Bishop of those things that are without the Church*; as *Constantine styled himself*. That to him belongs to *punish Church Officers, with Civil punishments, when they abuse their power*; and to give protection to the public Exercise of Church Government, within his Dominions.

Upon the whole let the Impartial Reader judge of two things, 1. Whether our Author's *Enquiry into the Principles of Dissenters that are productive of Loyalty*, has any tolerable measure of exactness, when he has not mention'd *so much as one* of those Principles, I have now quoted out of their most Authentic Writings; tho' they are the main Fundamentals not only of their Loyalty, but of the Loyalty of all Faithful Subjects whatsoever.

2ly. Whether Presbyterians, adhering to and Practising the above Principles, can possibly be disloyal; and therefore whether Loyalty be not the *Native Consequence of such Principles*. If they obey all the Magistrate's lawful Commands, neither resisting nor diminishing any thing of their just power, praying for them, assisting and aiding them with their lives and fortunes, exempting no manner of persons

Eccle-



Ecclesiastical nor Civil from their Jurisdiction, and doing all this from Principles of Conscience, in regard to the Authority of God (to all which the above mention'd Principles lead 'em) I believe 'em will be hard to prove 'em disloyal, until they once be prov'd either to have abandon'd or contradicted their Principles.

The Enquiry our Author has made into the *Principles of Presbyterians, that are productive of their Loyalty*, is not only extremely defective (as I have shown) but

2ly. *These Principles he mentions are unaccountably misrepresented, and were drawn into the worst sense and hardest Construction which can possibly be put upon 'em, contrary to the Rules of Christian Charity, and sound Reasoning, and to the genuine sense of the words; as will appear by an examination of them.* He begins thus 'And (p) thus far I will venture to assert, That if the *Dissenters of Ireland* will allow 'emself to be the same in Principles of Discipline and Government with their Elder Sister the *Kirk of Scotland* (and I do think it never was, nor ever will be deny'd) they are so far from being the *Queen's most Loyal Subjects* from their known Principles, that from their principles of Discipline and Government, all Crown'd Heads are rather Vassals and Subjects to them, when ever it shall happen that the *Kirk* is able to exert her Inherent power, even to Excommunication and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate.' In all this there is not any thing that has the shadow of an Argument, unless it be in these words, 'whenever it shall happen that the *Kirk* is able to exert her Inherent Power, even to Excommunication and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate.' This Inherent Power is nothing else but the power of the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the power of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and 'tis impossible that the Civil Magistrate can ever be hurt by it, where the Word is truly preach'd, the Sacraments duly administred, and the power of the keys rightly us'd: Nay, on the contrary, it is a great support and Comfort to all good Magistrates, when the Church takes all possible care to reform and purge their people from scandalous sins, which provoke God Almighty to pour out his Judgments both on Princes and People: And they may still expect the greatest Loyalty and Affection from those whose chief Endeavours are to promote Piety among their Subjects. Either this Inherent power of it self is inju-  
rious

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rious to Magistracy, or 'tis only the Abuse of it that is so. For the first, he hath not offer'd in these words, the least *Argument* to prove it. And for the second, that is no *Argument* against the *Inherent Power* at all: For any one of Common sense knowing, that the Abuse of any thing it in it self good & useful is not to be compared to the thing *abus'd*, but to the *Abusers* of it. Because some Magistrates have highly abus'd their Office, shall we therefore cry down Magistracy? Because some Ministers have highly abus'd their Sacred Function, shall we therefore lay aside that holy Office? In a word if the *Presbyterians* have in the Exercise of their *Inherent Power* wrong'd the Civil Magistrate at any time, that is no *Argument* against the *Inherent Power* it self, because in such Cases they must be suppo'd to be guilty of Male-Administration. And if our Author can prove this, it is chargeable upon the *Practices* and not upon the *Principles* of Presbyterians, and therefore comes in Impertinently in this place.

As to this *Inherent Power* it self the Presbyterians claim no more than what the Primitive Christians had for the three first Centuries; and we must either suppose 'em all that time to be Disloyal Subjects or else that the *Inherent power* of it self can't make any Church Disloyal.

If it be objected that for the three first Centuries there being no Christian *Emperors*, the Christian Church must have an *Inherent Power*, otherwise they cou'd have none at all; but that after *Constantine's* time, the Case was alter'd, And that there was no Parity of Reason for claiming an Inherent power of Church-Discipline: The answer is very Obvious, and 'tis founded upon a Principle which the Most Critical Writers upon this Subject, and particularly the most Learn'd of the Church of *England* have advanc'd. Viz. *That the Power and right of Princes to concern themselves (by vertue of their Office as Magistrates) in Ecclesiastical Matters do's not depend upon their Religion.* This is very clearly express'd by the Learn'd Bishop *Burnet* in his Exposition of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*. When he is treating of the 37th Article concerning the *Regal Supremacy* after he had prov'd from the Holy Scriptures that Princes have a Right and power to concern themselves in Matters Ecclesiastical (which no Presbyterian denies) he next describes the Measure and Extent of that power in these words. p. 286.

' It is certain, First, That this Power does not depend upon the Princes Religion: Whether he is a Christian, or not: or whether he is of a True or false Religion: or is a good or a bad man. By the

the same Tenure that he holds his Sovereignty, he holds this likewise. Part I.  
*Artaxerxes* had it as well as either *David* or *Solomon*, when the *Jews*  
 were once lawfully his Subjects; and the Christians ow'd the same  
 duty to the *Emperors* while *Heathen*, that they paid them when  
*Christian*. The Relations of Nature, such as that of a *Parent* and  
*Child*, *Husband* and *Wife*, continue the same that they were, what-  
 soever Men's Persuasions in Matters of Religion may be: So do also  
 Civil Relations, *Master* and *Servant*, *Prince* and *Subject*; they are  
 neither increas'd nor diminish'd by the truth of their Sentiments  
 concerning Religion. All Persons are subject to the Prince's Au-  
 thority, and liable to such Punishments as their Crimes fall under  
 by Law. *Every Soul is Subject to the Higher Powers.* Neither is  
*Treason* less *Treason*, because spoke in a Pulpit, or in a Sermon:  
 It may be more *Treason* for that, than otherwise 'twould be; be-  
 cause 'tis so public and deliberate, and is deliver'd in the way in  
 which it may probably have the worst Effect. So that as to Persons  
 no great Difficulty can lye in this, since every *Soul* is declar'd to be  
*Subject to the Higher Powers.*

From this Principle it follows as a Native Consequence, That if  
 the Church had an Inherent Power under Heathen Emperors, they  
 must have it under Christian ones too; and this very Principle was  
 asserted by Christian *Emperors*, and by Councils that were held under  
 them, as well as by particular Fathers who flourish'd in their Reigns.  
 The same Judicious Historian (*Dr. Burnet*) in his Book Entitul'd,  
*The History of the Rights of Princes, &c.* describing the *Inherent Right*  
 that was in the Primitive Church to Elect their Bishops, gives us the  
 following Remarkable Account of the *Christian Emperors* declining  
 to meddle in that Matter, so as to deprive the Church of their *Inhe-*  
*rent Right.*

' This way of Election (says he p. 29. 30. 31.) was not a Privi-  
 lege peculiar to *Alexandria*; we have two great Instances that shew  
 that *Constantine* did not interpose in Elections. The one was in *Ni-*  
*comedia*, where *Eusebius* being turn'd out by the Order of the Coun-  
 cil of *Nice*, as well as *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*; *Constantine*, writing  
 (q) to those of *Nicomedia* concerning their choosing a new Bishop,  
 says, *That was in their Power, and depended on their Judgment.* And  
 near the end of his Letter he says, *That it was in their Power to raise*  
 that

## Part I.

‘ that Joy in him, which he had when he found pure, Orthodox, and  
 ‘ well-temper’d Bishops. And when Eustachius was turn’d out of An-  
 ‘ tioch, upon the false suggestions of the Arian Party, Eusebius of  
 ‘ Cesarea was chosen to be put in his room; Upon which an Instru-  
 ‘ ment, or Decree of Election was made; but he refusing to accept of  
 ‘ it, Constantine writ to them, (r) In which he takes Notice that their  
 ‘ Custom was to use great care, prudence and diligence in the seeking out  
 ‘ such a Bishop as was fit for them. And in another Letter (s) to the  
 ‘ Bishops that were then at Antioch, he recommends two Persons to  
 ‘ them, Euphronius and Georgius; but desires, that when they propos’d  
 ‘ these or any others to be chosen, the Election should be made according  
 ‘ to the Rule of the Church, and the Tradition of the Apostles. This is  
 ‘ but a Recommendation; two are offer’d, but leave is given to the  
 ‘ Bishops to put more in the List; and a Charge is added to manage  
 ‘ the Election according to Custom. It was no wonder that all com-  
 ‘ plied with such a Recommendation, and chose him that was first  
 ‘ named. But it is visible that the Emperor left them to their Liber-  
 ‘ ty.

‘ Great Confusions follow’d in the Reign of Constantius, by reason  
 ‘ of the Arian Heresy, many of the Orthodox Bishops being turn’d  
 ‘ out, and others put in their rooms, by the Emperor’s Authority;  
 ‘ whom among other things, Hilary accuses for this, That he gave  
 ‘ Bishopricks to those of his Party: And Writing against Auxentius,  
 ‘ address’d himself thus to these Bishops plac’d by the Court (t); O  
 ‘ ye Bishops, I pray you what Suffrages did the Apostles make use of? did  
 ‘ they receive their Dignity from the Palace? And he runs out more  
 ‘ copiously on those Court Bishops, in his Exposition of the first  
 ‘ Psalm; He says, The Ambition of Secular Honors had corrupted them,  
 ‘ and that they were polluted by the pestiferous Contagion of those Affairs  
 ‘ in which they were conversant. When that Storm was over, and the  
 ‘ short, but terrible Cloud rais’d by Julian, was dissipat’d, then the  
 ‘ Ancient Method of Elections was again continu’d. But two things  
 ‘ occasion’d great Contentions in them; The one was, The Wealth  
 ‘ and Dignity of some Sees; the other was, the Heats that had been  
 ‘ rais’d by the Arian Heresy, by which Peoples minds were embi-  
 ‘ tered one against another.

Here are Passages demonstrat’g not only that the Christian Em-  
 perors

(r) *Eus. de vit. Const.* l. 3. (s) *Ib.* c. 62. (t) *Lib.* 1. in Const.

perors left the Church to their former *Intrinsic Liberty* of Elections, but that they thought it not Inconsistent with their Imperial Dignity and Rights, nor with the Allegiance due to them from their Subjects, that they *i. e.* Emperors) might be *Subject as Christians* to their Bishops in Matters of a Spiritual Nature that concern'd their Souls. Any that pleaseth may consult the Originals from which *Burnet* quotes these Passages, which I have consider'd, but 'twou'd be too tedious to insert 'em here; and therefore I have contented my self with his Abstract.

The Council of *Antioch* assembled about the year 341, decreed in their 12th Canon 'That (*u*) no Presbyter depos'd by his own Bishop, and that no Bishop depos'd by a Synod *should presume to trouble the Emperor*; but that he shou'd apply himself to a *greater Synod of Bishops*, and lay before them what Allegations he has to make of the Justice of his Cause, and wait for their Sentence; and that if instead of doing this, he *apply to the Emperor*, that his Fault shall not be pardon'd, nor shall he ever be restor'd to his Office.

Nothing can be more express in favour of the *Inherent Power* of the Church in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Matters, even under Christian Emperors, than the above Canon. If it be objected that they were *Arians* who compos'd it, and that 'twas design'd to hinder *Athanasius* from being protected by the Emperor; it's confess'd, that the Design they had in framing it might be very bad; but if it had not been allow'd in that Age, that the Church had an *Inherent Power*, they durst not have asserted it: And it had been extremely prejudicial to their Interest, to have done it, which is all the use I make of that *Canon*.

But what is a full and satisfying answer to that Objection, and sets the Matter beyond Debate, is the Regulation establish'd by the 6th Canon of the General Council of *Constantinople* assembled, about the year 381 or 383, as some think. It settles the Method of Ecclesiastical Processes against Bishops and Presbyters, upon an Accusation brought against them in Matters of Scandal, and does not allow these Causes to be properly cognizable in any Courts or Assemblies, but *Synods* and *Ecclesiastical Judicatories*. For

(*u*) *vide* *Histor. Eccles. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Cap. 9. p. 715. Conforme De La Discipline, Ecclesiastique Des Protestans De France avec celle des anciens Chretiens, Par M. Larroque. p. 153. Burnet's Hist. Of the Rights of Princes, &c. p. 39.*)

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For they decree ' That (v) if Persons that are neither Here- ticks nor excommunicated, nor Condemn'd nor accus'd of scandal, shall say that they have any Ecclesiastical Accusation to bring against a Bishop : The Council decrees that *first of all* such Accusers shall give in their Acculations to *all the Bishops of the Province*, and before them prove the Scandalous Crimes laid to the Bishop's Charge. And in case it fall out, that the Bishops of the Province be not sufficient, nor fit enough to censure those scandals, then the Accusers are to go to a *larger Council* of the Bishops of the Diocess, to be assembled upon *this cause*. And that the Accusation shall not be given in until the accusers profess under their hand, that they are ready to undergo the like Censure themselves, if they shall be convicted of calumniating the Bishop accus'd by them. That if any person, having contemn'd this appointment of the Council, *SHALL DARE TO APPLY TO THE EMPEROR*, or to the Tribunals of *SECULAR MAGISTRATES*, or demand the judgment of a General Council, having affronted all the Bishops of the Diocess : The Council determines, that he shall not be admitted to be an accuser, because he has *DESPISED THE CANONS, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE, and broke the Rules of Decency and good Order.*

Here we have a Council *appropriating* the trial of Bishops in Matters of Scandal, and in what belongs to their meer spiritual Function, to the Cognizance of *Ecclesiastical Judicatures*; than which nothing can be a more direct proof of the Judgment of the Primitive Church for the Churches Inherent Power of Discipline, and even under Christian *Emperors*. The Fathers of this Council were not *Arians*, as these of the Council of *Antioch* were; and yet their Canon is a strong Confirmation of the matter of the above mention'd 12th Canon of *Antioch*. This Council consisted of above 150 Bishops, who were all Orthodox in receiving the Creed of the *Nicene* Fathers. It was amongst these called a General Council, and therefore their Judgment is not only more Venerable, but a more convincing Proof of the

(v) *vide* Eccles. Hist. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Cap. 9. p. 853.

854, Conformity De La Discipline Ecclesiastique Des Protestans De aver celle des Anciens Chretiens, Par M. Laroque. p. 153.

the general sense of Christians in that Age, concerning the *Intrinsic Power* of the Church in the Matter of Ecclesiastical Discipline. And therefore either those Christian Princes must be concluded to be grossly Ignorant of the Essential Prerogatives belonging to their Imperial Crown, and the Primitive Bishops disloyal in usurping upon 'em, ( which I suppose, Is not agreeable to the general sense of sober Protestants and good Men; ) or, Presbyterians, who claim no more Inherent Power, than the latter pretended to and the former granted, can't be convicted of Disloyalty on that Account.

*Hosius*, a Spanish Bishop in the fourth Century, delivers his sense of this matter very fully, in his pious and Learn'd Epistle to the Emperor *Constantius*, an *Arian*, and Persecutor of the Orthodox. In the said Letter, we have these Memorable words.

Pray (w) forbear and remember thou art a Mortal: Be afraid of the day of Judgment; keep thy self pure unto that day. Do not intrude into *Ecclesiastical Business*; do not command us in these things, but rather learn them of us. To thee hath God committed the Empire: But he hath entrusted us with the affairs of the Church. And, as he that casts an evil Malignant Eye upon thine Empire, contradicts the Divine Ordinance: So beware, lest thou, drawing unduely to thy self, the matters that belong to the Church, involve thy self in great guilt; It is written, *Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's*. It is not lawful for us to hold the Empire upon Earth, neither hast thou, O Emperor, the *Power of Holy Things*. These things I sincerely write for the Care of thy Salvation.

This *Hosius* was an Eminent Confessor for the Orthodox Faith, in great esteem with the Emperor *Constantine*, and a great Intimate and friend of *Athanasius*, (x) and can't be accounted disloyal for lodging this *Inherent Power* in the Church.

*Chrysofome* goes upon the same Principle, in one of his Homilies the English Translation whereof I shall give you in the word of the Revd. Dr. *Potter*. It runs thus,

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(w) Apud Athanasium in Epistola ad Solitariam Vitam Agentes, et Hist. Eccles. Magdeburgens. Cent. 4. Chap: 10. p. 1189.

(x) vide Sorom. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. 16. Socrat. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. and Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

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‘ The (y) Limits of the *Kingdom* are intirely distinct from the Limits of the *Priesthood*.—The *King’s* Province is to manage the affairs of the *Earth*; but the Power of *Priests* reaches *Heaven*; *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven*. To the *King* are committed the things here below; to me, the *Bishop* the Things of *Heaven*. The *King* is intrusted with mens Bodies, but the *Priest* with their souls. The *King* remits their Debts of *Money*, but the *Priest* the Debts of their *Sins*. The *King* compels, the *Priest* exhorts. The *King* governs by *Compulsion*, the *Priest* by *Counsel*: The former hath sensible *Weapons*; the latter *Spiritual*. The former wages *War* with the *Barbarians*, we with *Devils*: And this is the *greater Government*.

But to come to the Opinions of Reform’d Divines upon this Head, (among whom I shall name only those of the Episcopal Communion in *England* and *Ireland*) let it be consider’d, That the Presbyterians except no more from the Magistrates Commission, than what the *Archbishops*, and *Bishops* and *Clergy* of *Ireland* in their Convocation did agree upon in their Articles Compos’d anno 1615. In their 58 Article they say “Neither do we give unto him (i. e. the Supreme Magistrate) the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the POWER OF THE KEYS”. And to let us know where they lodge this power of the Keys, which they will not give to the Magistrate, they tell us Art. 69 ‘But particular and Visible Churches———be many in number: wherein the more or less sincerely, according to Christ’s Institution, the Word of God is taught, the Sacraments are Administred, AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE KEYS IS USED; the more or less pure are such Churches to be accounted.’ Now upon this I wou’d enquire, Whether the Establish’d Church of *Ireland* Representative be Disloyal Subjects, for asserting this point? If they be not, why shou’d Prebyterians be accounted Disloyal for their asserting as much and no more?

Neither do they claim any more *Inherent Power* but what is necessarily included in such Demands as some of the Most Learn’d and Pious of the *Primates* both of *England* and *Ireland* have thought fit

(y) Chrysoftom Homil. 4. in verba Esaiæ vidi Dominum. &c. Vol. 3. p. 872. 873. Edit. Front. Duc. apud Dr. Potter in his Discourse of Church Government p. 211. 212.



Part. I.  


fit to make on behalf of the Church; I mention two of 'em viz. Archbishop *Grindal* Primate of all *England*, and *Usher* of *Ireland*, whose Memories are precious to all good men. *Grindal* wou'd not discountenance the Meetings of Godly Ministers in *England* for their Learn'd Exercises and Conferences, tho' that Practice was misrepresented to *Queen Elizabeth* and upon that occasion the Primate had the Misfortune to fall under her Displeasure, Whereupon he wrote a Petition to her *Majesty* full of that Candor, Piety, Integrity and Gravity that became him; some part whereof I shall here transcribe.

————— ' I (z) am inforc'd with all Humility, and yet  
 ' plainly to profess, that I cannot with safe Conscience, and with-  
 ' out the offence of the *Majesty* of God give mine assent to the sup-  
 ' pressing of the said Exercises, much less can I send out any Injun-  
 ' ction for the utter and universal Subversion of the same. —————  
 ' Bear with me, I beseech you, *Madam*, If I chuse rather to offend  
 ' your Earthly Majesty, than to offend the Heavenly Majesty of  
 ' God. And now being sorry that I have been so long and tedious  
 ' to your Majesty; I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the  
 ' same, that you wou'd consider these short Petitions following.  
 ' The first, that you wou'd refer ALL THESE ECCLE-  
 ' SIASTICAL Matters which touch Religion, or the Doc-  
 ' trine or DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH un-  
 ' to the Bishops and Divines of the Church of your Realm, accord-  
 ' ing to the example of ALL CHRISTIAN EMPERORS  
 ' and Princes of all ages: For indeed they are to be judg'd as an  
 ' ancient Father writeth; in *Ecclesia seu synodo, non in Palatio*. When  
 ' your Majesty hath Questions of the Laws of your Realm, you do  
 ' not decide the same in your Court or Palace, but send them to your  
 ' Judges to be determin'd. Likewise, for the Duties in Matters in  
 ' Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, the ordinary way is to defer  
 ' the decision to the Bishops, and other head Ministers of the Church.  
 ' *Ambrose* to *Theodosius* useth these words. *Si de causis pecuniariis comites*  
 ' *tuos consulis: quanto magis, in Causa Religionis sacerdotes Domini*  
 ' *aquam est consulas.* And likewise to the Emperor *Valentinian* Epist.  
 ' 32 *Si de fide conferendum est, Sacerdotum debet esse justa Cellatio, Si*  
 ' *enim factum est Constantino Augusto a Memoria Principi qui nullas le-*

(z) Fullers Church-History Cent. 16. Book 9. p. 128, 129.

## Part I.

ges ante promisit, sed liberum dedit iudicium Sacerdotis. And in the same place the same Father saith, that *Constantius* the Emperor, son to *Constantine* the great, began well, by reason he follow'd his Father's steps at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon him *difficile intara Palatium iudicare*, and thereby fell into *Arianism*, a terrible Example. The said *Ambrose* so much commended in all Histories for a godly Bishop, goes further, and writeth to the said Emperor in this Form. *Si docendus est Episcopus a laico, quid sequitur? laicus ergo disputet, & Episcopus audiat a laico: At certe, si vel Scripturarum seriem Divinarum, vel vetera tempora Retrahemus, quis est qui abundat in Causa Fidei, inquam Fidei, Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Inveratores de Episcopis iudicare.* Would God your Majesty wou'd follow this ordinary, you should procure to your self much quietness of mind, and better please God, avoid many offences, and the Church shou'd be more peaceable and quietly govern'd, much to the Comfort and quietness of your Realm. The second Petition I have to make to your Majesty is this, that when you deal in matters of Faith and Religion, or matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is the Spouse bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *QUASI EX AUTHORITY*, as you may do in Civil and Extern Matters, but always remember that in God's Cause, the Will of God, and not the will of any earthly Creature is to take place. It is the Antichristian voice of the Pope. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro Ratione Voluntas*.

Here is a Modest Remonstrance for the Church's *Inherent Power of judging Ecclesiastical Matters*. The whole strain of this Letter of the Venerable *Grindal* is so full of Piety, Learning, Modesty and true Christian Courage, as justifies the Character which *Fuller* gives of it in these words, 'What cou'd be written (*says he*) with more spirit, and less animosity? more humility and less Dejection? I see a *lamb* in his own, can be a *Lion*, in God, and his Churches Cause. (a)

The 2d is, The great *Usher's* Speech deliver'd in the Castle-chamber at *Dublin* Novr. 22. 1622. concerning the Oath of *Supremacy*, while he was Bishop of *Meath*. It is printed and bound up with several of the other works of that Eminent Divine, viz. An Answer

*swear to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland &c.* his *Discourse of the Religion profess'd by the Ancient Irish*: and some sermons. Among many Remarkable things in that Speech let the following part be carefully perus'd by the Reader, wherein he will find the *Intrinsic Power* of the *Church* not only strenuously asserted & clearly distinguish'd from that of the *Civil Magistrate*, but the Powers of both excellently well adjusted. His words (*b*) are these;

' We are to consider, that God for the better settling of Piety and honesty among men, and the repressing of Profaneness and other Vices, hath establish'd TWO DISTINCT Powers upon earth: The one of the KEYS, commmitted to the *Church*, the other of the SWORD, committed to the *Civil Magistrate*. That of the *Keys* is ordain'd to work upon the inner man, having immediate Relation to the (*c*) *Remitting* or *Retaining* of sins. That of the *Sword* is appointed to work upon the outward man; yielding Protection to the Obedient, and inflicting external Punishment upon the Rebellious and Disobedient. By the former the Spiritual Officers of the Church of Christ are enabled to (*d*) GOVERN well, to *speak* and *exhort* and *rebuke* with all Authority, to loose such as are penitent, to commit others into the Lord's Prison, until their Amendment, or to bind them over to the Judgment of the great Day, if they shall persist in their wilfulness and Obstinacy. By the other, Princes have an Imperious Power assign'd by God to them, for the Defence of such as do well, and executing (*f*) *Revenge* and *Wrath* upon such as do evil; whether (*g*) by *Death*, or *Banishment*, or *Confiscation of Goods*, or *Imprisonment* according to the quality of the Offence.

' When St. Peter, that had the Keys committed to him, made bold to draw the *Sword*; He was commanded to (*h*) put it up, as a weapon that he had no Authority to meddle withal. And on the other side, when Uzziah the King wou'd venture upon the Execution of the Priest's Office, 'twas said to him, (*i*) *It pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn Incense*. Let this therefore be our

second Conclusion. That the Power of the *Sword* and of the *Keys* are  
T W O

(*d*) p. 3. &c. (*c*) John 20, 23. (*d*) 1 Tim. 5' 17. (*e*) Tit. 2. 15. (*f*) Rom. 13. 4. (*g*) Ezra. 7. 26. (*h*) Mat. 26. 52. (*i*) 2 Chron. 26. 18.

Part. I.]

‘ TWO DISTINCT Ordinances of God: and that the Prince hath no more Authority to enter upon the Execution of ANY PART of the Priest’s Function, than the Priest hath to intrude Upon Any Part of The Office of The Prince.

‘ In the *third* place we are to observe, that the Power of the *Civil Sword*. (the *Supreme* Managing whereof belongeth to the King alone ) is not to be restrain’d unto *Temporal* Causes only, but is by God’s Ordinance to be extended likewise unto all *Spiritual* Ecclesiastical things and Causes. That as the *Spiritual* Rulers of the Church do exercise their kind of Government, in bringing men unto Obedience, not of the Duties of the *first* Table alone (which concerneth Piety and the Religious Service, which man is bound to perform unto his Creator) but also of the *Second* (which respecteth Moral Honesty, and the Offices that man doth owe unto man) so the *Civil* Magistrate is to use his Authority also in redressing the Abuses committed against the *first* Table, as well as against the *second*, that is to say, as well in punishing of an *Heretic*, or an *Idolater*, or a *Blasphemer*, as of a *Thief*, or a *Murderer*, or a *Traitor*; and in providing by all good means, that such as live under his Government (\*) may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all *Piety* and *Honesty*.

‘ And howsoever by this means we make both *Prince* and *priest*, to be in their several places *Custodes Utriusque Tabule*, Keepers of both God’s Tables: Yet do we not hereby any way confound both of their Offices together. For tho’ the *Matter* wherein their Government is exercis’d may be the same; yet is the *Form* and *Manner* of governing therein always different. The one reaching to the *outward* man only, the other to the *Inward*: The one binding or loosing the *Soul*, the other laying hold on the *Body* and the things belonging thereunto: The one having special Reference to the Judgment of the *World to come*, the other respecting the present retaining or loosing some of the Comforts of this life. —————

‘ But here ’twill be said. The Words of the *Oath* being general; that the King is the *the only supreme Governor of this Realm and of all other his Highnesses Dominions and Countries*: How may it appear, that the Power of the *Civil Sword* only is meant by that Govern-

ment



ment, and that the Power of the *Keys* is not comprehended therein?  
 I answer, First, That where a Civil Magistrate is affirm'd to be the  
*Governor of his own Dominions and Countries*, by common Intendment  
 this must needs be understood of a *Civil Government*, and may in no  
 reason be extended to *that which is meerly of another kind*. 2ly. I say,  
 That where an Ambiguity is conceiv'd to be in any part of an *Oath* ;  
 it ought to be taken according to the understanding of him for  
 whose Satisfaction the *Oath* was Ministr'd. Now in this Case it  
 hath been sufficiently declar'd by public Authority, that no other  
 thing is meant by the *Government* here mention'd ; but that of the  
**CIVIL SWORD ONLY.**

For in the Book of *Articles* agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and  
 Bishops and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at *London*,  
*Anno. 1562.* thus we read, *Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty*  
*the chief Government, &c. We give not to our Princes the Ministring e-*  
*ther of God's Word or of the Sacraments, &c. But that only Prerogative*  
*which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in H. ly Scrip-*  
*tures by God himself, that is, That they shou'd rule all Estates and De-*  
*grees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or*  
*Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.*

I never read a Presbyterian Writer, who made larger demands  
 on behalf of the Church, then those mention'd by the Learn'd *Usher*  
 in the above Speech ; and who was not cordially satisfy'd to make the  
 same Concessions with him to the Civil Magistrate, of which their Con-  
 fessions & other Authentic Accounts of their Principles already quoted  
 give a sufficient Proof. And yet we never find, That ever *Usher*  
 was tax'd with Disloyalty for asserting the *Inherent Power* of the  
 Church so expressly as he has done : But on the contrary, he was Hon-  
 or'd with a Letter of Thanks from King *James* for that very Speech ;  
 a Copy of which Letter is Printed along with the Speech it self, and  
 is as follows.

## JAMES REX.

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Trusty and Well-  
 beloved Councillor, We Greet you well. You have not de-  
 ceiv'd our Expectation, nor the gracious Opinion we ever conceiv'd

## Part I.

' ceiv'd both of your Abilities in Learning, and of your faithful-  
 ' ness to us and our Service. Whereof as we have receiv'd sundry  
 ' Testimonies both from our Precedent Deputies, as likewise  
 ' from our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor  
 ' the *Viscount Falkland* our present Deputy of that Realm: so have  
 ' we now of late in one Particular had a further Evidence of your  
 ' Duty and Affection well express'd by your late Carriage in our  
 ' Castle-Chamber there, at the Censure of those Disobedient  
 ' Magistrates, who refus'd to take the Oath of Supremacy. Where-  
 ' in your Zeal to the Maintenance of our just and Lawful Power,  
 ' defended with so much Learning and Reason, deserves our Princely  
 ' and Gracious Thanks; which we do by this our Letter unto you  
 ' And so bid you farewell. Given under our Signet at our Court at  
 ' *White-Hall* the 11th of *Janr.* 1622. In the 20 year of our Reign of  
 ' *Great Britain, France and Ireland.*

To the Right Reverend Father in GOD,  
and our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Countelr

the Bishop of *Meath,*

If *Presbyterians* will go as far in asserting the Royal Supremacy in  
 matters Ecclesiastical, as the Explication of that Supremacy deliver'd  
 in the 37th Article of the Church of *England* carries it, then 'tis plain  
 that their maintaining of the Inherent Power of Church-Discipline  
 can't render 'em justly obnoxious to the Censure of being Disloyal  
 Subjects. For in that case, they must be suppos'd to go as far as  
 the Establish'd Church her self has thought fit to set forth in her  
 Articles, which are the public Declaration of her Belief. But it  
 is certain, that no Presbyterian will deny the Power of the Civil  
 Sword to the Magistrate, and that he is to use it, even in matters  
 Ecclesiastical, which fully amounts to the sense of that article con-  
 cerning the Supremacy; as 'tis explain'd in the latter clause of it,  
 with which Explication full satisfaction was given to public Au-  
 thority, as *Usher* observes.

And here I must beg leave to make one Observation *viz.* That  
 when ever the Papists have objected to the Church of *England,*  
 That she lodg'd a Spiritual and proper Ecclesiastical Power in the  
 Supreme Magistrate, and that this is a thing inconsistent with the  
 Nature

Nature and Power of the Christian Church, as a Society erected into a *Spiritual Corporation* by the Laws of *Christ*, the most Learn'd Patrons of the Regal Supremacy have been still oblig'd (unless they have declar'd themselves openly *Erastian*) to espouse those Principles, which necessarily and directly infer the Intrinsic Power of the Church in matters merely-Ecclesiastical, of which I will give several Instances.

In King *Henry 8th* his time, when the Supremacy was carry'd as high in words and Expressions, as ever it has been since, the Book Entitul'd, the *Institution for the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, was concluded in Convocation, and publish'd by Authority; out of which Book, and out of another, call'd, *de Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*, and other Authentic Pieces done by the most Zealous of that time and Nation against the *Pope's* Supremacy, Bishop *Burnet* gives us an Abstract of the Arguments against it, and for the Regal Supremacy, and for the *Inherent Power* of the Church too. For the Regal Supremacy, they argu'd from the Practice of the Kings of the *Old Testament*, commanding *Priests* as well as others; which no Presbyterian denies to be a good Argument against exempting the Clergy from the Jurisdiction of the Secular Powers. From the *New Testament* they argue, from *Christ's* Example in paying Taxes, pretending to no Earthly Kingdom, and Commanding his *Apostles* to be subject as well as others to the *Magistrates*, tho' then *Heathen*: which fixes the Supremacy upon a foot, which no Presbyterians deny.

From the Fathers they argu'd that the *Emperors* call'd Councils, confirm'd their *Canons*, and that their *Canons* had not any *Compulsive Authority*, but what was deriv'd from the *Civil Sanction*. All this is allow'd by Presbyterians, and yet the Intrinsic Power safe still. And I can't but take particular Notice of an Objection they name and answer concerning the Peculiar Functions of the Clergy, and how they reconcile this to the Regal Supremacy.

For (k) the great Objection from those Offices that are peculiar to their Functions, it was answer'd, that these notwithstanding the

G

King

## Part I.

‘ King might well be *Supreme Head* : for in the natural Body, there were many Vital Motions that *proceeded* not from the Head, but from the Heart, and the other Inward Parts and Vessels : and yet the Head was still the chief Seat and Root of life : So tho’ there be *peculiar Functions* appropriated to *Church-men*, yet the King is still Head, having *Authority* over them, and a power to *DIRECT* and *COERCE* them in these.

All they assert here of the Supremacy, is a *Directing* and *Coercing* Power in the Crown : which is nothing still but the Power of the Civil Sword, and a careful use of it for compelling Clergy-men, (if need be) to do their Duty, which Presbyterians assert in express Words, in Their Confessions and other Public Papers already Quoted.

And when they had produc’d these arguments for the Regal Supremacy, Burnet says of them, ‘ But (1) at the same time that they pleaded so much for the King’s Supremacy, and power of making Laws for Restraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appear’d that they were far from vesting him with such an absolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus designed the extent of the Kings Power. To them specially and principally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Christ, and his Religion, to conserve and maintain the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true Preachers and Setters forth thereof ; and to Abolish Abuses, Heresies, and Idolatries, and to punish with Corporal pains such as of Malice be occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops and Priests do execute their Pastoral Office truly and faithfully, and specially in these Points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and committed to them.

‘ Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the King’s Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God, and acknowledg’d the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in the Discharge of the Pastoral Office, committed to the Pastors of the Church by Christ and his Apostles ; and that the Supremacy then pretended to, was no such extravagant Power as some imagine.

In



In the year 1538. Eight Bishops give a full Account of their Sentiments about the Intrinsic Power of the Church, and the Regal Supremacy which they have left upon Record under their hands in these words.

Part I



## The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy.

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An ORIGINAL. (m)

THE Words of St. *John* in his 20th Chap. *Sicut misit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a King's or a Prince's Power, but only to shew how that the Ministers of the Word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the Messengers of Christ, to Teach the Truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. As *Christ* was the Messenger of his Father. The Words also of St. *Paul* in the 20th Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos, regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent Pastors of the People, both to Teach them diligently, and also to be Circumspect that false Preachers shou'd not seduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the Highness and Excellency of Christian Princes Authority and Power; the which of a Truth is most high, for he hath Power and Charge generally over all, as well Bishops and Priests as others. The Bishops and Priests have Charge of Souls within their own Cures, Power to Minister Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Christian Princes

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know

Part 1. ' knowledge themselves Subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the *Christian Princes Office* to see them do their Duty.

*T. Cantuarien.*

*Joannes London.*

*Cuthbertus Dunelm.*

*Jo. Batwellen.*

*Thomas Elien.*

*Nicolaus Sarisburien.*

*Hugo Wygorn.*

*J. Rossen.*

Herein these Bishops fix the Power of the Pastors and Governors of the Christian Church, to *bind and loose Sin*, (which includes the Power of Church-Government and Discipline) upon a Commission from Christ, and deny that this Commission *hath any respect to the Power of Kings and Princes*; which is in Effect to say, That Princes have no Spiritual Power of Church-Government or Discipline; and then they declare for the King's Power over all Persons, Bishops as well as others: but when they tell us what this Power is, they say no more of it, but that in Case the Bishops be negligent, 'tis the *Christian Prince's Office* to see them do their Duty, which Presbyterians heartily agree to.

In or about the same Year, 1538. there was a much fuller Paper concerning Orders and Ecclesiastical Functions Sign'd by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-bishops and Eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, declaring that the *Power of the Keys*, and other Church-Functions is *formally distinct* from the Power of the Sword (n) a Part whereof I shall here Transcribe.

## A DECLARATION made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests;

### *An ORIGINAL*

'CHRIST (o) and his *Apostles* did institute and ordain in the New  
' Testament, that *besides* the Civil Powers and Governance of  
Kings

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(n) *id. ibid. Book. 3. p. 265. (o) id. ibid Addenda p. 321. &c*

Kings and Princes, which is call'd in Scripture, *Potestas Gladii*, the  
 Power of the Sword, there should be *also continually* in the Church-Mi-  
 litant, certain other Ministers or Officers, which should have *Spiri-  
 tual Power, Authority and Commission under Christ*, to Preach and  
 Teach the Word of God, unto his People, and to Dispence and  
 Administer the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to  
 confer and give the Grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the  
 Blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, to *loose and ab-  
 soil from Sin*, all Persons which be duly Penitent and sorry for the  
 same; to *bind and Excommunicate* such as be Guilty in Manifest  
 Crimes and sins, and will not Amend their Defaults; to Order and  
 consecrate others in the same Room, Order and Office, whereunto  
 they be call'd and admitted themselves, and finally to feed Christ's  
 People like good Pastors, and Rectors, as the *Apostle* calleth them,  
 with their wholsom Doctrine, and by their Continual exhortations  
 and Monitions to reduce them from Sin and Iniquity, so much as  
 in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge,  
 the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect Charity of  
 their Neighbours. —————

Item, That this Office, this Power and Authority, was committed  
 and given by Christ and his Apostles to certain Persons only, that is to  
 say, unto Priests and Bishops, whom they did Elect, call and admit  
 thereunto by their Prayers and Imposition of their hands. —————

Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.

Edwardus Ebor.

Joannes London.

Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.

Joannes Lincoln.

Joannes Bathoniens.

Thomas Elien.

Joannes Bangor.

Nicolaus Sarum.

Edwardus Hereforden.

Hugo Wygorn.

Joannes Roffen.

Rich. Cicestr.

Richardus Wolman.

Joannes Bell.

Willielmus Clyffe.

Robertus Aldrige.

Gilfridus Downes.

Joannes Skip.

Cuthbertus Marshall.

Marmaduke Waldeby.

Robertus Oking.

Nicolaus Heyth.

Rodalphus Bradford.

Richardus Smith.

Simon Matthew.

Joannes Prynne.

Gulielmus Buckmastre.

Willielmus Maye.

Nicolaus Wotton.

Richardus Cox.

Joannes Redmen.

Thomas Robertson.

Thomas Baret.

Joannes Nase.

Joannes Barbar.

(Some

## Part I.

(Some other hands there are that cannot be read)

*Sacrae Theologiae, Juris Ecclesiastici, & Civilis Professores.*

It appears plain from this Paper, That these Prelates and Divines were not for any other Supremacy in the Crown, than what is consistent with the Intrinsic Power of the Church in Ecclesiastical Discipline. For Besides, that they assert a *Power and Authority* in Bishops to *excommunicate and absolve*, by vertue of a Commission from Christ, and distinct from Civil Magistracy, they expressly assert that this Power and Authority was committed to *certain persons only viz. Priests and Bishops*, and therefore they cou'd not think that the Magistrates Commission Entitled him to that Power and Authority, unless they wou'd make him a Priest or a Bishop by vertue of his Office as a Magistrate; A Thought too gross to be imputed to men of their sense and Learning. And it ought to be remark'd, That not only the Venerable *Cranmer*, the *Martyr*, But *Cromwell* sign'd this Paper; tho' the latter had an Extraordinary Office, & was call'd the King's *Viceroy in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and it can't be suppos'd, That he wou'd have consented to the Inherent Power of the Church fully asserted in this Paper, if he had believed it to have been a Disloyal Principle.

Bishop *Burnet*, a Strenuous assertor of the Regal Supremacy in Matters Ecclesiastical, when he comes to explain it, makes it only a *Civil Power*; for in his answer to *Sanders's* Book of the *English Schism* he states one of *Sanders's* Objections against the Reformed thus. 'He (p) says, King *Edward* was not only declar'd King of *England*, and *Ireland*, but made *Supreme Head of the Church*; and upon that runs out, to shew how incapable a Child was of that Power.' To which he replies thus, 'This is set down in such Terms, as if there had been some special Act made for his being *Supreme Head of the Church*, distinct from his being proclaim'd King, whereas there was no such thing; for the Supremacy being annex'd to the Crown, the one went with the other: And it being BUT A CIVIL POWER, might be as well exercised by the King's Govern-

‘Governors, before he came to be of Age, as the other Rights of the Crown were’.

Part I.

And if this Power of the Crown be only a Civil Power, that is, the Power of the civil Sword, 'tis plain that a Spiritual Power of Church-Government and Discipline is quite another thing, and may be Inherent in the Church, tho' the *other* remain entirely in the Civil Magistrate; who, has his right to it not by his Religion, but by his Office, as Magistrate; (as the same Rev'd. Author clears. in his Explication of the 37<sup>th</sup> Article, which I have quoted p 28, 29 and therefore can't be invest'd with the Evangelical and Spiritual Power of Church-Government, committed by *Christ* to the Pastors and Governors of the Church; which Dr. *Burnet* is not willing to put into the hand of Laymen: For after he had finish'd his Excellent History of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Points of Doctrine and Worship: he makes this Reflection upon the Reformation, in point of Church Government.

'As (g) for the Canons and Rules of the Church-Government, they were not so soon prepar'd. There came out some in the Year 1571, and more in the year 1597, and a far larger Collection of them in the first Year of King *James's* Reign. But this matter has yet wanted its *chief force*; for the Penitentiary Canons have not been set up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the hands of Church-men. So that in this point, the Reformation of the Church wants some part of its finishing, in the Government and Discipline of it.

Here indeed he speaks of the Churches Spiritual and Inherent Power of Government and Discipline, which he wou'd have plac'd in the hands of Church-men and of none others, subject to the Civil Supremacy of the Prince even in Matters Ecclesiastical; which Presbyterians reckon the true way of explaining the Distinction and Relation between the *Power of the Sword*, and the *Power of the Keys*.

The same Learn'd Author advances a Principle in his *Preface* to his second part of the *History of the Reformation*, which necessarily infers all the Inherent Church-Power, that ever Presbyterians pleaded for: For, while he is bewailing the Heats and Contentions that

## Part I.

that arose early in *England* about the Power of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in the Matter of Church-Government and Discipline; he acquaints us with the Issue of the Debate; and speaking of Ecclesiastical Discipline he says, ' And all went into those Courts commonly call'd ' the *Spiritual Courts*; without making Distinction between those ' Causes of Testaments, Marriages and such other sutes, that require ' some learning in the *Civil* and *Canon Law*, and the other Causes of ' the Censures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiritual Nature, and ought indeed to be tryed ONLY by the Bishops ' and Clergy; for they are no small part of the Care of souls, ' which is incumbent on them: and by THEM ONLY Excommunications ought to be made, as being a Suspension from the ' Sacred Rights of Christians, of which NONE can be the COMPETENT JUDGES, but those to whom the Charge of Souls is ' Committed.

Dr. Potter Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford* hath written a Book, Entitul'd, *A Discourse of Church-Government, wherein the Rights of the Church, and the Supremacy of Christian Princes, are vindicated and adjusted.* In his 5th Chapter of that Book, he fully maintains the same Principles asserted by the Bishops and Clergy I have already mention'd, for the Churches Inherent Power, as appears from the following Passages, ' The (r) *Nature* and ' *Design* of the Powers, which belong to the Church, will best appear by considering the Constitution of the Church, and the ends ' for which it was founded: Which having been formerly shown ' to be *Spiritual*, and such as wholly relate to the next World; it ' follows that all the Powers, which belong to the Church are of the ' same Nature; and consequently distinct from those of *Civil* Magistrates, which concern the affairs of this life, and are design'd ' for the present Welfare of Human Societies.

In (s) treating on the present argument; I shall endeavor to ' show. First, THAT our blessed Lord has entrusted the Church, ' and particularly the *Governors* of it with authority to censure Offenders, and exclude them from its *Communion*. Secondly, THAT ' this authority was constantly exercised and held to be of Divine ' Right

Right in the first ages of the Church. *Thirdly, THAT* it is most agreeable to Reason, & to the general sense and Practice of Mankind, that the Church shou'd exercise this Authority.

He enlarges upon those three Heads, and proves the Churches Inherent Power and Right in Ecclesiastical matters: and as he often asserts the *thing* it self, so he frequently mentions the very *Terms* INHERENT AUTHORITY, and INHERENT POWER (t) and ascribes them to the Bishops and Clergy of the Christian Church, as rightfully belonging to them by our *Savior's* Commission, and from the Consideration of the Churches being a Spiritual Society.

This Paper wou'd swell to too great a bulk, shou'd I here insert the Quotations I might adduce from the Writings of the Revd. Dr. *Atterbury*, and several other Famous Modern Divines of the Church of *England*, who put in for as large a measure of Inherent Church-Power as ever the Presbyterians claim'd.

Upon the whole, I hope the reader will be satisfy'd from what has been offer'd upon this Head, that *Presbyterians* do acknowledge and cheerfully yield to Magistrates the Intire Civil Jurisdiction in as ample a manner as any other faithful Subjects whatsoever. In Ecclesiastical affairs they allow them *all the Power* that's necessary for preserving true religion, Unity, and Peace in the Church; for correcting and reforming all Abuses; and taking order that every thing in it be done according to the Word of God: and that they shou'd make use of the Power of the Sword by virtue of a *Political Civil SUPREMACY* in Ecclesiastical Matters, according to the Explication thereof in the 37th Article of the Church of *England*.

And seeing all the Inherent Church-Power they claim is Consistent with all the above Rights, Powers and Prerogatives belonging to Civil Authority, and is agreeable to the Judgment and Sentiments of the *purest Primitive Churches* in the *three first Centuries*; of the *Christian Emperors*, of the General Council of *Constantinople* where there were 150 Orthodox Bishops, and of other Bishops and Fathers in the 4th Century; and of many *Archbishops* and *Bishops* and other

H

Clergy

## Part 1.

Clergy of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and some of them amongst the first Reformers, Martyrs, and most Eminent Lights for Piety and Learning that have appear'd in them. It seems to me to be a plain and unanswerable Consequence, That either Presbyterians are *unjustly charg'd* with Disloyalty for their asserting an Inherent Church-Power in matters meerly Spiritual and Ecclesiastical; or, that all the Persons I have mention'd must be reputed Disloyal and Injurious to the Secular Powers, and the Magistrates unwise and unjust to themselves for their consenting to it.

And as all the Rights of Magistracy, even in Ecclesiastical Matters, are well secur'd by the Limitations and Restrictions put upon the Inherent Power, as 'tis asserted and explain'd by Presbyterians; so the right exercise of the Political Supremacy is render'd the more easy and practicable by a Principle of Presbyterians, which is this: Their Clergy have no vote in any Civil Court (from the *High Court of Parliament* to the *meanest* in the Kingdom) they do not allow themselves a Liberty of Intermeddling in those things; their principles do not permit 'em to share either in the Legislature, or the meanest Office in the Civil Magistracy: Whereby the State has the fullest and greatest Liberty imaginable to correct all their Disorders, & reform all their Abuses, Intrusions, Incroachments or any violation of Civil Rights, or even the abuses of their Ecclesiastical Functions. Whereas a Clergy who have a large share in the Civil Administration, are still the more capable of resisting those Acts of the Legislature and Government, which may become necessary for reforming the Church from these Corruptions, wherein frequently themselves may have too great a hand. This is known by sad experience in many *Popish* Countries, where the Clergy not only rule the Church, but have become so great by their *engrossing Secular Employments* and the greatest Posts at Court, that they govern the State, and become too great for the Magistrate to meddle with them, let their faults, and Church-Corruptions be what they will. And by this means, they have both an *Intrinsic* and *Extrinsic* Power in the Church, the Conjunction whereof in the hands of Ambitious men may indeed prove dangerous to the State, and generally introduces Corruption into the Church.

But there is not the least ground of uneasiness to the Civil Magistrate, on this Account, in the Case of Presbyterian Ministers: their Parity in the Inherent Spiritual Power, and their *Renouncing all Civil Posts, and Employments* makes it Impossible for them to be a *Dead Weight* upon the



the honest Measures of Any Government, or to awe the Magistrate into a truckling servile way of *abetting* instead of *Correcting* their Errors: Besides, that it enables 'em to discharge the more faithfully the Inherent Trust and Powers of their Spiritual Function, while they give themselves wholly to it. They reckon it ground of Mighty *Comfort* and *Peace* to 'em, That their principles exclude 'em from the Guilt of that Crime, which was so particularly Censur'd by the *greatest men* that have been in the Church in its *best Times*; whereof I shall give the Reader a short Account, in the Words and Opinion of the very Learn'd Historian (Dr. *Burnet*) who speaking of Bishop *Goodrick's* being made Ld. Chancellor in 1551. says.

' When (u) the Reformation was first preach'd in England, *Tindal*, *Barns*, & *Latimer*, took an Occasion, from the great pomp & Luxury of *Cardinal Walsley*, and the Secular Employments of the other Bishops and Clergy-men to represent them as a Sort of Men that had wholly neglected the Care of Souls, and those Spiritual Studies and Exercises that disposed Men to such Functions; and only carried the Names of Bishops and Church-Men, to be a Colour to serve their Ambition and Covetousness, And this had raised great Prejudices in the Minds of the people against those who were called their pastors, when they saw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at least Impertinent to their Callings, if not Inconsistent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick's* being made *Lord Chancellor*, that was a Reformed Bishop, it was said by their Adversaries, these Men only condemn'd Secular Implovments in the Hands of Church-men, because their Enemies had them, but chang'd their mind as soon as any of their own Party came to be advanc'd to them. But as *Goodrick* was rais'd by the popish Interest in Opposition to the Duke of *Somerset*, and to *Cranmer*, that was his firm Friend; so it appear'd in the Beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: And that whether he joyn'd in the Reformation only in Compliance to the time, or was persuaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a Bishop, and was one of these who resolv'd to make as much Advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So

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his Practice in this matter is neither a Precedent to justify the like in others, nor can it cast a Scandal on those to whom he join'd himself. *Christ* being spoke to divide an inheritance between two Brethren, said, *Who made me a Judge or a Divider?* *St. Paul* speaking of Church-men, says, *No Man that warreth intangleth himself with the affairs of this life:* Which was understood by *St. Cyprian* as a PERPETUAL RULE against the *Secular Employments* of the Clergy. There are THREE of the *Apostolical Canons* against it: And *Cyprian* reckoning up the Sins of his time, that had provok'd God to send a Persecution on the Church, names this, that *many Bishops forsaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares.* In which he was so strict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a Distraction unsutable to their Character: So that one Priest leaving another Tutor to his Children, because by the *Roman Law* he to whom this was left was oblig'd to undergo it, the Priests name who made that Testament was appointed to be struck out of the List of those Church-men who had died in the Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samosatenus* is represented as one of the first Eminent Church-men that involv'd himself much in secular Cares. Upon the Emperor's turning Christian, it was a natural effect of their Conversion for them to cherish the Bishops much, and many of the Bishops became so much in love with the Court and public Employments, that *Canons were made against their going to Court,* unless they were call'd, and the *Cunalis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Bishop of *Rome,* so that none might go without his Warrant. Their meddling in *Secular matters* was also condemn'd in MANY Provincial Councils, but *most copiously and Amply* by the GENERAL COUNCIL at *Cha'cedon.*

But I proceed to examine what our Author objects to Presbyterians, of their exerting this Inherent Power to the Excommunication and Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate. Excommunication is proceeded in with as great Solemnity and Caution by the Presbyterians as by any People in the World, as may be seen in the *Scots Assemblies Form of Process* in their Printed Acts, *Anno 1707.* Notorious Scandals, unrepented of and obstinately persisted in, are in the Judgment of all Reformed Churches sufficient Ground for Excommunication. And the true question is, whether Magistracy does Entitle any Person



to the Priviledges of *Christian Communion*, notwithstanding of his being as *notoriously, Scandalously and Obstinate* Profane and Wicked, as you can suppose any Body to be? whether is it the duty of an honest & faithful Clergy-man to give the Sacrament to such a prince? Or maybe not justly refuse it him, & yet be a good Loyal Subject? Let us hear what the Church of England lays upon this Head. 2d Book of *Homilies*. Hom. of the *Right use of the Church*, part 2d. they say, 'And according to this Example of our Saviour *Christ*, in the *Primitive Church*, which was 'most Holy and Godly, and in the which *due Discipline* with severity was us'd against the Wicked, open offenders were not once suffer'd to enter into the House of the Lord, nor admitted to Common Prayer and the use of the Holy Sacraments with other true Christians, untill they had done open Penance before the whole Church. 'And this was Practis'd not only upon mean Persons, but also upon the *Rich Noble and Mighty Persons*, YEA UPON THEODOSIUS THAT PUISSANT and MIGHTY EMPEROR whom for committing a Grievous and Wilful Murther St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* reprov'd sharply, and did also EXCOMMUNICATE THE SAID EMPEROR, and brought him to open Penance. And they that were so justly exempted and banish'd (as it were) from the House of the Lord, were taken (as they be indeed,) for Men divided and separated from *Christ's Church*, and in most dangerous Estate, yea as St. *Paul* saith; even given unto Satan the Devil for a Time.

Here is the History of the Excommunication of a *Puissant and Mighty Emperor*, and his being brought to open Penance approv'd by the Church of England. Why a Son of the Church shou'd tax Presbyterians with a Principle which he says makes all Crown'd Heads their Vassals, when his own Church mentions that same Principle as just and Laudable, and yet does not believe any such Consequence to follow from it, is what I am not bound to account for. If he be a Layman, perhaps he has never read the *Homilies*, and so his Ignorance extenuates his Crime; but then Methinks, he shou'd not be so pretending, to accuse the Principles of others, untill he first learn his own a little better: If he be a Clergyman, I'm at a greater loss what to say for him, because he hath subscrib'd the 39 Articles, the 35th whereof approves the *Homilies* as containing a *Godly and wholesom Doctrine and necessary for these times, and judgeth them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently and distinctly*.

As to the Exclusion of the Civil Magistrate, if he means Exclusion from:

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from his Civil Jurisdiction, 'tis what the Inherent Power has nothing to do with, it being purely Civil, and consequently what no Presbyterian Church-Judicatory lays claim to, but expressly renounceth 2d. Book of Discipline Chap. 7. ' Diligence shou'd be taken, chiefly by the Moderator, that *only Ecclesiastical things* be handled in the Assemblies, and that there be no meddling with any thing pertaining to the Civil Jurisdiction.

Our Author further objects (p. 5.) ' Nor is the Prince alone thus subject, but all the Laws of the Nation, which they shall judge any way relating to the *Kirk*, (and what Law can they not, and in a manner have they not reduc'd to that Head) are so wholly in the Power of the *Kirk*, that they shall null and make them void without any consent of the Legislature; and that by a power Inherent in the *Kirk*, Superior to and Independent of all Authority of the Civil Magistrate, even by a Commission from Christ, of whose Extent they are the sole and proper Judges. Now that this is the known Principle of the Presbyterian *Kirk*, by their Books of Discipline, and repeated Acts of their Assemblies, will be manifest to all, who will take the pains to peruse them.

*Ansiv.* It is no Dishonor to the Prince, That *he, as a Christian*, shou'd be subject to the Laws of Christ. Does not every Pious Magistrate look upon himself bound in Conscience to obey the Word of God preach'd to him, and to amend those faults for which he may (with all due Deference to his Character as a Magistrate) be admonish'd by Christs faithful Servants; who, seeing they have the *charge* of the *Magistrate's Soul* and must give an Account to God, they must dispense *all* the means of Grace and Salvation to him, of which the Right use of the Power of the Keys by Church-Censures (when needful) as well as by Doctrine is a part; which they can't omit in the Case of Christian Magistrates without manifest Unfaithfulness both to God and their Souls: For our *Savior's* Commission runs thus *Whatsoever* (v) *you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, whatsoever sins you remit they are remitted to them; and whatsoever Sins you retain they are retained* (w). Magistrates are not excepted here: And seeing the Church of *England* allows, That they may  
be

be Excommunicated as well as other men ; it necessarily follows, that they are *in that respect* subject to those who are Entrusted with the Power of Ecclesiastical Discipline, for the good of their Souls ; tho' *as they are invested* with Regal Dignity and the Supreme Civil-Power, they are *not* subject to the Churches Authority ; nor can their Sovereign Power and Dignity be in the least affected, or they divested of it, by the Highest Acts of Church Power which touch them only as Christians and Members of the Church. And tho' the servants of Christ must do nothing by Partiality, yet they ought to use the *utmost Discretion and Prudence* in the use of their Spiritual Power in Censuring Scandalous Magistrates. And here I can't forbear the mentioning of a Resolution of the English *Puritans* in this case, which favors very much both of Piety and Loyalty ; 'tis to be found in the Book Entitul'd, *English Puritanism, containing the main Opinions of the Rigider sort of those who are call'd Puritans in the Realm of England.* In the 5th Chap. *Concerning the Censures of the Church,* they hold ' That if the Party offending be their *Civil superior,* that ' then they are to use even throughout the whole Carriage of their ' Censure, *all Civil Compliments, Offices & Reverence due* unto him ; ' That they are not to presume to convent him before them, but are ' themselves to go in all Civil and humble Manner unto him, to stand ' bare before him, to bow unto him, to give him all Civil Titles ' belonging to him ; and *if he be a King, and supreme Ruler,* they ' are to kneel down before him. And in the *humblest manner* to ' *Censure his faults,* so that he may see apparently, That they are *not* ' *carried with the least spice of Malice* against his Person, but only with ' *Zeal of the health and salvation of his Soul.*

The Emperor *Valentinian,* in his Speech to the Bishops assembled for the Election of a Bishop for the City of *Milan* (who at that very time chose *Ambrose* to that Office) signify'd his Christian Disposition cheerfully to *submit himself* to any Godly Bishop that shou'd be Elected by them. And because Dr. *Burnet* gives us a piece of History Relating to it which I design'd to have insert'd in the 30th page of this Book immediately before the last line of that page, and now finding that 'twas omitted in the transcribing of my Papers there, I shall set it down here.

And

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‘ And (x) thus we see what let in the Confusions that were in some Elections. It was partly the Differences in Religion, and chiefly the Wealth and Dignity of Sees in the great Towns. An Instance of this appear’d at *Milan*; where, upon the death of *Auxentius* who was an *Arian*, the (y) *Emperor* call’d the Bishops together, and desired *THEM TO CHOOSE* such a Bishop as might, both by his life and doctrine, instruct those whom he was to govern, and that he might see such a Person set up, to whom he that held the Empire, might clearlyly *SUBMIT HIMSELF*, and receive his Reproofs as a healthful Medicine, since he himself was a man and had many failings. The Synod upon this desired that he would name the Person. But he said that was above him to undertake and so he left it to them Upon which the Bishops went to consult about it; ————— Thus we see the Emperors declin’d to meddle in these Elections, and left them still free.

While our Author endeavors to prove That all the Laws of the Nation &c. are so wholly in the Power of the Kirk, that they shall null and make them void &c. by their Inherent Power; he quotes and offers manifest violence to the sense of a Paragraph of the 2d. Book of Discipline Chap. 7. the words are. ‘ This Assembly hath Power to abrogate and abolish all Statutes and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters that are found Noysom or Unprofitable, and agree not with the time ’. To infer from hence (as he does) That all the Laws of the Nation, which they shall judge any way relating to the Kirk &c. may be made void &c. is a most false Consequence. Ecclesiastical Matters are Spiritual Matters relating to men’s Conscience: But a Law may have Relation to the Kirk, when only some External Reward, or Civil Punishment is intended and Statuted in it, or in diverse other Respects may be some way relating to the Kirk, tho’ it be not strictly concerning Ecclesiastical Matters. But to show the fallacy of his whole Reasoning upon this Head, let the Reader be pleas’d to peruse the Answer to *Lyfimachus Nicanor* (z) ‘ Ye object; says he p. 18) an annulling of

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(x) *Burnet’s Hist. of the Rights of Princes.* p. 37, 38. (y) *Theod. l. 4. c 6, 7.* (z) The Book call’d *Lyfimachus Nicanor* was publish’d in the Reign of King *Charles I.* and is stuff’d with such Reflections as the Author of *the True blue* has in his Papers; and was refuted in a Judicious Answer of which the above Quotation is a part.

of the Acts of Parliament by the Decrees of our Assemblies, and the  
 ' extending the Power of our Synod to many Secular Affairs.  
 ' \_\_\_\_\_ What ye speak of our encroaching upon  
 ' Parliaments is no ways true; only some evil Acts of your evident-  
 ' ly corrupted Assemblies, whereto ye had obtain'd, by your fami-  
 ' lar Acts of fraud and force the Ratification of some Parliaments  
 ' we did recognise, *and that alone in their Ecclesiastic part*, with  
 ' the good leave of the King's Commissioner: As for the Civil Sanc-  
 ' tion of Parliament, according to the ordinar Ecclesiastic Proceeding  
 ' of our Church in *all by-gone times*, we did appoint Commissioners  
 ' from our Assembly to supplicate the *Parliament for the Abolition*  
 ' *thereof*, neither do we meddle at all in our Synods with Secular  
 ' Affairs: Remember what your self in your Canons do pronounce  
 ' to be the due and lawful subject of Ecclesiastic Jurisdiction, ye  
 ' will find that our General Assemblies did never take in so much  
 ' matter as ye appropriate to any of your *Official Courts*.

To justify this Answer, let the Reader consider that in the Gene-  
 ' ral Assembly met August 4th 1590. ' Their (a) Moderator having  
 ' exhorted the Brethren to deal earnestly with the King, to rescind  
 ' and annul dangerous Acts and Laws, made in Prejudice of the  
 ' Discipline & Liberty of Christ's Kingdom; they did draw up & present  
 ' to the King an humble Petition, one clause whereof was, ' That  
 ' all Acts made contrary to the Liberty and Jurisdiction of the said  
 ' Kirk, preceding the date hereof, be ABOLISHED.

The Assembly met May 21. 1591. Petitions the King, ' That (b)  
 ' the Acts of Parliament made in the Year of God 1584. against the  
 ' Discipline of the Kirk Liberty and Authority thereof be annulled,  
 ' and the present Discipline, whereof the Kirk hath had the Practice,  
 ' be ratify'd.

From these and other Instances that could be given (if necessary)  
 its plain, That the Assembly by *STATUTES and ORDINANCES*  
 in that place, did not in the least mean the *Statutes and Ordinances*  
 of the State, but of the Church in her Assemblies; otherwise they need-  
 ed not have Petition'd King and Parliament to abrogate them, but  
 would have done it themselves, if they had judg'd it had belong'd

(a) Calderwood's Hist. p. 255. (b) *Ibid.* p. 267

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to their *Inherent Power* to do it: It was agreeable enough to the language of that Age to call the *Canons* of Councils and Synods by the name of *Statutes and Ordinances*: they are call'd *Ordinances*, in that same 7 Chap. of the 2d. *Book of Discipline*, ' It belongs (say they) to this kind of Assembly, to cause the *ORDINANCES* made by the Assemblies Provincial, National and General to be kept and put in Execution. That in that Age they were also term'd *Statutes*, appears by the following Instances. *Calderwood* in his *History* p: 94. giving an Account of a *Canon* of the Council of *Nice* concerning Ordination, says, " In the Council of *Nice*, for eshewing of private Ordaining of Ministers, it was *STATUTED* &c. In the Assembly 1600. In two of their Acts, there is this phrase, *It is STATUTE and ORDAIN'D* (c). And in the same Assembly it was represented in the King's presence, That *the Ministers urg'd Slanderous Persons &c to purge themselves, conform to the STATUTES of the KIRK* (d) And the Assembly 1602 (e) makes An Act concerning the Administration of Baptism; wherein they say, *It is STATUTE &c*, All which Instances prove, that 'tis no Violence offer'd to the Common signification of the Words in that age, to expound *Statutes and Ordinances* mention'd in the 2d. *Book of Discipline*, of such as were made by the *Church*; which compar'd with their *Constant Practice* of Petitioning the *State* for the *Abrogation* of such Laws as were a *Grievance* to them, demonstrates how unfair a Representation our *Author* has given of this Principle.

After he has by a *wide stretch* drawn in the Laws of the State into the meaning of that phrase *STATUTES and ORDINANCES*, and by the same Candor expounded *Ecclisastical Affairs* to be what *any way relate to the Kirk*, all this won't serve him, but he must add a most Malicious and Uncharitable Insinuation in these words; *And what Law can they not, and in a manner have they not reduc'd to that Head.* He has not Instance'd, nor can't instance one Law that ever was reduc'd by them to that Head, but what is plainly reducible to it; and if it be a Law of the State, he can't give an Instance, wherein they ever pretended to abrogate and annul *the least Clause* of it, but left it always to the *Legislature* that made it.

For



For what Reason our Author has in his Quotation of this Passage out of the 2d. *Book of Discipline* Chap. 7. added these words, *without any Reclamation or Appellation to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical* (tho there are no such words there, but they are in the 12th Chap. and upon another Occasion) he himself best knows. If this be *fair dealing*, 'twill be in any man's Power at the same Rate to turn the *best sense* and the *greatest Truth* that can be contain'd in any Books, into the *meereft Nonsense*, and the *vilest Error*, that can be well imagin'd. You may only shuffle together a few Sentences, distorted from their proper places, without altering one word of them, and so the work is done.

He brings in this Clause in a place, which he expounds of an *Abrogation* of the Civil Laws of the Nation; the power whereof the Presbyterians never pretended to; but much more intolerable and insolent wou'd such a Pretension be, if it left no room for Appeal to any Civil Judge, who indeed is the *Proper* and *only Judge* in all such Cases. Whereas the Clause is put in such a place as evidently shows, That 'tis only in *Causes Ecclesiastical*, there lyes to Appeal to the Civil Judge. The words are (Chap. 12) 'And all men as well Magistrates, as Inferiors, to be subject to the Judgment of the same (*i. e. the National Assemblies*) in Causes Ecclesiastical, *without any Reclamation or Appellation to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical within the Realm*. And because a great part of his Reasoning, or rather Reflections are grounded upon this *last sentence*, I shall a little consider its true meaning, however it be misplac'd by him. The whole Nicety of this Matter lieth in the word *APPELLATION*: For tho' they do not allow of a *Formal Appeal*, yet they yield all that's necessary or can be desir'd by the Magistrate in order to his using his Authority of the *Civil Sword*, for correcting any Male-Administrations committed by them in the Exercise of the *Power of the Keys*.

The Assembly Anno 1585. (f) in their Petition to the King say 'Your Highness will grant us Liberty and Freedom to hold our Ordinar assemblies, and use such Discipline as we were in use of before these late Acts, for Government of the Ecclesiastical affairs; concerning which we shall be at *all times* ready to give an Account to God,

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‘ *Your Majesty and Council*, if we do any thing beside our Duty, or to  
 ‘ perturb the Common-wealth. And this is agreeable to the 2d  
*Book of Discipline* Chap. 1. Wherein they say, ‘ The Civil Power  
 ‘ shou’d *Command* the Spiritual to exercise and to do their Duty ac-  
 ‘ cording to the word of God.

The late Revd. Mr. *Samuel Rutherford* Professor of Divinity at  
*St. Andrews*, and the late Revd Mr *George Gillespie* Minr. at *Edenburgh*  
 ( two Famous Scots Presbyterian Divines, Commissioners from the  
 Church of *Scotland* to the *Westminster* Assembly ) are allow’d by all  
 such Presbyterians, as have I Convers’d with, to stand as strictly by  
 their Principles about the *Inherent Power* of the *Keys*, and the Eccle-  
 siastical Liberties of the Church in the Exercise thereof, as any of  
 their Writers, and yet they make such Concessions as do fully answer  
 all the Ends of Civil Authority in Ecclesiastical affairs.

Mr *Rutherford* in his Book Entitul’d, a *Peaceable and Temperate*  
*Plea for Paul’s Presbytery in Scotland*, says ‘ The (g) King’s Royal  
 ‘ Power in adding his Sanction to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions,  
 ‘ and in punishing such as are decreed to be Heretics by the Church  
 ‘ is *Regal*, and not *Ministerial* and *Servile*. See for this the *Counc*:  
 ‘ *Chalced. Act. 16. the Imperial Laws, Cod. l. 1. Tit. 8. leg. 2 Heretic.*  
 ‘ *Vocab. and Decret. p. 2. caus. 23. q: 8. c. 30. crossing Bellar. de*  
 ‘ *pont. b. 1. c. 7. So do their own men go against Bellarmine in this as*  
 ‘ *Sanderus de Clavib. David. l. 2, c. 13. Carerius de potest. sum. pont.*  
 ‘ *l. 2. c: 23. Leo Epist. 33. to Martian &c. Pulcheria, and Leo*  
 ‘ *Epist. 7. to Theodosius. Becanus* erreth here with *Bellarmino*, making  
 ‘ the King as a servant oblig’d to add his Sanction Civil to Eccle-  
 ‘ siastical Canons. *Becan. in opusc. exam. Conc. Anglic. c. 7.*

‘ 1. Beacale the use of the Sword at God’s Commandement is a  
 ‘ *Kingly act* commanded by God, and is service done to God, not to  
 ‘ the Church.

‘ 2. *Neither is the King so to execute the Churches Will, as he shou’d.*  
 ‘ *judge only of the fact*, and of the assumption, yea, he is judge of the  
 ‘ *Law*, and of the Major Proposition. For we see not in the word  
 ‘ of God, where a Judge is a Judge to punish a fault, and is not to  
 ‘ know judicially that it is a fault: a Judge as a Judge shou’d know  
 such

such a thing to be *Heresy*, and not take it upon the Word of an Assembly of *Church-men*, Deut. 17. 18, 19. he is expressly to read and know the Law, and to know and remember the *Decree*, Prov. 31. 5. *And the Cause which he knoweth not he is to search out*, Job 29. 16. all which is meant of a knowledge not of private Discretion, which is requir'd in all private Christians, but (as I take the places) of a Knowledge *Judicial* and *Authoritative* which agreeth to a Judge as a Judge.

If a Synod err, and decree that man to be an Heretic who is found in the Faith, the King is not oblig'd to err with the Synod, and to punish the Innocent, he is to decree Righteous Judgment, and so the King is to judge of *Heresy*, but after a *Regal and Civil way*, and with *Coactive* Power; as the Synod or Church-Assembly is to judge of Heresy after an Ecclesiastical way, and with a Spiritual Power. 2. The King punisheth Heresy as it troubleth the Commonwealth, and the Synod as it is Scandalous and Infectious in the Church.

Yea, and the *Christian King* ruleth over men as men, and also as *Christian men*; he ruleth over them as men, with a Dominion over their bodies, lives and goods by his Civil Laws, he hath also Dominion as King over men, as Christians and Members of Christ's Kingdom and Church, not over their Consciences (for that is proper only to the *Father of Spirits*) but he hath a *Coactive* power over all men, even Pastors, as to *cause them to do their Christian duties*, he hath a Power to *compel Church-men in Assemblies* to determine Truth, and to use the *Keys Right*, and to preach and use the Sacraments according as Christ hath Commanded in his Word, and to PUNISH THEM when they do otherwise. What then if the King discern that to be truth, and absolve the Man, whom the *Church-Assembly* doth condemn as Heretic, who shall judge betwixt them?

I answer, the infallible Ruie of judging for both is the Word of God, which speaketh home impartially to both, if they will hear, but certainly the King's Civil, Kingly *Coactive* Power to compel men to do their Duty, remaineth the HIGHEST AND MOST SUPREME POWER ON EARTH, *in genere Potestatis Politicæ*, in the kind of Politic Power, and Pastors and all men may, by this Power, be compelled to do Right: as for the Abuse of the Power,

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Power, it is no part of the Power; and in this kind the King hath a NEGATIVE politic and KINGLY SUFFRAGE *and voice in all Church Assemblies*; no Ecclesiastical Constitution hath the force of a Law without the Politic suffrage of the Civil Judge.

The late Revd. Mr. *George Gillespie* expresses his mind fully upon the same Subject in the following Words, ' It is far from our meaning (says he) (b) That the Christian Magistrate shou'd not meddle with matters of Religion, or things and Causes Ecclesiastical———certainly there is *much Power and Authority* which by the Word of God, and by the Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches, doth belong to the Christian Magistrate in Matters of Religion. If (i) the Magistrate be offended, at the Sentence given, or Censure inflicted by a Presbytery or a Synod, they ought to be ready in all Humility and respect to give him an Account and reason of such their Proceedings, and by all means to endeavor the satisfaction of the Magistrate his Conscience; or otherwise to be warn'd and Rectify'd, if themselves have erred. Tho' the Case be *meerly Spiritual and Ecclesiastical*, (k) The Christian Magistrate (by himself and immediately) may not only examine by the Judgment of Discretion the Sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court, but also when he seeth Cause (either upon the Complaint of the Party, or Scandal given to himself) interpose by Letters, Messages, Exhortations and sharp admonitions to the Presbytery or Synod, who in that Case are bound in Conscience, with all Respect and Honor to the Magistrate, to give him a Reason of what they have done, and to declare the Grounds of their proceedings, till by the Blessing of God upon this free and equal Dealing, they either give a Rational account to the Magistrate, or be themselves convinc'd of their Male-Administration of Discipline. Yea also as Church Officers (l) they are to be kept within the limits of their Calling, and compell'd (if need be) by the Magistrate to do these Duties which by the clear word of God and Receiv'd Principles of Christian Religion, or by the Receiv'd Ecclesiastical Constitutions of the Church, they ought to do. It is ask'd

(b) *Aaron's Rod blossoming*, Book 2. Cap. 3. p. 181. (i) *Ibid.* p. 183 (k) *Ibid.* Chap. 8. p. 253. (l) *Ibid.* Chap. 3. p. 176.

ask'd (m) what Remedy shall there be against the abuse of Church-Discipline by Church-Officers, *except there be appeals from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Civil Magistrate*——Answer, look what Remedy there is for abuses in the Preaching of the Word, and Administration of the Sacraments, the like Remedy there is for Abuses in Church-Discipline——Now when the Word is not truly preach'd, nor the Sacraments duly Administered by any Minister or Ministers, the Magistrate seeketh the Redress of these things (in a Constituted Church) by the Convocating of Synods, for Examining, Discovering, and Judging of such Errors & abuses as are found in Particular Churches. But if the Synod shou'd Connive at, or Comply with that same Error; yet the Magistrate taketh not upon him the Supreme and Authoritative Decision of a Controversy of Faith: But still endeavoreth to help all this by *other Ecclesiastical Remedies*; as *another Synod*, and yet *another*, till the evil be remov'd. The *like we say* concerning abuses in Church-Discipline: The Magistrate may **COMMAND** a Resuming and Re-examination of the case in another Synod.

And in *Corrupto Ecclesie Statu* (n) I mean if it shall ever happen That Presbyteries or Synods shall make Defection from the Truth to Error, from Holiness to Prophaneness, from Moderation to Tyranny and Persecution, Censuring the innocent and Absolving the Guilty,——And there being no hopes of redressing such Enormities in the Ordinary way by *Intrinsic Ecclesiastical Remedies*, that is; by well Constituted Synods or Assemblies of Orthodox, Holy, Moderate Presbyters: In such an **EXTRAORDINARY EXIGENCE**, the Christian Magistrate may and ought to **INTERPOSE** his Authority to do diverse things, which in an Ordinary Course of Government, he ought not to do: For in such a Case, *Magistracy* (without expecting the Proper Intrinsic Remedy of better Ecclesiastical Assemblies) may **IMMEDIATELY**, by *IT SELF*, and in the most Effectual manner, *suppress and restrain such Defection, Exorbitancy and Tyranny, and not suffer the Unjust, Heretical Tyrannical Sentences of Presbyteries or Synods to be put in Execution.*——When Church-Discipline

(o)

(m) *Ibid.* Chap. 8. p. 251, 252. (n) *Ibid.* Cap. 3. p. 176.

Part I. (o) is degenerated into Tyranny, it belongeth to the Magistrate to take the Protection of Those Who are cast out or Censur'd unjustly.

From those Concessions (which are truly agreeable to Presbyterian Principles, so far as I can Judge of 'em) it appears, That the Magistrate may receive Complaints from the party injur'd by Ecclesiastical Courts, even in Causes meerly Spiritual & Ecclesiastical; and upon such Complaints has a Power to enjoin Synods, if he sees fit, to resume and Re-examine the Cause Complain'd of, he may call one after another, and command and even Compell 'em by the Civil Sword to do justice; and if this won't do, he may, immediately by himself protect the injur'd Party, and stop the Execution of a Tyrannical Sentence against him; and in Extraordinary Cases may Apply Extraordinary Remedies.

Now, I wou'd fain know, what Right of Magistracy to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs is not as fully secur'd, and may not be as amply and effectually exerted upon the foot of these Presbyterian Concessions, as it is and cou'd be upon a Formal Appeal laid before him. The only justifiable Ends of an Appeal to the Magistrate in such Cases are, the Redressing of Grievances, Reforming Abuses, Correcting the Malc-Administrations, and Giving Check to the Tyranny and Corruptions of the Clergy; and all these may be obtain'd, where a good Magistrate does his Duty, according to the Presbyterian Scheme; & if he do not his Duty, no Appeal to him will answer the End, but will Confirm, instead of Reforming the above Corruptions.

But the true Reason why the Presbyterians do not in Causes meerly Ecclesiastical allow of an Appeal properly so call'd to the Civil Magistrate, is, because they think that all Appeals, that are properly such in their own Nature, do suppose the Superior Power Appeal'd to, to be of the same Nature & kind with the Inferior power Appeal'd from; and therefore seeing they believe the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Civil Sword (which the most Famous Divines of the Church of England do likewise hold with them) to be Different Powers and not of the same kind and Nature, they think 'tis an Improper way of speaking, to call the Complaints of Subjects to their Magist-  
rates



argues against the Abuse of the *Spiritual Power*, by the name of **FORMAL APPEAL**; tho' they at the same time maintain such Principles, as do *fully answer* all the just Ends of such Appeals, both with respect to the Magistrates Authority, and the Liberty of the Subject. And they believe their Principles, to be upon the Matter the *very same* in this Point with all such of the Establish'd Clergy of *England and Ireland*, as look'd upon the Power of the *Keys* and the *Sword* to be Different. Neither can they perceive, how they who think Ecclesiastical Matters shou'd be judg'd *non in Palatio, sed in Synodo*, cou'd make larger Concessions than what they themselves do make. Nor do they find any Footsteps in Antiquity of any Larger Power, yielded by the *Primitive Christians* to their *Christian Emperors*, but what *they are* willing to grant. Nay I find *Formal Appeals* from the Ecclesiastical Assemblies to the Emperors and Civil Courts made by the *Donatists*, Condemn'd by *Augustine* (p.)

The Reader may be astonish'd at our Author's bold Assertion; That the *Inherent Power of the Kirk is Superior to and Independent upon all Authority of the Civil Magistrate*, after he has read the above Principles of Presbyterians, which so evidently refute that Calumny, and that they give out themselves to be *sole and proper Judges of the Extent of Christ's Commission*, when 'tis plain that they allow the Magistrate a Power to punish such as abuse Christ's Commission, and all this he pretends to prove to be the *Principle of the Presbyterian Kirk, from their Books of Discipline, and Repeated Acts of their Assemblies*, withal giving one single Instance of any of those *Repeated acts* our, tho' one shou'd think, it had been his business to have done it, if he cou'd. And whether his Fidelity in quoting, and good sense and Charity in expounding what he adduces from their Books of Discipline, be so very great, as to make men rely upon his *bare word* for the Rest, let the World Judge.

But let us observe his Last Effort against this *Inherent Power* p. 6: where he says, 'Nay, farther by their known Principles, their *Inherent Power* extends even to the making *War or Peace* and the *Civil Magistrate* is bound to consult them, and have their Consent or else both he and his whole army may be excommunicated: For the

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truth

## Part 1:



' truth of which, I refer you first to the answer of the General assembly to the Paper presented from the Honorable the Committee of Estates, August 1, 1648.

That Paper of the Assembly (which he transcribes) doth of it self sufficiently vindicate the Inherent Power from his foul Aspersions, for they say, ' If their Lordships mean any POLITIC INTEREST in such Undertakings, *we claim no such thing*, if the meaning be of a *Spiritual Interest* and so far as concerneth the *Point of Conscience* there can be no doubt thereof made by such as with *David* make the Testimonies of the Lord their Counsellors ". Compare this with a Clause in it, which our Author has thought fit to leave out, tho' 'tis very material for setting the whole matter in a true light ' Hath not the Word of God (*say they*) prescribed to the Christian Magistrate the Rules of a lawful War, and doth it not belong to particular Ministers, much more to the assemblies of the Kirk, to declare the Mind of God from Scripture, for all Sorts of Duties and against all Sorts of Sins. And if the present War be a *Case of Conscience*, and alledg'd to be the most fit and necessary means for the *Preservation of Religion*, who seeth not that the Kirk hath an undoubted Interest in Resolving and Determining such a *Case of Conscience* from the Word of God.

Any man who reads our author's Commentary upon this Paper, wou'd think he makes the *Assembly* to assume a Power of Declaring War, raising Troops, and Commanding Armies; and concluding Peace and Alliances with *Foreign States* &c, this is indeed a *Political Interest* in War and Peace, which they utterly disclaim. But where the harm can be of their Pious Endeavors to resolve Cases of Consciencs about the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of war, for encouraging the former, and preventing the Shedding of Innocent Blood by the latter, but more especially when consulted; is what I believe all People of Judgment will be at a loss to find out.

I shall be satisfy'd to hear what any Body can say for aggravating this Crime in the assembly, and how they'll attempt to prove they have taken to themselves, more Power in this matter than what Mr. Hoadly thinks well becomes all honest Clergymen, who in his Sermon before the *Lord Mayor of London*, September. 29. 1705. makes this Apology (p. 11.) for his taking upon him to determine in the Rights of Magistracy. ' And tho' some may perhaps be apt to call this



‘ this by the Name of *Politicks*, and Censure it as Foreign to our  
 ‘ Office and this place, (which they are sure to do then only when  
 ‘ their own Notions are contradicted) yet I must declare that I  
 ‘ cannot think it an unbecoming, or even an unnecessary Part of  
 ‘ our care to settle the measures of Christian Duty in all Cases.

Primate *Usher* says (*Loco citato*) ‘ That the Spiritual Rulers do  
 ‘ exercise their kind of Government in bringing men into Obedience,  
 ‘ not of the Duties of the first Table only but also of the second.  
 ‘ And that both Prince and Priest are in their several Places *Custodes*  
 ‘ *Utriusque Tabulae*. ‘ Are not these as High Pretensions as ever  
 the assembly made, who upon these Principles may Conclude that  
 they may very lawfully expound the 6th Command, *Thou shalt not*  
*kill*, and resolve Cases of Conscience that may arise from it, and  
 yet may be as Innocent as St. *Ambrose*, who REPROVED *Theo-*  
*odosius* the Emperor for his wilful Murther, for which he’s COM-  
 MENDED and APPROVED by the Church of *England*. The  
 Conclusion of that Paper shows that the assembly pretended to  
 no more Power in Peace and War, than in the Duties of Pa-  
 rents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants,  
*i. e.* so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience to declare what God’s  
 Word says about ’em. And the very beginning of that Paragraph quo-  
 ted by our author shows, That the State entertain’d Conferen-  
 ces with the Kirk upon this Subject, which oblig’d ’em to declare  
 their Opinion, and therefore it cou’d not be officious in ’em so to  
 do. The Reader may perceive what this Fearful Military Principle  
 of the Kirk amounts to, and about which our author makes such  
 a Bustle. If the War in which the Magistrate engages be lawful  
 they can very well bear with his not consulting them, or in hav-  
 ing their consent to it: And therefore he falsely insinuates that the  
 Magistrate must wait for it. ’Tis the Unlawfulness of the War, and  
 not its being entred into without their Consent, which they are dis-  
 pleas’d with.

What follows p. 6. and 7. concerning the Assemblies opposing of  
*Duke Hamilton’s Engagement*, in 1648. doth not at all belong to the  
 Principles, but to the Practices of the Kirk; and therefore I shall  
 at present dismiss the Consideration of it until we come to the  
 Reign of K. *Charles* 1. where several things shall be offer’d that  
 will clear that matter sufficiently, and answer all his Cavils against  
 that Practice.

## Part I.

Thus I have vindicated the Principles of Presbyterians, from the Reproaches of this Author, and prov'd them to be natively PRO-  
 DUCTIVE OF LOYALTY; and if they had not been truly such,  
 it had been (at best) an intolerable Weakness in Her Majesty & the British  
 Parliament to have Establish'd them as a Fundamental of the U-  
 nion. Her Majesty hath often declar'd, That she looks upon the  
 Union of Great-Britain to be *one of the Greatest Glories in her Reign*;  
 but if it be built upon such a Foundation as makes all *Crown'd Heads*  
*Vassals* to the Presbyterian Kirk, and consequently their Crowns  
 but Perite Fifes of the Kirk's *Grand Ecclesiastical Empire*; 'twoud be  
 rather the Reproach than the Glory of her Reign. And therefore I  
 hope the Impartial Reader will consider, Whether our Author's  
 Reflections, be not as injurious to her Majesty and Parliaments, as  
 to Truth it self, and to Peace and unity amongst all her good Pro-  
 testant Subjects.

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CHAP.



## CHAP. II.

### *The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH:*

**H**AVING thus vindicated the Loyalty of Presbyterian Principles, I proceed next to inquire into the Loyalty of their Practices. Our Author goes no farther back upon this Head than the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which, perhaps is owing to one of these two Causes, because either he thought there were no Presbyterians before that Reign, or that they were so loyal, as he cou'd not fasten any thing upon them, that might taint their Reputation, Whatever his Reasons might be (which I don't think material to search into) I must beg the Reader's favorable Acceptance of some *Memorable* pieces of *History*, which I shall here present him with; Relative to the Loyalty and Religion of Presbyterians, before the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, without which this Historical Essay wou'd be Imcomplete; and which are necessary by way of Introduction to the History of their Behavior under Q. *Elizabeth*.

I designedly avoid carrying of this History so far back, as the first settlement of Christianity in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; because that wou'd lead me into a Dispute, Foreign to my business, concerning the *Ancient Government* of the Church; but shall confine my self to the Reformation from Popery; and here I must observe, That tho' *K. Henry 8th* was the first King of *England*, who threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and under whose Reign the Reformation got any measure of Civil Sanction: Yet there was a Famous attempt made towards it in the 4th Century in the Reign of King *Edward*

## Part I.

3d, by that Eminent Servant of Christ *John Wickliffe*, and his Numerous Followers.

The great *Wickliffe*, was a Graduate of *Merton College* in *Oxford*, and a Professor of Divinity there several years. He began to broach his Opinions against the Pope, and his Antichristian Doctrine about the year 1377, or at least diverse years before the death of King *Edward 3d.* who died June 21 Anno 1377. (q) He oppos'd the Pope's Supremacy and Tyranny, his Indulgences, the Corruptions of the Clergy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Abominable Corruptions of the Worship in the Church of *Rome*, and his Doctrine in these Points was the same with that profess'd by Reform'd Protestants at this day: But that which I am to make a Peculiar Remark upon in *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, is that the Main Doctrines that are the Peculiar Tenets of the Presbyterians, and in which they Dissent from the National Establish'd Churches of *England* and *Ireland* were Maintain'd by the Venerable *Wickliffe*.

Father *Fox* (as *Q. Elizabeth* call'd him) and *Fuller* have given us an Abstract of all the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, for which he was persecuted by the Papists of his Age; and in some of those, we shall find him declaring himself in favor of the Presbyterian Doctrine in the three Point viz. The Identity of Bishops and Presbyters, Unlawfulness of Mystical Significant Ceremonies of human Invention in the Worship of God, and against Impos'd Forms of Prayer. I find the Ingenious and Revd. Mr *Pierce* in his *Defensio Fratrum Dissentientium in Anglia*, had Collected these Opinions of *Wickliffe's*, out of these and some Authors, and digested 'em under their proper Heads, and I shall present the Reader with a Translation of *Pierce* upon this Head; and any Body that doubts of his Fidelity in quoting his Authors, he is desir'd to peruse *Fox* and *Fuller* and the Rest from whom he has got the Account he gives of those Principles, and from whom I intended to have drawn an abstract; had not that Worthy author done it to my hand. He proceeds thus, (r)

Of

(q) vide *Biter's Chronicle* p. 133. (r) p. 3, 4. The Vouchers made use of by *Pierce* are *Fastic. Rerum Exper.* & *Fug. Tom. 1.* p. 269, 270, 274, 276. *Catal. Test.* Tom. 2. p. 810. *Articuli Jo. Wickliffe. in Conc. Constant.* scis. 8. Art. 28. *Ibo. Wald.* apud *Fuller* lib. 4. p. 132. To which I add *Fox's Martyrology*, in divers places from p. 555. to p. 605.

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Of the Degrees and Offices of Ministers.

Part I.

“ It seems to the Holy Doctors superfluous, in the Sacrament of Orders to affect more than two Degrees, viz. *Deacons or Levites, and Presbyters or Bishops*—— In Paul’s time, two Orders of Clergy-men were sufficient for the Church, viz. PRIEST and DEACON——It is Certain, That pride invented Other Degrees.

“ It were useful for the Church, that there were neither Pope nor *Cæsarian Prelate*; and it were useful and decent---that the Church were purg’d from *their Traditions*.

“ Confirmation of Youth, Ordination of Clergymen and Consecration of places, are reserv’d for the Pope and Bishops to gratify their desire of Temporal Gain and Honor.

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Of the Holy Scriptures the only Rule of Faith and Worship.

“ Let the Believer insist upon Reason and Scriptural Faith, and not believe such Extravagant and Groundless Tables concerning the Power of Prelates.

“ All *Human Traditions, not taught by the Law of the Gospel, are superfluous and sinful*——We must practise, learn and teach only *the Laws of Christ*——’Tis not lawful for a Christian after the Publication of the Law of Christ, to frame LAWS FOREIGN to it for the *Government of the Church of Christ*.

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Of Rites And Ceremonies.

“ He plainly rejected Human Rites, and Shadows and Traditions.

Chri-

Part. I.

Christ and the other Ceremonies of that kind, ought not to be us'd in Baptism.

If the Ceremonies of the Old Law, because of their being burthenſom, and for their Multitude, were to be abolish'd by the Law of Grace; *how much more ought ſuch Groundleſs Inventions and Traditions of men*, to be laid aſide under the Goſpel—Circumciſion and the Ceremonies of the Old Law are not to be obſerv'd by Believers; and far leſs ſhou'd they obſerve the preſent Ceremonies, that have *neither Authority from the Old Law, nor from the New.*

### *Of Vigils and Forms of Prayer.*

To RESTRICT men to certain PRESCRIB'D FORMS of Prayer, is contrary to the Liberty granted them by God—There is no Obligation to obſerve Vigils and Canonical Hours.

It were profitable for the Church, that *'twere reſtor'd to its former Liberty*; and by this mean, the Solemnities of ſuper added Maſſages, and the Prayers that are invented with the Canonical Hours, wou'd ceaſe.

Words can hardly be Contriv'd that more Compendiouſly & ſignificantly expreſs the Sentiments of Presbyterians in the debated Points concerning Church Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, than thoſe wherein *Wickliff's* Sentiments upon the ſame Heads are deliver'd to us; and as to the firſt, beſide what *Peirce* has obſerv'd let the Reader conſider, that among the Opinions Collected from his Writings and Sermons, this waſe one viz. *That the Pope of Rome hath no more in the Power of the Keys, than hath any other within the Degree of Prieſthood* (s) And if he gave as much Power to any Prieſt as to the Biſhop of Rome, he cou'd hardly think that any other Biſhop was inveſted with more Power than a Prieſt.

Tho' *Wickliff's* waſe of Presbyterian Principles, he had many Followers and it pleaſ'd God, for a Teſtimony to his own Truth againſt

gainst the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, to give Eminent Success to the Unwearied Labors of that Renowned Confessor; he was summon'd to appear before a Synod at *London Anno 1376.* call'd by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to answer for his Heretical Opinions, as they call'd them. But he was supported against them by *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* and son to King *Edward 3.* and by the Lord *Piercy* Lord Marshal of *England*, who both attended him, when he appear'd before the said Synod; the latter introduc'd him to it, and the former spake openly in his behalf, and took the Archbishop to task very keenly. The Patronage of such great Men, with the Universal Opinion that all Men had of his great Parts and Profound Learning, together with his Eminent Piety and Unwearied Painfulness both in his Divinity Lectures in the *Colledge* (wherein he continu'd seven years after his Opinions came abroad) and his preaching frequently thro' Different Parts of the Kingdom, were the Means (by God's Blessing) of Propagating his Honest Principles among great Multitudes; insomuch that in a little time there were many who appear'd Eminently in Defence of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; of which take this short Account in the Words of Father *Fox*, who in his Preface, to his Martyrology, says,

‘ To descend now some what lower in drawing out the Descend  
of the Church, What a Multitude here cometh of faithful Witness  
‘ ses in the time of *John Wickliffe*, as *Ocliffe*, *Wickliffe*, *Anno 1379.*  
‘ *Wil. Thorp. White, Purvey, Fatshal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer: Gascoyn,*  
‘ *Wil. Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, Wil. Sautry, about the*  
‘ *year 1400. John Badby, Anno 1410. Nicholas Tailor, Richard Wagstaffe,*  
‘ *Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Hendry, William Parchmenar,*  
‘ *Roger Goldsmith, with an Anchresse called Mathilde in the City of*  
‘ *Licester, Lord Cobkam, Sir Reger Acton Knight, John Beverly*  
‘ *Preacher, John Hufse, Jerome of Prague, a schoolmaster with a number*  
‘ *of Faithful Bohemians, Thaborites, not to be told, with whom I might*  
‘ *also adjoin Laurentius Valla, & Joannes Picus, the Learn'd Earl of*  
‘ *Mirandula. But what do I stand upon the recital of Names, which*  
‘ *almost are infinite ?*

And the same Author subjoins immediately an account of the Progress of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, and brings it down to the 16th Century. His Words are these, ‘ Wherefore, if any be so far beguil'd  
‘ in his Opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* (as it now  
‘ standeth) to be of such Antiquity, & that the same was never impugn'd be

## Part I.

the time of *Luther* and *Zwinglius* now of late, let them read these Histories: Or if he think the said History not to be of sufficient Credit to alter his Persuasion, let him peruse the *Acts* and *Statutes* of *Parliament*, pass'd in this Realm of Ancient time, and therein Consider and Confer the Course of Times; where he may find & read, *Anno 5. Regis Richardi 2.* in the Year of our Lord, 1380. of a great number (which there be call'd Evil Persons) going about from Town to Town in Freeze Gowns, preaching unto the People, &c. Which Preachers altho' the Words of the Statute do term there to be Dissembling persons, preaching divers Sermons containing Heresies and Notorious Errors, to the Emblemishment of *Christian Earth*, and of *holy Church*, &c. as the Words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding every true Christian reader may conceive of those Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, than now tney hear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Corrupt Heresies of his Church.

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in *Statut. anno. 2. Hen. 4. Cap. 15.* in the year of our Lord 1402. another like Company of good Preachers and faithful Defenders of true Doctrine against blind Heresy and Error. Whom, albeit the Words of the Statute there, thro' Corruption of that time, do falsely term to be false and perverse Preachers, under dissembled holiness teaching in those days openly and privily new Doctrines and Heretical Opinions, contrary to the Faith & Determination of *holy Church*, &c. yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth Histories, and conferreth the Order and Descent of times, shall understand these to be no false Teachers, but faithful Witnesses of the Truth, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the Determination of *holy Church*, but rather shall find that Church to be unholy which they preach'd against; teaching rather it self Heretical Opinions, contrary both to Antiquity and verity of Christ's true Catholic Church.

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful Favorers & Followers of God's holy Word, we find in the year 1422. specified in a letter sent from *Henry Chichestie* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to Pope *Martin* the 5th, in the fifth year of his Popedom, where mention is made of so many here in *England* infected (as he said) with the Heresies of *Wickliffe* and *Hosse*, that without force of an Army they could not be suppress'd, &c. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals



‘ nals to the Archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gather’d off all Spi-  
 ‘ ritual and Religious men and the mony to be laid in the Chamber  
 ‘ Apostolic, and if that be not sufficient, the Residue to be made  
 ‘ up of Chalices, Candlesticks, and other Implements of the Church,  
 ‘ &c.

‘ What shall need then any more witness to prove this matter,  
 ‘ when you see so many years ago whole Armies and Multitudes  
 ‘ thus standing against the Pope? Who tho’ they be term’d here  
 ‘ for Heretics and Schismatics, yet in that which they call Here-  
 ‘ sy serv’d they the Living Lord within the Ark of his true Spiritu-  
 ‘ al and Visible Church.

And as *Wickliffe* and his Tenets were lik’d by great Numbers, so there were many men of great Learning, who embrac’d them both in *England* and elsewhere. *John Husse* (his disciple) was so successful in maintaining them, as he got the Approbation of the University of *Prague*, who wou’d not condemn the 45 Articles of *Wickliffe*, Censur’d by the Council of *Constance*. And I shou’d be highly injurious to such a Venerable Body, as the University of *Oxford*, if I did not here insert their Testimonial and Approbation of *Wickliffe*, which runs thus:

*The (t) Public Testimony given out by the University of Oxford touching the Commendation of the great Learning and Good Life of JOHN WICKLIFFE.*

‘ Unto all and singular the Children of our holy Mother the Church,  
 ‘ to whom this present letter shall come, the *Vice-Chancellor* of the  
 ‘ University of *Oxford*, with the whole Congregation of the Masters, with  
 ‘ perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seen,  
 ‘ That the Acts and Monuments of Valiant Men, nor the Praise and  
 ‘ Merits of good men shou’d be pass’d over and hidden with Perpetu-  
 ‘ al Silence, but that true Report and Fame shou’d continually  
 ‘ spread abroad the same in strange and far distant Places, both for  
 ‘ the Witness of the same, and example of others; Forsomuch also as  
 ‘ the Provident Discretion of man’s Nature being recompens’d with  
 ‘ Cruelty, hath devis’d and ordain’d this Buckler and Defence a-  
 ‘ gainst such as do blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that

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## Part 1.



whensoever witness by word of Mouth, cannot be present, the pen by Writing may supply the same.

Hereupon it followeth, that the Special good Will and care which we bare unto *John Wickliffe*, sometime child of this our University, and *Professor of Divinity*, moving and stirring our Minds, (as his manners and Conditions required no less) with *one mind*: *Voice and Testimony* we do witness, *all his Conditions and doings throughout his whole life* to have been *most sincere and Commendable*; Whole honest manners and Conditions, *Profoundness of Learning*, and most Redolent Renown and Fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notify'd & known into all the faithful, for that we understand the Maturity and Ripeness of his Conversation; his diligent labors and travels to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the Church.

Wherefore we signify unto you by these Presents, that his Conversation (even from his Youth upwards unto the time of his Death) was so praise worthy and honest, that never at any time was there there any note or spot of suspicion noys'd of him. But in his ANSWERING, READING, PREACHING and DETERMINING, he behav'd himself Laudably, and as a stout and Valiant Champion of the Faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such, who by their wilful Beggary, blasphem'd and Slander'd Christs Religion. Neither was this said Doctor convicted of any Heresy, neither burn'd of our Prelates after his Burial. God forbid that our Prelates shou'd have condemn'd a man of such honesty, for an Heretic; Who, amongst all the rest of the University, had written in Logic, Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and the Speculative Art WITHOUT PEER. The knowledge of which all and singular things we do desire to testify and deliver forth; to the intent that the *Fame and Renown* of this said Doctor May be the more evident and had in Reputation, amongst them into whose hands those present Letters Testimonial shall come.

In Witness whereof, we have caus'd these our Letters Testimonial to be seall'd with our Common Seal. Dated at *Oxford* in our Congregation House, the 5th day of

October, in the year of our Lord, 1466.

It seems that Learn'd University (in these days) thought the Doctrines concerning the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter, Free Prayer without a Liturgy, & Worship without Human Ceremonies to be *Innocent Opinions*. For all these were taught and preach'd amongst 'em by the Revd. *Wickliffe*, and yet they Certify in most ample Terms, concerning his *Preaching and Determining* as *Laudable* without Exception.

But he had not only the Countenance of men of all Stations, except the Pope and his Creatures; but was remarkably countenanc'd by God, who by surprizing Dispensations of Providence, preserv'd his Life and evidenc'd his Displeasure against his Enemies. For *Richard the 2d*, who encourag'd the Persecutors of *Wickliffe* and his Followers (not like his Grand-father *Edward 3d*, who was his friend) was De-thron'd, and died in Disgrace.

In the See of *Rome*, from whence Bloody Bulls, and Excommunications had issu'd against his Followers, there appear'd a Terrible Schism, begun <sup>between</sup> ~~by~~ *Urban the 6th* & ~~by~~ *Clement 7th*, who both set up for the Popedom at once; one of them being in *Rome*, and the other at *Avignon*. The Contention in that See lasted forty years; whereby Divine Providence did both give the more favorable Opportunity for the World's Embracing *Wickliffe's* orthodox Doctrine, and testify'd Wrath from Heaven against that Spiritual *Babylon*, that had united in Opposition to it; by dividing their Language amongst themselves like *Babel*. Archbishop *Sudbury* (his great Enemy) came to a *Tragical End*, being beheaded by a Rabble. And in 1382. The Sovereign Lord spoke *Terrible things in Righteousness*, by an Earthquake all over *England*; which happen'd in the very Instant when the Convocation met for condemning *Wickliffe's* Doctrine and Books of which take the Account in *Fox's* Words.

' Here (u) is not to be pass'd over the great Miracle of God's Divine Admonition or Warning; for when as the Archbishop and Suffragans, with the other Doctors of Divinity, and lawyers with a great Company of babling Friars, and Religious Persons, were gather'd together to consult as touching *John Wickliffe's* Book; and that whole Sect; When as I say they were gather'd together

at

## Part I.

at the *Gray Friars* in *London*, to begin their business, upon *St. Dunstan's* day after dinner, about two of the Clock, the very hour and Instant that they shou'd go forward with their business, a Wonderful and TERRIBLE EARTHQUAKE fell throughout all *England*: Whereupon divers of the *Suffragans*, being fear'd by the strange and Wonderful Demonstration, doubting what it shou'd mean, thought it good to leave off from their Determinate Purpose. But the *Archbishop* (as chief Captain of that Army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happen'd clean contrary, to another meaning or Purpose, did confirm and strengthen their Hearts and Minds, which were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their Attempted Enterprize. Who then discouraging *Wickliffe's* Articles, not according unto the Sacred Canons of the Holy Scripture, but unto their own Private Affections and Traditions; pronounc'd and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly Heretical, other some half Errorneous, other Irreligious, some Seditious, and not Consistant to the Church of *Rome*.

Thus had *Wickliffe* and his *Presbyterian* Followers the Honor of being the Restorers of Religion and Learning in *England*; in an Age wherein Antichristian Errors, and Blindness had got the deepest Rooting in the Minds of a Deluded People. And alongst with Religion, they brought Loyalty again into Request: for it was one of the Articles against *Wickliffe*, That he maintain'd the Jurisdiction of the Crown and Secular Powers over the Clergy, and asserted a Power in the Magistrate to take away the Temporalities and Endowments of the Clergy, when they offend and Corrupt Religion, and do not answer the Ends of their Spiritual Function; and to reform Abuses in the Church, and Compel, (by his Civil Power) Spiritual Persons to do their duty. *Wickliffe's* seventeenth Article is full upon this Head, and was defended by his Followers in the second Disputation in the University of *Prague* with admirable Learning and Loyalty. *Fox* gives us the whole Disputation, and introduceth it with this Title.

The (v) Second Disputation in the University of *Prague* upon the seventeenth Article of *John Wickliffe*, most fruitful

‘ful to be read; proving by four and Twenty Reasons Part I.  
 ‘out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords Tem-  
 ‘poral have *lawful Authority and Jurisdiction* over the *Spiri-  
 ‘tuality and Churchmen*; both in taking from them, and Cor-  
 ‘recting their abuses according to their doings and deserts.

I have not met with *any thing* in Modern Authors which says more for justifying the *English Reformation*, in taking away the *Abbey-Lands* from these who then possess’d them than the Reader will find in that *Disputation*; and that advanceth more *Loyal Principles* to the Crown, than are to be found there.

And the Loyalty of their Principles (the same with the Presbyterians of *this* and the *former* age) did produce in them a Dutiful and Loyal Behavior to their Prince; tho’ they had the misfortune to be represented by their bloody Enemies, the Papists, as *Disloyal* and *Seditious*: a noted Instance whereof we have in *Harpfield’s Historia Wickiffiana* by *Alanus Copus*, who falsely accuseth them of being accessary to the Rebellion of *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* and their Accomplices, headed by *John Ball* an Excommunicated Priest, against *K. Richard 2. Fuller* speaking of this Rebellion says, ‘These  
 ‘(w)all were *pure Levellers* (inflam’d by the abus’d Eloquence of one  
 ‘*John Ball*, an Excommunicated Priest.) who, maintaining, that no  
 ‘Gentry was *Jure Divino*, and all equal by Nature,

‘*When Adam delv’d and Eve span,*

‘*Who was then the Gentleman?*’

‘endeavor’d the abolishing of all Civil & Spiritual Degrees, & distinctions.  
 ‘Yea, they desir’d to level mens Parts, as well as their Purfes; and  
 ‘none shou’d be *either* wealthier, or wiser *than* his Fellows; project  
 ‘the General Destruction of all, that wore a pen-and ink-horn  
 ‘about them, or could write or read. To effect this Design, they  
 ‘Pretended the *People’s Liberty*, and the Princes Honor: and find-  
 ‘ing it difficult to destroy the *King* but *by* the *King*, they advanc’d  
 ‘the *name* to pluck down the *Thing* signify’d thereby; crying up,  
 ‘that *all was for King Richard*. They seem’d to be much for *Re-  
 for*

## Part I.

formation, which Cloak they wore, to warm themselves therewith, when naked and first setting up; but afterwards cast it off in the heat of their Success, as not only useless, but burdensome unto them.

But (\*) *Alanus Copus* (for, he it is, whose Ecclesiastical History of England goes under the name of *Harpfield*,) heavily chargeah all this rebellion on the Account of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine. Whose Scholars (saith he) to promote their Masters opinions, stirred up this deadly, and damnable Sedition, and sounded the first Trumpet thereunto. Adding moreover, that *Wickliffe's* Tenet, that, *Dominion is founded in grace*: and that *a King guilty of Mortal Sin, is no longer Lord of any thing*, was *Cos hujus Seditionis, The Whet-stone of this Sedition*. But, to what Lyer the Whet-stone doth properly belong, will presently appear.

That the World may see, that *those Presbyterians* in *Richard 2d's* Reign were *falsely accus'd* of Rebellion and Disloyalty, as their *Successors have been in following Reigns*; and that Sober, Moderate Episcopal Protestants have thought, that the Interest of the Gospel and the Cause of Truth oblig'd them to defend the Innocence of those Worthies, who made so brave a stand, for the Purity of Religion and the Rights of Monarchy and the People, against Antichristian Tyranny and Darkness; I must not omit the Just Vindication of them, which Fuller gives us in these Words.

It is no News for the best of God's Children; to be slander'd in this kind. *Jeremy* was traduced, *Thou fallest away to the Caldeans*. *St Paul* was accused, *We have found this man a Pestilent fellow, a Mover of Sedition*. Yea, our Savior himself was charg'd that *He made himself a King, and was a Traitor to Caesar*. But as these were foul, and false Aspersions. So will this appear if We Consider,

1. When *John Ball* was executed at *St Albans*, and *Jack Straw* at *London*, not the least Compliance with *Wickliffe*, or his Doctrine, is either charg'd on them, or Confess'd by them.

2. No wild Beast will prey on his own kind. Now it is certainly known, that *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* was the Principal Patron,

Patron, and Supporter of *Wickliffe*, whose life they sought to destroy, and whose Pallace in the *Strand* they pillag'd.

3. *Wickliffe* himself came within the Compass of their Destructive Principles, designing the Death of all, who wore a pen and ink. And, that *Wickliffe* had both pen and ink, *Cope* himself doth know, and the Court of *Rome*, with shame and sorrow will confess.

4. *Wickliffe* liv'd some years after, and died peaceably possess'd of the Living of *Lutterworth* in *Leicester-shire*. Surely, had he been reputed the inflamer of this Rebellion, the Wisdom of the King, and Council, wou'd have taken another Order with him.

5. Amongst the Articles laid to the Charge of *Wickliffe*, and his Followers, in this King's Reign, examin'd at *Oxford*, and elsewhere, not a Title of this Rebellion is press'd upon them. Which their Malicious adversaries wou'd not have omitted, if in any hope to make good that accusation against them:

6. Whereas it is charg'd on *Wickliffe*, that he held, that *Dominion was founded in Grace*, which occasion'd this Rebellion; we know this that *Huss* his scholar, tho' he did hold, that a King, being in Mortal Sin, was only call'd a King *equivoca Dominatioe*; yet the same *Huss* confesseth (to use his own Words) *Ipsum Deum approbare hujusmodi Regem, quoad esse Principem exterius, That God himself allows such a King to be a Prince in all outward matters*. So that, leaving him to Divine Justice, he never dreamt of any Resistance, or Rebellion to be made against him.

7. The Modern Protestants (heirs, say the Papists to *Wickliffe's* Doctrine) so far adominate these rebels their Levelling, and Ignorant Principles, that they are known, both to maintain Distances of People, and to have been the restorers of lost, yea the revivers of Dead Learning, and Languages: How had the *Mathematicks* measur'd their own grave? *Greek* turn'd *Barbarism*; *Hebrew* (as it readeth) gone backward, never to return again, had not Protestant Criticks, with vast Pains and expence, preserved them?

8. It is more suspicious, that this Rebellion came out of the *Franciscan Covent*; because some of these, belike were the Rebels *Whiteboys*; and (as is afore mention'd) to be spar'd in a general Destruction.

## Part I.

The Roman Antichrist rais'd so violent a Storm of Persecution against those Innocent People ; that, tho' there remain'd some, even down to the time of K. *Henry 8.* who remembred *Wickliffe's* Doctrine with honor, yet its chief Patrons and Defenders were rooed out, and the Reformation suppress'd ; until K. *Henry 8.* threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and then they began to appear again. But during *that* King's Reign, the Reformation was lame, and so many Popish Corruptions both in Doctrine and Worship retain'd, that many were then persecuted, even for the Plain Truths of the Protestant Religion.

But if we descend to the *better times* of his son, the good King *Edward the 6th*, the ENGLISH JOSIAH ; no sooner were the Substantials of the Reformed Religion profess'd, but the Seeds of Non-Conformity began to appear ; of which *Fuller* gives this short account, ' For (y) now Non-Conformity in the days of King *Edward*.  
' was conceiv'd, which afterwards in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*  
' was nurs'd, and reared ; which under King *James* grew up a young  
' youth, or tall Stripling ; but towards the End of King *Charles* his  
' Reign, shot up to the full strength, and stature of a man ; able,  
' not only to cope with, but Conquer the Hierarchy its adversary.

' Two Opposite Parties plainly discovered themselves, driving on different Interests, under their Respective Patrons.

### Founders of Conformity.

1. Such as remained here  
' all the Reign of King  
' *Henry the 8th*, and weather'd out the Tempest  
' of his Tyranny at open  
' Sea partly by a *Politic*  
' Compliance, and partly  
' by a *Cautious Concealment*  
' of themselves.

### Founders of Non-Conformity.

1. Such as fled hence beyond the seas, chiefly into *Germany*, where living in the States, and Cities of Popular Reformation, they suck'd in both the air, and Discipline of the Place they lived in.

2. These



Part 1.

- 2. These in the days of King Edward the 6th, were possessed of the best Preferments in the land.
- 3. And retained many Ceremonies practis'd in the Romish Church, conceiving them to be Ancient, and decent in themselves.
- 4. The Authority of Cranmer and Activity of Ridley headed this Party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in Defence of Conformity.

- 2. These returning late into England, were at a loss for means, and maintenance, only supported with the Reputation of being Confessors, rendring their Patience to the praise, and their Persons to the Pity of all Conscientious People.
- 3. And Renounc'd all Ceremonies practis'd by the Papists, conceiving, that such ought not only to be clipt with the Sheers, but to be shav'd with a Razor; yea, all the Stumps thereof to be pluckt out:
- 4. John Rogers Lecturer in St. Pauls, and Vicar of St. Sepulchres, with John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, were Ring-leaders of this Party.

The same Author gives a brief Account of the main Arguments on both sides that were then deliver'd by the Contending Parties for maintaining their several Opinions; which I shall here insert, not with any Design, to touch the Merits of the Cause or dip into the Controversy between 'em; but only to give an Historical Account of the Progress of Non-Conformity.

Pro.

Con.

- 1. The Ornaments were indifferent of themselves, and

- 1. The best thing that could be said of them was, that

## Part I.



of Antient use in the Church (a)

2. Being enjoy'd by lawful Authority, they became necessary, not to Salvation, but to Church-Unity; and it was scandalous to decline them.

3. It would bring the Papist over to our Church; beholding all things by them used, nor totally abolished by a Spirit of Contradiction, but some decent Correspondencies still moderately continued.

4. It would cast a slur on the Credit of such Bishops who formerly had used those Ornaments, as more Remiss in Religion, than such as refused them.

5. Those who have *Stubborn Wills* pretend too often to tender Consciences; nor ought a Private Person to be indulged, with the Disturbance of the public Uniformity of the Church.

they were useless, being otherwise Ridiculous, and Superstitious.

2. Cursed be he that Removes the Bound-marks. Grant them indifferent in themselves, and left so by Divine Wisdom, it was Presumption in man to stamp necessity upon them.

3. Too much of the Serpent nothing of the Dove herein, to offend those within, to invite those without to the Church, driving Protestants thence to draw Papists thither.

4. The Credits of some good men were not to be preserved, by destroying the Consciences of others.

5. Hooper put himself upon the Trial of the Searcher of Hearts, that no Obstinacy but meer Conscience made him refuse those Ornaments.

In

‘ In a Word all those Arguments, which later Age have more  
‘amply *enlarged*, more clearly *explained*, more cunningly *improved*, more  
‘enforced, were then and there *first solidly* propounded, and solemn-  
‘ly set down on both sides. Posterity in this Matter having disco-  
‘ver’d no new *Mine*, but only Refired, what formerly was found  
‘out in this Controversy.

The same Author informs us, that *there was a Potent Party in this  
King’s Reign disaffected to the Liturgy, which now began to be very Consi-  
derable in England* b).

These *English Puritans in this King’s Reign* behav’d themselves with  
that *Dwifful and Loyal Affection* to His Majesty that we don’t find  
anything of Disloyalty laid to their Charge. The King and Govern-  
ment show’d great Moderation to them; He wrote to the Archbi-  
shop in favor of *Hooper*, and indulg’d his Scruples about the Vest-  
ments; as may be seen in *Fuller* (c), who gives us the Copy of his Letter,  
in these Words;

‘ Right Reverend Father, and Right Trusty, and Welbeloved,  
‘ We greet you well. Whereas we by the Advice of our Coun-  
‘cil, have called and chosen Our Right Well-beloved, and Well-  
‘Worthy Mr. *John Hooper*, Professor of Divinity, to be our Bishop  
‘of *Glocester*, as well for his *great Learning, Deep Judgment*  
‘and *long Study, both in the Scriptures and other Profound Lear-  
‘ning*; as also for his good *Discretion, ready Utterance and*  
‘*honest Life* for that kind of Vocation, &c. From Consecrating of  
‘whom We understand you do stay, because he would have you o-  
‘mit, and *let pass certain Rites and Ceremonies offensive to his Conscience,*  
‘whereby you think you should fall in *Præsumption* of Laws: We  
‘have thought good by Advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge  
‘you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties, & Forfeitures you should  
‘run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same.  
‘And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant, and Dis-  
‘charge therefore.

Given under our Signet, at our Castle  
of *Windsor*, the fourth year of our Reign.

*Martin*

## Part I.

*Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* were encourag'd, and entertain'd in *England*, tho' they were of the same Judgment with the *English* Puritans. And the famous *John A Lasco* a *Polonian* with a Congregation of *Germans* of the *Helvetian Confession*, had great Marks of Regal Favour placed upon them. They were Refugees in *England*, being banish'd from their own Country for their Zealous Profession of the Protestant Religion. *John Alasco* one of the Ministers, and Superintendent of that Congregation, was a keen Non-Conformist; as may be seen by his Books: for he wrote against the Habits, and against kneeling at the Sacrament; and was for the Table-Gesture. He and the other Ministers of that Congregation practis'd their own Discipline, which was truly Presbyterian. And the said Ministers and Congregation were erected into a Corporation, by Letters Patents, with full Liberty to Dissent from the Establish'd Church, in Government, Discipline and Worship: And because this matter can't be set in a true light without the Recital of some Part (at least) of the said Letters; I shall present the Reader with a Translation of the Preamble and Conclusion thereof, and set it down in the Original Latine, at the bottom of the page.

\* *Edward* (d) t' e 6th &c. we being specially induc'd from great and weighty Considerations; and particularly having at heart how much it becomes *Christian Princes* to be highly animated with a studious care and love of the Gospel of God and the *Apostolical* Religion begun, instituted and deliver'd by Christ himself; with-  
out

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(d) *vide Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Collect. Record. Book 1. p. 202.*  
 ' *Edwardus Sextus* &c. Cum magnæ quædam & graves Considerationes nos ad præsens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam Cogitantes illud, quanto Studio & Charitate Christianos Principes in Sacrosanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem Apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam & traditam, animatos & propensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubie Politia & civile Regnum nec consistere diu, neq; nomen suum tueri potest, nisi Principes, cæteri q; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum Gubernacula sedere voluit, id in primis operam dent ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, casta sinceræq; Religio diffundatur, & Ecclesia in vere Christianis & Apostolicis Opinionibus & Ritibus instituta, atq; adulta per sanctos ac carni & mundo Mortuos Ministros conservetur; pro eo quod Christiani Principis Officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de regno suo bene splendideq; administrando Cogitationes, etiam Religioni & Religionis Causâ Calamitate tractis & afflictis exulibus consulere. Sciatîs, quod non solum præmissa

out which Policy and Civil-Government can neither stand long, nor maintain its Name, unless Princes and others in Power whom God hath appointed for the Government of Kingdoms, do first of all take care, that *pure and uncorrupted Religion be diffus'd thro' the whole Body of the Commonwealth* and that a Church instructed in truly Christian and APOSTOLICAL OPINIONS and RITES, and grown up under holy Ministers deny'd to the flesh and the World, be preserv'd: for as much as we look upon it to be the Duty of a Christian Prince, amongst his other weighty thoughts concerning the good & spier did Administration of his Government, to consult the interest of Religion, and of those who are banish'd, and miserably afflicted with Calamity for the Cause of Religion. KNOW Ye, that we not only *considering the Premisses*, and Desiring to preserve in its former Liberty the Church that has been rescu'd by us from the Tyranny of the Papacy; but also Commiserating the case of the banish'd and of Strangers &c. because we have judg'd it unworthy of a Christian and the Magnificence of a Prince, whose Liberality in such a Case ought not to be shut up or restrained, to suffer Strangers to want the necessaries of life in our Kingdom, who have been cast out of their own Country for the Gospel of Christ, and have fled to our Kingdom for Refuge". And then a Narrative is given of the *Germans* and other strangers that were come and daily coming to *England* on the Account of the Protestant Religion; and of their wanting a certain place *there* for their Worship, and the managing the business of Religion and Ecclesiastical Affairs according to the Custom and Rites of their own Country; Wherefore he grants them one Church in London; To (e) this Intent and purpose

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præmissa Contemplantes & Ecclesiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes; verum etiam exulum & Peregrinorum Conditionem miserantes, ——— quia hospites & externos homines propter Christi Evangelium ex Patria sua prostrigatos & ejectos, & in Regnum nostrum profugos, præsidis ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro exere, non dignum esse neq; Christiano homine, neq; Principis Munificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta, clausula esse debet. (e) Ea Intentione & proposito, ut a Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumq; Peregrinorum Sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta Interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei & Apostolicam Observationem Administratio fiat. ———

## Part I.

‘ pose, (*says he*) that by the Ministers of the Church of the *Germans*  
 ‘ and other Strangers there may be an *Uncorrupted interpretation of the*  
 ‘ *Holy Gospel*, and that by them the *Sacraments may be administred ac-*  
 ‘ *cording to the Word of God, and Apostolical Observation*’. And this  
 Church being to have one Superintendent and four Ministers, of  
 them he adds ‘ That the said Superintendent and four Ministers  
 ‘ may be in Reality and name *one Body Corporate and Politic*, we do  
 ‘ by these presents *incorporate them* by the name of the *Superintendent*  
 ‘ and Ministers of the Church of the *Germans* and other Strangers,  
 ‘ founded by *Edwara 6th* in the City of *London*: and we do by these  
 ‘ presents Erect, Ordain, Make and Constitute them by the said  
 ‘ Name a *Body Corporate and Politic*, in Reality and to the full, and  
 ‘ that they shall have a Succession.

And in the Conclusion of the Patent, we have these Words ‘ (g)  
 ‘ We command and straitly charge the Mayor, Sheriffs, and  
 ‘ Aldermen of our City of *London* and their Successors, and all o-  
 ‘ thers, arch-Bishops, Bishops, Justices, Officers, and our other Mi-  
 ‘ nisters whatsoever, that they permit the said Superintendent &  
 ‘ Ministers freely and quietly to enjoy, use and exercise their OWN  
 ‘ PROPER RITES and CEREMONIES, and their own  
 ‘ PROPER PECULIAR, ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE; not-  
 ‘ withstanding that they do not agree with the Rites and Ceremoni-  
 ‘ es used in our Kingdom, without let, Molestation, or Disturb-  
 ‘ ance of them or any of them, any Statute, act, proclamation, In-  
 ‘ junction, Restriction or use to the contrary heretofore had, done,  
 ‘ publish’d or promulgated to the contrary notwithstanding.

It clearly sheweth in the Tenor of these Letters Patents, That that  
 Glorious Prince, and his Council who advis’d him to them, were  
 fully convinc’d that his Subjects might be Non-Conformists, and yet  
 Loyal

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(f) Et quod idem Superintendens & ministri in re & nomine sint & erunt unum Corpus Corporatum & Politicum, de se per Nomen Superintendens & Ministrum Ecclesie Germanorum & aliorum Peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinensi per presentes incorporamus ac Corpus Corporatum & Politicum per idem Nomen realiter & ad plenum Creamus, Erigimus  
 (g) Ordinamus, facimus & Constituimus per presentes: et quod Successionem habeant. (g) Mandamus & firmiter injungendum precipimus, tam Majori, Vice-Comi-



Loyal: otherwise he wou'd not have erected such a Body Politic; wherein Non-Conformity was openly profess'd, and that not only in Matters of Worship, but Discipline too; and yet allowed and protected by him. And the Preamble of the Patent is very observable. For his grant is founded upon two Considerations, viz. 1. From the Obligation that he lay under as a Christian Prince, to regard pure & uncorrupted Religion, so diffuse it thro' the whole common wealth, & to preserve a Church instructed in truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites. & 2ly, The sufferings of those Germans and other strangers for Religion and the Truth. Whereupon and on these Accounts he grants them the Privileges mention'd in the Letters Patents. This is a plain Testimony of his belief that the German Presbyterian Congregation was such a Church as was instructed in the truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites, & that they had pure & Uncorrupted Religion amongst them; tho' their Rites & Ceremonies & Ecclesiastical Discipline differ'd from those of the Church of England: For if he had believ'd the contrary, the Patent wou'd have been inconsistent with it self and grounded upon a Consideration that was false as to them, and consequently impertinent. Besides, he speaks of his Design thus, *That there might be an incorrupted Interpretation of the Gospel, and an Administration of the Sacraments according to the Word of God and Apostolical Observation*; which shews that he believ'd both their Doctrine and Worship to be pure and Apostolical, and that they had faithful Ministers. And therefore it must be own'd that King Edward 6th, instead of finding fault with them as Disloyal or Seditious, gives an Ample and Honorable Testimony in favour of

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their

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\* tibus & Aldermanis Civitatis nostræ Londinenfis (between the last mentioned Words of this Patent and what follows, John a Lasco, in his Transcript of it, inserts these Words  
 \* Episcopo Londonensî) & Successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis,  
 \* Episcopis, Jasticariis, Officiariis & Ministris nostris quibuscunq; quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti & Ministris, & sua, suos libere & quiete frui,  
 \* gaudere, uti, & exercere Ritus & Cæremenias suas proprias, & Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam & peculiarem, non obstante quod non convenient cum Ritibus  
 \* & Cæremenis in Regno nostro usitatis, absq; impeditione, Perturbatione aut Inquietatione eorum vel eorum alicujus, aliquo Statuto, actu, Proclamatione,  
 \* Injunctione, Restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstantibus,

## Part I.

their Orthodoxy, Church-Constitution; and the Gospel Purity of their Worship.

The Design of King *Edward 6th*, in giving such great Encouragement to these *German Divines*, is a Demonstration of his preferring their Principles and Worship before these of the Church of *England* it self; which will appear, by considering what this Design was, and what Plan they had laid down for the Accomplishment of it. This is fully and plainly represented to us by a *Lasco* in his Book, *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia*, printed Anno 1555, which he dedicates to *Sigismund King of Poland*, to whom he represents his own Opinion about *Mystical Ceremonies* in the worship of God; which he thinks ought not to be us'd, except they have *Scriptural Institution* and Authority to support 'em: And afterwards, takes occasion to commend the PLAN of *K. Edward the 6th*, for introducing Gospel Simplicity and Apostolical Purity into the Public worship of the Church of *England*; which he describes thus:

' When (*b*) I was call'd by that King. (*i. e.* *Edward the 6th*) and  
' when some Laws of the Country stood in the Way, that 'twas  
' not possible, That the Rites of Public Divine Worship us'd under  
' Popery shou'd be *immediatly purg'd out*; (tho' it was what the  
' King himself desir'd) and while I was earnestly standing up for the  
' Churches of the Foreigners; at length 'twas his Pleasure, that the Pub-  
' lic Rites in the *Engl. sh* Churches shou'd be *Reform'd by certain Degrees*,  
' as far as it could possibly be got done for the Laws of the King-  
' dom: But that Strangers (who were not so strictly oblig'd by the  
' Laws of the Country in this Matter) shou'd have Churches gran-  
ted

(*b*) *Apud Voet. Polit. Ecclesiast. lib. 2. Cap. 6. Part 1. p. 421.*

' Cum ego quocunque per Regem illum vocatus essem: et leges quædam Patriæ ob-  
' starent, quomines publici potissimum Cultus Divini Ritus sub Papismo usurpat  
' (pro eo ac Rex ipse cupiebat) repurgari protenus possunt. Ego vero pro Pere-  
' grinorum Ecclesiis sedulo instarem, ita demum placuit, ut Ritus publici in An-  
' glie Ecclesiis, per gradus quosdam (quantum per leges patrias omnino liceret)  
' repurgarentur: Peregrinis vero hominibus (qui Patriis hæc alioqui in parte legi-  
' bus non usque adeo tenerentur) Ecclesiæ concederentur in quibus omnia libere,  
' & nulla Rituum Patriorum habitatione (juxta Doctrinam duntaxatque Obser-  
' vationem Apostolicam) instituerentur, ita enim fore, ut *Anglicæ* quoque Ecclesiæ  
' ad Puritatem Apostolicam Amplectendam unanimi omnium regni Ordinum



ted them, wherein they might freely perform all things according to Apostolical Doctrine and Observation only, without having ANY REGARD to the Rites of the Country; that by this means 'twou'd come to pass, that the English Churches wou'd be excited to EMBRACE APOSTOLICAL PURITY, with the Unanimous Consent of all the STATES OF THE KINGDOM.

The King himself (from his great Piety) was both the CHIEF AUTHOR and Defender of this Project. For, tho' 'twas almost universally acceptable in the King's Council, and tho' the Archbishop of Canterbury himself promoted the thing with all his might: yet there were some who took it ill: and wou'd have shown more Reluctancy to it, had not the King given 'em a Repulse both by his Authority and the Reasons he gave for this Design. The Churches of Strangers being accordingly allow'd, upon Condition or rather with a Liberty, that all things in them shou'd be order'd according to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles, the Care of them (by the Authority of King and Council) was committed to me: and I was commanded to chuse such Collegues for my self as I shou'd judge fittest for that service: that their Names might be inserted in the King's Patent.

In the end of the same Book in his Appendix, p, 649. he resumes the same history, and says, (i) What we did neither proceeded from any Contempt of other Churches (by whom we ingenuously and willingly acknowledge we have been profited in the knowledge of Divine things) nor from any itch after Novelty; but our Design was to remove as far as possible all Antichristian Novelties; And to make the nearest Approaches to the Antient Purity of the Primitive Apostolical Church; at the same time leaving other Churches (in this Matter)

N 2

to

consensu excitarenrur. Ejus vero Consilii Rex ipsemet (pro sua pietate) præcipuus non autor tantum, sed etiam Propugnator fuit. Et si enim id in Senatu Regio omnibus propemodum placeret, ipseque Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus rem omnibus modis promoveret; non deerant tamen qui id moleste ferrent adeoque & reluctaturi fuerint huic instituto Regio, nisi Rex ipse, non tantum Autoritate sua restitisset; sed productis etiam instituti hujus rationibus conatus eorum repressisset. Concessis itaque Peregrinorum Ecclesiis, & quidem ea lege seu libertate potius, ut in illis omnia juxta Decretinam atque Observacionem Apostolicam insisterentur; cura illarum mihi (Regia & Senatus Authoritate)

Part 1.

to their own Liberty, without any Prejudices. The faithfulness of the Ministry with which we are entrusted for those ends, requir'd this at our hands; Seeing the Care of our Church was committed to us chiefly with this View, that in the Ministrations therein, we shou'd rather follow the Rule of God's Word and the Practice of the Apostles, than any Rites of other Churches; and were admonish'd by the King himself and his Chief Nobility, to make a right and faithful use of so great a liberty of our Ministry as was permitted us; not to please men, but for the Glory of God alone, by promoting Reformation in the Worship of God: And that we shou'd take care, that our Adversaries (who wou'd be many) shou'd not find any thing in us, that might afford them a just ground of accusing us.

The Credit of this piece of History is supported by most Convincing Circumstances. For 1<sup>st</sup>, *John a Lasco* had it from the King's own mouth and those of his chief Nobility; he does not tell a Story of matters that happen'd out of his own time, and that were remote from his own knowledge: in such things men may be impos'd upon by Credulity in themselves, and Misinformation from others; but in this case there was no fear of either.

2<sup>dly</sup>, He hath from the King and Council (in the Patent) the Character of being, *homo propter Integritatem & Innocentiam vite & morum, et singularem Eruditionem valde Celebris. i. e. A man very famous for the*  
In-

ritate) committetur. Jubebarque mihi Collegas asciscere quos ei ministerio aptilimos esse indicarem: ut illorum nomina Regio Diplomati infererentur (i) Nos neque contemptu ullo a liarum Ecclesiarum (per quas nos alioqui in divinum Cognitione profecisse, ingenue & libenter agnoscimus neque item ullo novandi quidquam studio egisse: quidquid hujus egimus; sed potius id conatos esse, ut sublati omnibus anti Christianis Novationibus (quod ejus fieri posset) ad priam illam primævæ Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ puritatem quam proxime accederemus, permissa interim aliis Ecclesiis, sua (hac in parte) libertate, & sine præjudiciis ullis. Ad hæc fidem ipsam concediti nobis Ministerii id postulasse: cum hac potissimum ratione curæ nobis nostre Ecclesiæ committeretur, ut in illius Ministerio, non tam equidem aliarum Ecclesiarum ritus ullos, quam Verbi Divini Regulam potius atque Apostolicam Observationem sequeremur. Demique cum & a Rege ipso, & a præcipuis suis Proceribus subinde moneremur; ut permissa nobis tanta libertate in nostro ministerio, recte, & fideliter, non in hominum gratiam ullam, sed ad Dei solius Gloriam (per Cultus ipsius Repurgationem) ute remur. Et caveremus, ne quid in nobis a nostris Adversariis (quos equidem in multos haberemus) accusari merito posset.

*Integrity & Innocence of his Life and Conversation, and for Singular Learning.* Part 1.  
 Now, if he had all possible Opportunities of knowing the Truth of what he relates, Judgment to apprehend it, and Honesty and Integrity to give it faithfully without a Wilful Deviation from the Truth; his History challengeth all the Esteem and Credit, that can be due to an human Testimony: which will yet further appear, if we consider,

3<sup>dly</sup>, That he did not delay the Publication of this Narrative, until the Story became Stale, and the Means of Convicting him of falsehood (had there been any in it) were lost: But he publisheth this Concert between the king, the Council and him, within 4 or at most 5 years, after the affair was transacted: by which means, all his Enemies had the fairest Opportunity imaginable of discovering the error of what he asserted, had they been able to do it.

4<sup>thly</sup>, There are several Expressions in the King's Letters Patents, which confirm *A Lasco's* Narrative; for the King proposeth to have pure and Uncorrupted Religion diffus'd thro' the whole Body of the Commonwealth, and to have a Church instructed in truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites; this was his very View in the Preamble of the Patent, and agrees very well with the PLAN OF REFORMATION laid down by that<sup>3</sup> Excellent Prince, as *A Lasco* explains it; and what farther confirms it is,

5<sup>thly</sup>, That the king in Pursuance of his Resolution communicated to *A Lasco*, falls to work and makes Gradual attempts towards a farther reformation of the Church both in Discipline and Worship: For the latter, there comes out a second Edition of the Liturgy; many Popish Corruptions contain'd in the first were left out of this; A Commission was presently set on foot to 32 Commissioners to prepare a Scheme of Church Discipline; whereof 8 were nominated to prepare the Draught for the rest, which they did: and *John a Lasco* was nam'd as one of the 32. (k) The work was perfected and call'd *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*; But the king died before it obtained the Civil Sanction, and the Work died with him. However, 'tis evident that it went much farther towards a Reformation in Discipline than any thing, that has been enacted since in the Church  
 of

(k) vide Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation Part 2, Book 1. p. 197.

## Part I:

of *England*. And it makes it plain, that the king had a mind to go on by degrees in Reforming abutē; as *John a Lasco* assures us: & that he was one of the Persons appointed by the king, to assist in the work, is a farther Circumstance to support the Credit of what he relates. In a word, here are all the Concurring Circumstances, that can be expected and desir'd in a faithful Historian.

The Matter of this Historical Narration of *John A Lasco* is so plain, as it needs no Commentary to show how favorable an Opinion King *Edward 6th*, and his chief Ministers and Council had of the Non-Conformists. The Patent to *A Lasco* and the *German Congregation* was not a favor design'd only for Foreigners; 'twas a Project to Prepare the Nation for RECEIVING NON-CONFORMITY IT SELF, and for having it diffus'd as the UNCORRUPTED APOSTOLICAL RELIGION, thro' the whole Body of the Common-wealth. It is none of my business in this Book, to enquire whether King *Edward 6*. did Right or wrong in laying this Scheme for perfecting the Reformation of the Church of *England*: For that wou'd directly engage me in the Controversy about Church-Government, Ceremonies and Liturgies. But so far its subservient to my present purpose, as to be a Demonstrative Evidence of his sense of the Loyalty of Presbyterians: And that his Ministry and Council concurr'd in Opinion with him, is a farther Proof of the dutiful and Loyal Behavior of that People.

God having punish'd an Unworthy People with the Death of that Religious and Excellent Prince, the Wonder of his Age; Popery became again the Establish'd Religion in *England* under his Sister and Successor *Q. Mary*, by whom Protestants of all Persuasions were severely persecuted. During her Reign the English Exiles at *Francford* set up a Congregation, wherein they exactly practis'd both the Presbyterian Discipline and Worship.

Upon the Death of *Q. Mary* (which was as great a Blessing to the Nation, as the Death of *K. Edward 6th* was a Curse and an heavy Affliction) *Q. Eliz barb's* happy Accession to the Crown open'd a Door for the Return of these Exiles; and the Protestant Religion was Re-establiſh'd. Protestant Non-Conformity made a Considerable Progress during her Reign; and I hope to make it appear that the Puritans in her time, tho' they had the Misfortune to be treated with great Severity by her, were her Faithful and Loyal Subjects:

And

And here I will examine what our Author has said to the contrary.

He begins his Account of their Behavior with this *Mighty Apparatus* p. 7.

‘ I will now proceed to show how far their Actions have been Conformable to their Principles in all Turns of Government, and will as much as possible, confine my self to the very Words and Sentiments of most of the Queen’s Royal Predecessors in Relation to them, whereby you may judge what sense they had of their *Untainted Loyalty* to them in their Respective Reigns.

Seeing our Author has distinguish’d between the Principles and Practices of *Presbyterians*, & accordingly treats ’em, it might have been expected that they shou’d not be confounded and intermixt in this latter Part of his Essay, as sometimes they are; but especially, seeing he brings in Evidences to prove ’em; and therefore let the Reader observe, That no Man’s Testimony whatsoever is sufficient Evidence for condemning any Principle in Religion upon: for doing whereof Divine Testimony and Sound Reason is the only sufficient Ground.

Indeed in Matters of Fact, good and Unexceptionable Witnesses are to be admitted. But if the *Presbyterians* shou’d alledge, that some of the Queen’s Royal Predecessors and their Prime Favorites by whom they were influenc’d were *Persecutors of the Dissemers*, to the public Prejudice of Religion and Liberty; they say no more than what the *best States-men, greatest Patriots, Most Impartial Historians, & the Ablest Divines* of the *Moderate Conformists* have acknowledg’d. And therefore let the Reader judge, whether such Testimonies be Conclusive. I am sorry that our Author shou’d have so little Regard to the Memory of some of those Princes, as to raise a Disturbance to their *Royal Ashes*; and oblige men inevitably in their own Defence to mention some of those *Dark Shades*, with which their Pictures are drawn in the Public Records of History. This is a Task I shou’d altogether decline, were it not, that those Mistakes of the Court have been already laid open by those whose Zeal for the Church of England is past all Question; and that such Historical Discoveries have the Royal Countenance of a very great and Impartial Judge, namely the late Queen *Mary* of Glorious Memory, who ‘ When Reflections were once made before her, of the Sharpness of some Historians, who had left heavy Imputations on the Memory of some Princes: She answer’d, *That if*

*those*



## Part 1.

‘ those Princes were truly such as the Historians Represented them, they  
 ‘ had well deserv’d that Treatment : And others who tread their steps  
 ‘ must look for the same ; or Truth wou’d be told atlast. And that with  
 ‘ the more Acrimony of Stile, for being so long Restrain’d. It was a Gentle  
 ‘ Suffering to be exp’d to the World in their true Colours, much below  
 ‘ what others had suffr’d at their Hands (1).

I’m sure no man is chargeable with the Sin of speaking evil of Dignities, meerly for giving a just account of the Male-Administrations of Princes, when the Cause of Innocence and Truth requires it: with this Caution, I shall consider his Proof. ‘ To begin (says he p. 7.)  
 ‘ with Queen Elizabeth We find in her Speech to the Parliament  
 ‘ Anno Regni Decimo septimo, she says, That the Puritans are Dangerous  
 ‘ to Kingly Rule, every man according to his own Censure making doom of  
 ‘ the Validity or Pravity of his Prince’s Government, with a Common Vail  
 ‘ and Cover of Gods Word.

If we examine the Reasons which induc’d Queen Elizabeth to have this Opinion of the Puritans, we may collect them from the following Passages, taken from three Historians, who are all above the least suspicion of Partiality in their Favors. The first is Bp Burnet, who in the Preface to the 2d. Volume of his History of the Reformation, says,  
 ‘ There were many Learn’d and Pious Divines in the beginning of  
 ‘ Queen Elizabeth’s Reign, who being driven beyond sea had observ’d  
 ‘ the New Models set up in Geneva, and other places, for the Cen-  
 ‘ suring of Scandalous Persons, of mixed Judicatories of the Ministers  
 ‘ and Laity; and these reflecting on the great Looseness of Life  
 ‘ which had been universally Complain’d of in King Edward’s time,  
 ‘ thought such a Platform might be an Effectual way for keeping out  
 ‘ a return of the like Disorders. There were also some few Rites  
 ‘ reserv’d in this Church, that had been either used in the Primitive  
 ‘ Church, or tho’ brought in of later time, yet seem’d of excellent  
 ‘ use to beget reverence in Holy Performances, ————— Yet these  
 ‘ Divines Excepted to those as Compliances with Popery, —————  
 ‘ Those of the Division finding they could not carry their main Design;  
 ‘ rais’d all the Clamors they cou’d against the Churchmen; and put  
 in

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(1) Burnets Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary, p. 24.

in Bills into the Parliament against the *abuses* of *Pluralities, Non-Residences*, and the Excesses of the *Spiritual Courts*. But the Queen being POSSESS'D with this, that the *Parliaments meddling in those matters tended to the lessening of HER AUTHORITY*, of which she was EXTREMELY SENSIBLE, got all those *Bills* to be thrown out: If the *Abuses* that gave such Occasion to the *Malc-contented* to Complain, had been effectually redress'd, that *Party* must have had little to work on; *But these things furnish'd them with new Complaints still.*

After he has been stating *the fifth* Prejudice against the *Reformation*, he brings in the *Latter Part* of the *Objection* thus; 'There are besides this a great many other abuses, brought in in the worst times and now purg'd out of some of the Churches of the *Roman Communion*, which yet continue and are too much in use among us, such as *Pluralities, Non-residences*, and other things of that nature: so that it may be said, that some of the *manifest Corruptions* of *Popery*, where they are recommended by the Advantages that accompany them, are not thoroughly purged out; notwithstanding all the noise we have made about *Reformation* in matters much more disputable, and of far less Consequence.

'This whole *Objection*, when all acknowledg'd, as the *greatest Part* of it can't be deny'd, amounts indeed to this; that our *Reformation* is NOT YET ARRIV'D at that full Perfection, that is to be desir'd. The want of public Penance, and Penitentiary Canons is indeed a very great Defect: Our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the *Preface* to the *Office of Communion*. It was one of the greatest Glories of the *Primitive Church*, that they were so govern'd, that none of their number cou'd sin openly without public Censure and a long Separation from the holy *Communion*; which they judg'd was desil'd by a Promiscuous Admitting of all persons to it.

It will appear in the following Work, that a *Platform* was made of an *ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE*, tho' the Bishops had no hope of reducing it to Practice, till the King shou'd come to be of Age, and pass a Law for the Authorizing of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not prosecuted with that Zeal that the thing required in *Queen Elizabeth's* time.

## Part I.

In his History of the Reformation (m) he says, ' The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a love to the Reformation : But yet as her first Impressions in her Father's Reign were in favor of *such Old Rites as he had still retain'd*, so in her own Nature she lov'd *State* and some *Magnificence*, in Religion, as well as in *every thing* else. She thought in her Brother's Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points, therefore she intended to have some things explain'd in more general Terms, that so all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclin'd to *keep up Images* in Churches : And to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament left in some General Words, that those who believ'd the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it.

The same Author in his Letters (n) says, , By the Letters (he means of our Reformers to Bullinger ) of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the Ancient Habits rather in Compliance with the *Queen's Inclinations* than out of any likeing they had to them; so far were they from liking them, that they plainly express'd their Dislike of them. Jewel in a Letter Feb. 8. 1566. wishes that the Vestments together with *all the other Remnants of Popery*, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the Minds of the People, & laments the *Queen's Fixeness* to them; so that she wou'd suffer no Change to be made. And January 1566. Sands writes to the same Purpose, *Contenditur de Vestibus Papisticis utendis ; dabit Deus his quoque finem* Horn, July 16. 1565. writes of the Act concerning Habits with GREAT REGRATE, and expresses some hopes that it might be Repeal'd next Session of Parliament, *if the Popish Party did not hinder it*, and he seems to stand in doubt, whether he shou'd conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires Bullinger's Advice. And in many Letters wrote on the Subject it is asserted, That both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits &c. Grindal August 27. 1566. writes that all the Bishops who had been beyond Sea, had at their Return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall : but she was SO PREPOSSESS'D, that



‘ that tho’ they had all endeavor’d to divert her from prosecuting  
 ‘ the matter, she continu’d STILL INFLEXIBLE. This had  
 ‘ made them to resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit  
 ‘ Opportunity to reverse them. Part 1.

The same Learn’d Author, in his Sermon before the House  
 of Commons *January, 1688* on *Pf. 144. ver. 15.* gives us a Piece of  
 History, which will give farther light in this matter, “ Here suf-  
 ‘ fer me to tell you (*says he*) that in the beginning of Queen *Eliza-*  
 ‘ *beth’s* Reigu, our Adversaries (*the Papists*) saw no hopes of Re-  
 ‘ triveing their Affairs, which had been spoiled by *Q. Mary’s* Per-  
 ‘ secution, but by setting on foot *Divisions among Protestants*, upon  
 ‘ very inconsiderable matters. I my self have seen the Letters  
 ‘ of the *Chief Bishops of that time*, from which it appears that the  
 ‘ **QUEEN’S STIFENESS** in maintaining some Ceremonies flow’d not  
 ‘ from their Counsels, but from the practices of some *disguis’d Papists*.  
 ‘ And I have had in my hands the Original Journal of the Lower  
 ‘ House of Convocation in the *5th* year of that Glorious Reign, in  
 ‘ which the matter of the Ceremonies was first argu’d, and when it  
 ‘ came to the Vote, it was carried by the greater Number of the  
 ‘ Voices of the Members that were present **TO LAY DOWN**  
 ‘ **ALL THESE SUBJECTS OF CONTEST**: But the Proxies  
 ‘ turn’d it to the severer side.

The second is *Dr. Hylin*, who speaking of *Queen Elizabeth*, says,  
 with respect to the book of Common-prayer establish’d by her ‘ There  
 ‘ was great care taken for expunging such Passages in it, as might  
 ‘ give any *scandal or Offence to the Popish Party*, or be urg’d by them  
 ‘ in excuse for their not coming to the Church——— In the Litany  
 ‘ first made and publish’d by *King Henry 8th*, and afterwards conti-  
 ‘ nu’d in the two Liturgies of *K. Edward 6.* there was a *Prayer to*  
 ‘ *be deliver’d from the Tyranny and all the detestable Enormities of the*  
 ‘ *Bishop of Rome*, which was thought fit to be expung’d, as giving  
 ‘ matter of Scandal and Disaffection to all that Party, or that other-  
 ‘ wise wish’d well to that Religion——— And to  
 ‘ come up closer to the *Church of Rome*, it was order’d by the *Queen’s*  
 ‘ *Injunctions* that the Sacramental Bread (which the book required on-  
 ‘ ly to be made of the finest flour) shou’d be made *round in the fashion*  
 ‘ *of the Wafers used in the time of Queen Mary.* She also order’d that  
 ‘ the *Lora’s Table* should be placed where the *Altar* stood,—— And

## Part I.

all the Old Festivals observ'd with their several Eves, by which Compliances and the expunging the Passages before remembred; the *Book* was made *so passable among the Papists*, that for ten years they generally repair'd to their Parish Churches, without doubt or scruple.

The same Author giving an Account of many things retain'd in the Church by Queen *Elizabeth*, hath this Passage, 'The Gentlemen and Children in their Surplices, and their Priests in Copes as often as they attended the Divine Service of the *Holy Altar*. The Altar furnish'd with rich Plate, TWO FAIR GILT CANDLE-STICKS with *Tapers* on them, and a *Massy Crucifix* of Silver in the midst thereof; which last remained there for some years, till it was broke in Pieces by *Pach*, the fool (no wiser man daring to undertake such a Desperate Service) at the Solicitation of Sir *Francis Knalles* the Queen's near kinsman by the *Caries*, and one who openly appear'd in favor of the Schism at *Frankford*. The *Ancient Ceremonies Accustomably observ'd* by the Knights of the Garter, in their Adoration towards the Altar, *abolish'd* by King *Edward 6th*, reviv'd by Queen *Mary*, were by *this Queen* retain'd as formerly in her Father's time.

The Third is *Cambden*, who giving an Account of the Advancement of *Whitgift* from the See of *Worcester* to that of *Canterbury*, Represents *Q. Elizabeth's* Instructions to him in these Words, 'Him(o) The Queen (who, as in Civil Matters, so also in the Laws Ecclesiastical was of Opinion that no loose Remissness was to be used,) gave in Charge, that he should take special Care to restore the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and the Uniformity in the Service of God establish'd by Authority of Parliament; which thro' the *Connivance of the Prelates*, the *Obstinacy of the Puritans*, and the *Power of some Noblemen*, was run out of square;' *Whitgift*, in Pursuance of these Instructions urg'd upon the Ministers a Subscription to three Articles, the second whereof was in these Words, *That the Book of Common-Prayer and another Book of Ordaining Bishops and Priests contained nothing in them, contrary to Gods Word, but might lawfully be used;*

used; and that they should use that, and no other Form, either of Prayer, or Administration of the Sacraments. Upon which that Author makes this Reflection, 'By Occasion hereof incredible it is what CONTROVERSIES and DISPUTATIONS arose—' Part 1.

From these Passages 'tis easy to determine, what were the Causes of Queen Elizabeth's bad Opinion of the Puritans. They thought the Reformation in her time was *really* DEFECTIVE, and you see Dr. Burnet freely confesseth the same: Nay they thought that in some Points things were made worse by her, and some things reform'd by her Brother King Edward, reduced to the *Old Popish Customs* again, which the above Historians Confirm. That good King was for a *Plan of Ecclesiastical Discipline*, which she would not suffer nor establish; and for want whereof many Abuses were retained & encreas'd in the Church, and all this was regrated by the Puritans, and was what they still sought to be reform'd. And you see the most Learn'd and Pious Bishops in her time Joyn'd with the Puritans, lamenting the Queen's FIXEDNESS, and that she was so PREPOSSESS'D and INFLEXIBLE. She was so great a lover of State and Magnificence in Religion and in every thing else, that she could not bear to be contradicted in any thing, which her Natural Temper was fond of; and she was so *Extremely jealous* of her own Authority, that she would not suffer the Parliament to reform the Abuses of the Spiritual Courts, *Non-Residence*, *Pluralities*. &c.

Now, I would gladly know whether Q. Elizabeth was not *too jealous* of her own Authority, and too fearful of its being diminish'd, when she carried it so high, as to hinder the Necessary Reformation of *Palpable Abuses* in the Church? Wherein could that diminish her Authority in the least? and if she was mistaken in this Point, why might not her opinion of Puritans being *Enemies to Kingly Rule* be grounded upon the like mistake? Were they any further Enemies to Kingly Government, than by pressing for a farther Reformation of the Church? And were not all those Worthy Prelates and other *Great Ones* who joyned with them, as much Enemies to *Kingly Government* as they; that is, in Truth no Enemies to it at all.

Her stopping the Reformation of Abuses in the Church gave just ground for continual Complaints and Petitions; and yet she still found fault with those Complaints, as levell'd against her Authority; whereas

## Part 1.

whereas they were only level'd against those Corruptions, which had too much Countenance from her, against the Inclinations and declar'd Opinion of all the Moderate Clergy.

That Glorious Princess was very hearty and Zealous in promoting every step of the Reformation that was agreeable to her own Inclinations; for which her Memory will be transmitted to late Posterity with the Universal applause of all good Protestants: but in some other Points, 'tis plain that our Reformers had a Mind to have gone much farther, but for want of her Concurrence their Endeavors were frustrated; which was so great a Misfortune to *England*, that (most probably) it has been the Cause of all the Unhappy Divisions and Animosities among *English* Protestants from *that* time to *this*. For until that *Fatal Charge* given by the *Queen* to *Whitgift*, anno 1583; The Prelates generally and the other Clergy, had so good an Understanding amongst themselves, that they bore with one another; and the Terms of Conformity were not rigorously urg'd. What Parts of the Common-Prayer were against the Consciences of Men, and were likely to divide the Church, and cause a Separation, were let alone; and the Ceremonies left indifferent, and no pressing of Ministers to Subscriptions and declarations with respect to those Points; and this is what *Cambden* calls the Connivance of *Prelates*, which so much disturb'd the *Queen*. Now is it to be imagin'd, but that Clergy who by their Mutual Moderation continu'd incorporated into one Church and Communion for so many years, wou'd have fallen upon such a *healing Scheme*, as wou'd have prevented all the unhappy Differences which have since follow'd, if the *Queen* had heartily concurr'd with 'em. But instead of that, *Whitgift* by her Orders, carry'd matters so high, that Multitudes of *Faithful, Learn'd & Laborious Ministers* were silenc'd and Grievously persecuted for Non-subscription to his New Articles, press'd *without Authority* either of *Parliament* or *Convocation*; while in many places a scandalous Unqualify'd Ministry who Conform'd to his Articles were kept in their Peaceable Possession. And hereupon Multitudes of Families were ruin'd by Imprisonment, and Banishment and other Severities.

The persecuting Rigor and Violence of *Whitgift*, and the *Loyal and Peaceable* Behavior of those *Puritans* so cruelly harass'd by him, is attested by the greatest Statesmen of that Age, and particularly by  
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the Celebrated Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who in one of his Letters upon that Subject to the Archbishop *Sept. 17. 1584* says, ‘ I (p) see such Worldliness in many who were otherwise affected before they came to Cathedral Churches, that I fear the Places alter the men, and herein I condemn not all: but few there be that do better being Bishops, than being Preachers they did. ——— by your Order, poor simple men, have rather been sought for by Inquisition to be found Offenders, than upon their facts condemn’d. In another letter to *Whitgift* dated July 5th 1584. The same Noble Lord says, ‘ (q) It May please your Grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I do, but I am more troubled my self, not only with many private Petitions of sundry Ministers recommended for persons of Credit, & for peaceable persons in their Ministry, & yet by Complaints to your Grace, & other your Collegues in Commission greatly troubled: but also daily now charg’d by COUNSELLORS, and PUBLIC PERSONS to neglect my Duty, in not staying of those your Grace’s Proceedings, so vehement and so General against Ministers, and Preachers, as the *Papists* are thereby greatly encourag’d and all evil Dispos’d Persons amongst the Subjects animated, and thereby the Queen’s Majesty’s SAFE TY ENDANGER’D ; ——— But now, My good Lord, by chance I have come to the sight of an Instrument of 24 Articles of great length & Curiosity, form’d in a *Romish* Style, to examine all manner of Ministers in this time without Distinction of Persons, which Articles are Entitul’d *apud Lambeth Maij. 1584* to be executed *ex officio mero* &c. And upon this Occasion I have seen them. I did recommend unto your Grace’s Favor two Ministers Curates of *Cambridge* Shire, to be favorably heard, and your Grace wrote to me that they were Contentious, Seditious, and Persons Vagrant, maintaining this Controversy, wherewith I charg’d them sharply, and they both deny’d those Charges, and requir’d to be try’d and so to receive Punishment: I answer’d, That your Grace wou’d so charge them, & then I shou’d see afterwards what they should deserve, & advis’d them to resort to your Grace, comforting them that they should find favorable Proceedings, & so I hope upon my former Com- menda-

(p) *vide* the Harmony between the Old and Present Non-conformists Principles p. 50.

(q) *Vide Fuller’s Church History* Book 9. p. 154 &c.

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meditations the rather. What may be said to them I know not, nor whether they have been so faulty as your Grace hath been inform'd do I know; neither do I mean to treat for favor to such men, for pardon I may speak upon their Amendment. But now they coming to me, I offer how your Grace proceeded with them. They say, they are commended to be examin'd by the Register at London, and I ask'd them whereof. They said of a great Number of Articles; but they could have no Copies of them, I answer'd that they might answer to the Truth; they said that they were so many in number, and so diverse, as they were afraid to answer them, for fear of *Captious Interpretation*. Upon this I sent for the Register, who brought me the Articles, which I have read, and find so *curiously penn'd*, so full of Branches, and Circumstances, that I think the *INQUISITIONS of SPAIN use not so many Questions to comprehend, and to intrap their Preys*. I know your Canonists can Defend these with all their Particles: But surely under your Grace's Correction, this *juridical and Canonical Siftner of poor Ministers*; is not to edify and reform. And in Charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice Points, except they were very Notorious Offenders in Papistry or Heresy. Now good my Lord, bear with my scribbling: I write with Testimony of a good Conscience. I desire the Peace of the Church I desire Concord, and Unity in the Exercise of our Religion. I fear no Sensual and Wilful Recusant. But I conclude, that according to my simple Judgment, this kind of proceeding is *too much favoring the Romish Inquisition*, and is rather a Device to seek for Offenders, than to reform any.

———— I have willed them not to answer these Articles, except their Consciences may suffer them. ———

If COUNSELLORS and PUBLIC PERSONS thought *Whit gift's* Vehement Proceedings against *Puritans to be encouraging to Papists*, and *all evil Dispos'd Subjects*, and DANGEROUS to her MAJESTY'S SAFETY, then 'twas not possible that they shou'd reckon *Puritans themselves* dangerous to her Majesty's safety, or that they were, *in the least evil Dispos'd Subjects*; and therefore they were accounted by them *Loyal and peaceable* in the Exercise of their Ministry, which Character of'em prevails so far upon the Lord Treasurer's Belief, as he *wills him not to answer Whitgift's Romish Inquisition*, promoted by such *those Places alter'd the men*.

Nay the PRIVY-COUNCIL themselves laid such weight upon the many Complaints made to them upon this doleful Subject, that they wrote a grave letter of Admonition to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* dated *September 20. 1584.* in favor of the Non Conformists, as follows.

‘ After (r) our hearty Commendations to both your Lordships; ‘ altho’ we have heard of late times *sundry Complaints* out of divers ‘ Countries of this Realm, of some Proceedings against a *great num- ‘ ber of Ecclesiastical Persons, some Parsons of Churches, some Vicars, ‘ some Curates, but ALL PREACHERS, whereby some were de- ‘ priv’d of their Livings, some suspended from their Ministry, & Preach- ‘ ing; yet we have forbore to enter into any particular Examination ‘ of such Complaints, thinking that howsoever inferior Officers ‘ as Chancellors, Commissaries, Arch-Deacons and such like, whose Offices ‘ are of more value and profit by such like kind of Proceedings, might ‘ in such sort proceed against the Ministers of the Church: Yet your ‘ Lordship the Archbishop of that Province of *Canterbury* have, besides ‘ your General Authority, some particular Interest in the present ‘ Jurisdiction of *sundry Bishopricks* vacant. And you also the Bishop ‘ of *London* both for your own Authority in your Diocess, and as ‘ head Commissioner Ecclesiastical, would have a Pastoral care over the ‘ particular Officers; to *stay and temper them in their hasty Proceedings ‘ against the Ministers, and especially against such as do earnestly pro- ‘ fess and instruct the People against the Dangerous Sects of Papistry. ‘ But yet of late, hearing of the lamentable Estate of the Church in ‘ the County of *Essex*, that is, of a GREAT NUMBER of ZEA- ‘ LOUS and LEARN’D PREACHERS there suspended from ‘ their Cures, the Vacancy of the place for the most part without ‘ any Ministry of preaching, Prayers and Sacraments; And in some ‘ places, of certain appointed to those void Rooms, being persons ‘ neither of Learning nor of good name; and in other Places of that ‘ Country, a great Number of Parsons occupying the Cures being ‘ notoriously unfit, most for lack of Learning, many charg’d or charge- ‘ able with great and Erroneous faults and Drunkenness, Filthiness of life,**

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Gamsters

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Gamsters at Cards, haunting of Ale-houses, and such like; against whom we hear not of any Proceedings but that they are QUIETLY SUFFER'D, to the slander of the Church, to the offence of good people, yea to the famishing of them for lack of good teaching; and thereby dangerous to the *Subverting of many, weaklings from their Duties to God,* and the QUEEN'S MAJESTY, by secret Jesuits and Counterfeit Papists. And having thus in a general sort heard out of many Parts of the like of this lamentable Estate of the Church, yet to the Intent we should not be deceived with the Generality of reports, we sought to be inform'd of some Particulars, namely of some parts of *Essex*, and having receiv'd the *same Credibly in Writing*, we have thought it our Duties to her Majesty and the Realm for the Remedy hereof, without intermeddling our selves with your Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, to make Report unto your Lordships as persons that ought *most specially to have regard thereto*, as we hope you will; and therefore have sent you herewith in Writing a Catalogue of the Names of persons of sundry Natures, and Conditions, that is, *one sort being reported to be Learned, Zealous and good Preachers deprived and suspended*, and so the Cures not served with meet persons. The other Sort a Number of persons having Cures, being in sundry sorts far unmeet for any Offices in the Church, for their many Defects and Imperfections, and so as it seems by the Reports have been and are *suffered to continue WITHOUT REPREHENSION* or any Other PROCEEDINGS against them; and thereby a great number of Christian People untaught; a Matter very lamentable in this time. In a *third sort*, a number having double livings with Cure, and so not resident upon their Cures, But yet enjoying the benefit of their Benefices without any Personal Attendance upon their Cures. Against all these Sorts of *Lewd, and evil, and Unprofitable Corrupt Members*, we hear of NO INQUISITION, nor of any kind of Proceeding to the Reformation of those horrible Offences in the Church, but yet of *great diligence*, yea, and *Extremity us'd against those that are KNOWN DILIGENT PREACHERS*. Now therefore we, for the Discharge of our Duties, being by our Vocations under her Majesty bound to be careful that the Universal Realm may be well govern'd, to the honor and Glory of God, and to the Discharge of her Majesty being



the Principal Governor, over all her Subjects under Almighty God, do most earnestly desire your Lordships, to take some Charitable Consideration of these Causes, that the People of the Realm may not be deprived of their Pastors being DILIGENT, LEARNED and ZEALOUS, tho' in some Points Ceremonial, they may seem doubtful only in Conscience, and not of Wilfulness. Nor that their Cures be suffer'd to be vacant without good Pastors, nor that such as be placed in the Rooms of Cures be insufficient for learning, or unmeet for their Conversation. And tho' the Notes which we send you be only of Persons belonging to *Essex*, yet we pray you to look into the rest of the Country in many other Diocesses, for we have, and do hear daily of the like in generality in many other places, but we have not sought to have the Particulars so manifestly deliver'd of other places as of *Essex*, or rather, to say the Truth, of one Corner of the Country. And we shall be most glad to hear of your cares to be taken for Remedy of these Enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or hear of the like Complaints to continue; and so we bid your good Lordships right heartily farewell.

Your Lordships Loving Friends

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| C. Howard,       | Will. Burleigh,    |
| I. Croft.        | George Shrewsbury; |
| Chr. Hatton,     | A. Warwick.        |
| Fra. Walsingham. | R. Leicester.      |

Does any man believe that her Majesty's Privy Council, cou'd have pleaded in this manner for the Puritans, if they had thought them Disloyal and Seditious? If they did, I'm sure they must be chargeable with great Unfaithfulness to the Queen, and the true Interest of the Nation.

If *Cambden* had seen all the Debates that have been raised upon the same ground, he wou'd have had much more reason to say, as he did, it is Incredible what Disputations & Controversies &c. Non-Conformity till that time made but a small Figure in *England*, because the Moderation of several Bishops was such, as the Puritans were conniv'd at in their Omission of the Rites, Forms and Practices which they

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most scrupled at: And therefore the number of those who separated from the Communion of the Church was, before that time, but in considerable. But the fatal Cause above mention'd (*viz.* *Whiggist's Rigor*) did then Effectually break the Peace of the Church, by excluding from her Communion many sound Protestants of Unblemished Characters: And, at the same time, gave a Demonstration of the Justice of that Observation made by the Learn'd *Stillingfleet* (*f*); Without all Controversy the *main inlet* of all the *Distractions, Confusions* and *Divisions* in the Christian World, hath been adding other Conditions of Church Communion than *Christ* hath made.

Upon the whole, if *Queen Elizabeth's* stiffness in these Points, riveted in her by her *extreme Jealousy* of her own Authority, and her Natural Inclination (from her *Education* and *Temper*) to the Magnificence of some of the *Popish Ceremonies, Modes and Habits*, did PREPOSSESS her Judgment & make her INFLEXIBLE, even to the desires of the *most Glorious* of our Reformers in these very Points, which to this day are some of the *Grounds of Non-Conformity*: The Consequence plainly is this, that her Judgment of *Puritans* was not impartial, being *Byss's* and *Prepossess'd*; and therefore ought not to be receiv'd to their Prejudice. If every *Puritan* according to his own Censure, made doom of the *Validity or Pravity* of his *Prince's Government*, I think he did no more than what the Rights of Mankind and Subjects allow every Individual to do, who ought in the *Judgment of Discretion* to examine every Command of his Superior wherein he's concerned, whether it may be obeyed lawfully and with a good Conscience: To deny this, is to make as many *Popes* as there are *Princes* in the World, by yielding them all an *Implicit Obedience*. And *Q. Elizabeth's* charging this upon the *Puritans*, is a farther Argument of her extreme Jealousy of her Authority, and of her *Prepossess'd* Judgment.

Our Author, to give us a farther Account of the sense of *Q. Elizabeth*, quotes two Passages; the one from a Speech of *Serjeant Puckering* to the House of Commons, whereof he was Speaker: And the other from the letter of *Sir Francis Walsingham* to *Monsieur Cr. toy*, the French King's Secretary. But seeing he quotes them only

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as *speaking the sense* of Queen Elizabeth about Puritans, I might dismiss them both with what has been said, as a sufficient Answer: For if that Queen's own Judgment was Prepossess'd in this Point, surely all those who *speake her sense* must, on the same score, be laid aside in this Debate. Yet, I shall neglect nothing that has the least shadow of Argument in what's quoted out of either of these two Gentlemen. Serjeant Puckering begins thus (p. 7.) ' You are Commanded by her Majesty that no ear be given to the Wearisom Solicitations of those commonly call themselves *Puritans*, wherewith all the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importun'd.' All subjects have a *Liberty of Petitioning* for the Redress of Grievances, and to hear such Petitions and frame wholesom Laws upon 'em, has been still thought the great business of Parliaments and the *great Means* of preserving the Liberty of the Subject; and therefore that the Queen shou'd Command her Parliaments to *give no ear* to the Complaints of Subjects, is a Stile and manner of speaking, which Parliaments have no great reason to be fond of. Both Houses of Parliament being *Essential* Branches of the Legislature, are *for themselves* Judges of what ought or ought not to pass into a Law; And therefore have still endeavor'd to preserve to themselves the freedom of *Speech & Voting* according to their own Judgments, and not by any *Prepossession* from another Spring. Neither did they account the Solicitations of Puritans *wearisom*; but, on the Contrary, *Reasonable*; as appears from the Petition of the House of Commons to the House of Lords *anno* 1587. in their favor, Fuller gives us the greater Part of the Petition it self, with an Account of the Debates upon it in the House of Lords, and of the Artifices and Management of *Whitgift* and his party with the Queen to obstruct it. And because all these things give Considerable insight into the History of the *Puritans* and their Behavior at that time, and the Causes not only of their being Discountenanc'd, but of a Stop put to the Reformation of Palpable Abuses, I must not overlook it.

Take Fuller's Account of the whole in the following Words ' But (t) now a Session of Parliament was held at Westminster, wherein the House of Commons presented to the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*

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Part I: *a Petition. Complaining how many Parishes especially in the North of England and Wales, were destitute of Preachers, and no care taken to supply them. Sixteen were the Particulars, whereof, the six first were against insufficient Ministers; very earnestly pressing their taking the same into their serious Consideration, for speedy Redress of the Grievances therein contained.*

7. *That no Oath or Subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into the Ministry, but such as is expressly prescribed by the Statutes of this Realm, except the Oath against corrupt Entering.*
  8. *That they may not be troubled for OMISSION of SOME RITES or PORTIONS prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer.*
  9. *That they may not be call'd and urg'd to answer before the Officials and Commissaries, but before the Bishops themselves.*
  10. *That such as had been suspended or deprived for NO OTHER offence, but only for NOT SUBSCRIBING, might be restored, and that the Bishops would forbear their Excommunication, ex officio mero, of GODLY and LEARN'D PREACHERS not detected for open offence of life or apparent Error in Doctrine.*
  11. *That they might not be call'd before the High-Commission, or out of The Diocess where they lived, except for some notable Offence.*
  12. *That it might be permitted to them in every Arch-Deaconry, to have some Common Exercises and Conferences amongst themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the Ordinaries.*
  13. *That the high Censure of Excommunication, may not be denounced or executed for small matters.*
  14. *Nor by Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, but by the Bishops themselves with assistance of grave Persons.*
  - 15 } *That Non-Residency may be quite removed out of the Church,*  
16 } *or at least that according to the Queen's Injunctions (Artic, 44.) No Non-Resident having already a Licence or faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach and Catechize, as is required in her Majesties Injunctions.*
- Of all these Particulars the House fell most fiercely on the Debate of Pluralities and (the Effect thereof) Non-Residents.*

2. *Arch-Bishop Whitgift* pleaded, that Licences for *Non-Residency*, were at the present but seldom granted. And yet in way of Recovering health by changing of Air, of Study for a time in the University, of Mortal Enmity born by some in the Parish, of Prosecution of Law, or of being Employed in Public Affairs, they cannot be wholly abrogated, That there were in England four thousand five hundred Benefices with Cure, not above ten & most of them under eight pounds in the first fruits-Book, which cannot be furnish'd with able Pastors, as the Petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their Livings. Moreover he affirm'd, that whatever was pretended to the contrary, England at that time flourish'd with able Ministers more than ever before, yea had more than all Christendom besides.

3. The Lord Gray rejoyn'd to this Assertion of more Learned Ministers in the Church of England than ever heretofore, nay than in all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, this; that it was not to be attributed to the Bishops or their Actions, but to God, who now opened the hearts of many to see into the Truth, and that the Schools were better observed.

4. The Lord Treasurer *Burghley* seeming to moderate betwixt them, after a long and Learn'd Oration, concluded, That he was not so scrupulous, as absolutely to like of the Bill against Pluralities without any Exception: for he did favor both Learning, and wished a Competent Reward to it. And therefore could like, and allow a Learned man to have two Benefices, so they were both in one parish, that is to say, in one Diocess, and not one in the Diocess of Winchester, and another in the North, where the several Diocesans wou'd have no regard of them, whereas being both in one Diocess, the Bishop wou'd look unto them.

5. Here it was signified, that her Majesty was acquainted with the matter, and that she was very forward to Redress the faults, and therefore required the Bishops, not to hinder her good and gracious purpose, for that her Majesty would confer with them.

6. The Lord Gray again said, he greatly wondred at her Majesty, that she would make choice to Confer with those, who were all Enemies to Reformation; for that it meerly touch'd their Free-holds, and therefore he thought it good, the House shou'd make choice of some to be joined with them; also he wished the Bishops might be served as they were in K. Henry

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ry the 8th days, when as in the Case of Præmunire they were all thrust out of doors.

7. The Lord Treasurer said, that the Bishops, if they were wise; wou'd themselves be humble Suiters to her Majesty, to have some of the Temporal Lords joyn'd with them.

8. The Lord Chamberlain utterly disliked the Lord Gray's Motion, alledging that it was not to be liked of, that the Lords shou'd appoint her Majesty any to conser withal, but that it shou'd be left to her own Election.

9. Matters Flying thus high, the Archbishop, with the rest of the Clergy, conceived it the safest way to apply themselves by Petition to the Queen, which they presented as followeth.

## To the Queens Most Excellent Majesty.

THE Woful and Distressed State whereunto we are like to fall, forceth us with Grief of heart in most humble manner, to crave your Majesties most sovereign Protection. For the Pretence being made the Maintenance and increase of a learned Ministry, when it is throughly weighed, decayeth learning, spoileth their livings, taketh away the SET FORM of PRAYER in the Church, and is the means to bring in Confusion and Barbarism. How dangerous Innovations are in a settled State, whosoever hath Judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such great Inconveniences may ensue, as will make a starelamentable & miserable. Our Neighbours Miseries might make us fearful, but that we know who rules the same. All the Reformed Churches in Europe, cannot compare with England in the Number of Learn'd Ministers. These Benefits of your Majesty's most Sacred and Careful Government with hearty joy we feel; and humbly acknowledge; senseless are they that repine at it, and careless who lightly regard it. The respect heereof made the Prophet to say; *Dii estis*. All the faithful and Discreet Clergy say, *O DEÀ CERTE!* Nothing is Impossible with God. Requests without

without grounded Reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore rat as **Part I.**  
 Directors; but as humble Remembrancers beseech your Highness favor-  
 able beholding of our present state: And what it will be in time to come,  
 if the Bill against Pluralities shou'd take any place.

Had I a mind to enlarge upon this Narrative of Fuller's, I think I could make it appear, 1. That the Persecution of Puritan Ministers was judg'd by the Representatives of the Nation, to be a Prejudice to the Protestant Religion, otherwise they wou'd not have pleaded, not only for a Toleration, but a Comprehension of 'em. 2ly, That the Puritans were suspended and deprived then for NO OTHER Offence, than for NOT SUBSCRIBING to Whitgift's Articles, and consequently neither for Insufficiency, Heterodoxy, Negligence, nor DISLOYALTY (as appears by the 10th branch of the Commons Petition): And that they are honor'd with the Character of Godly and Learned Ministers. And 3dly, That a most unwarrantable Method was taken against 'em by the Arch-Bishop and their fierce Adversaries: For, to run 'em down, he and some of the Bishops shut up her Majesty's ears, and made 'em deaf to the just desires of her Parliament in their favor; and hindered her from reforming the scandalous Practice of Non-Residency and Pluralities; the Continuance whereof continu'd and encreas'd Divisions in the Church. I have set down at large, their Petition to the Queen, that the Reader may see, I intended not to conceal any thing of the strength of their pretended Reasoning. And I must do the Justice to a great Divine of the Church of England, as to insert here his faithful and Impartial Censure of that abuse: The Reformation whereof was then obstructed, to the scandal of Religion: and let the Reader judge, whether Whitgift's Arguments or his be the strongest.

The Learn'd Divine I mean is Bishop Burnet, who in his Preface to the second Part of the History of the Reformation, delivers himself thus, ' If men had a just notion of this Holy Function, and a right sense of it before they were initiated into it, those scandalous Abuses of Plurality of Benefices with Cure, (except where they are so poor and Contiguous, that both can scarce maintain one Incumbent, and one man can discharge the duty of both very well) Non-residencies, and the hiring out that Sacred Trust to

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*Pitiful mercenaries* at the cheapest Rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are Abuses that even the Church of *Rome*, after all her Impudence is assum'd of, and are at this day generally discountenanc'd all *France* over: Queen *Mary* here in *England* in the time of Popery, set her self effectually to root them out.

And that they should be still found among *Protestants*, and in so Reformed a Church, is a *scandal* that may justly make us blush. All the honest Prelates at the Council of *Trent* endeavor'd to get *Residence* declar'd to be of Divine Right, and so not to be dispenc'd with upon any Consideration whatsoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most Common Impressions, which all men have about Matters of Religion, than that *Benefices* are given for the Office to which they are annex'd: And if in Matters of mens Estates, or of their Health, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the Care of some Inferior or raw Practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so Important a Concernment, as the care of souls must be confess'd to be, to mean Hands? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such Disorders, have much to answer for both to God, for the neglect of those souls for which they are to give an Account, and to the World, for the *Reproach* they have brought on *this Church* and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill Practices; nor could the Divisions of this Age ever have risen to such a height, if the people had not been possess'd with ill Impressions of some of the Clergy, for those *Inexcusable Faults* that are so Conspicuous in too many that are call'd Shepherds: *Who cloath themselves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not strengthened the Diseas'd, nor Healed the Sick, nor bound up that which is Broken, nor brought again that which was Driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force & Cruelty.* And if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made us *base and Contemptible among the People*, we shou'd find great reason to refl. et. on those Words of *Jeremy*. *The Pastors are become brutish and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their Flocks shall be scattered.*



But to return to *Puckering*; let us examine the remaining Part of his Evidence against the Puritans, of whom he asserts That 'Whilst they labor to advance a New Eldership, they do nothing but disturb the good People of the Church and Commonwealth. For which he brings no Proof but his own Word. Here he reflects on their *Principles*, and therefore, (as I observ'd before) his Evidence without a Reason to support it, is none at all: He shou'd either have shown that their Eldership were of themselves a *Disturbance* to the Church and Commonwealth, or by their Indiscreet Management were so; but, seeing he does neither, I say no more but deny his Assertion.

'As the present Case stands (says he) it may be question'd whether the *Jesuites* do offer more danger &c. or be more speedily to be suppress'd.' Let all Sound Protestants compare the Principles and Practices of *Jesuits* with those of the *Puritans*, and judge what Temper those People are of who make it a Question which of 'em are most speedily to be suppress'd, and whether our Author has done any service to the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth*, by making *Puckering's* Speech to be her sense in this matter. But let us hear Mr. *Speaker's* Reason of this grand doubt. For albeit (says he) the *Jesuites* 'do empoison the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects &c. Yet they do the same but closely and only in Privy Corners; but these men do publish in their Printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles Opinions, not only dangerous to the well Settled Estate of this Realm, but also much Derogatory to her Sacred Majesty, as well by denying her Highness's Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering peril to her Majesty's Safety in both Kingdoms.

This Strain of Reasoning determines the Question in favor of the *Jesuits* as being less dangerous than Puritans. There being no particular Opinion of the Puritans mention'd, 'tis sufficient answer to this Calumny, to deny they hold any such Opinions as are there alledg'd. And that Gentleman shows how little *Acquaintance* he has had with the Principles of the Puritans, who did all unanimously assert the Queen's Prerogative and Supremacy; as appears by their opinions quoted in the preceeding Chapter p. 24. out of the book Entituled *English Puritanism*. And the same is farther Evident from a Book Entituled a *Protestation of the King's Supremacy*, written in their name in the Reign of King *James 1st*; and from their Readiness to subscribe the first of *Whitgift's* Articles concerning that very Point, as appears

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by their own *Authentic Petition* sign'd by their hands to the Privy Council, and printed from the *Original* in the *History of Conformity*, p. 16. Wherein they say, 'It is well known to all your Lordships, that an *Absolute Subscription* throughout the whole Province of *Cambridge* to three Articles. The *first* concerning her Majesty's *Supreme Authority*. The *Second*, to the Book of *Common-Prayer* with that of *Consecrating Bishops* and *Ordaining Priests* and *Deacons*. The *third* concerning the *Book of Articles*; *As to the first we offer ourselves to a full Subscription as always heretofore we have done* &c.

That their Opinions or Practises either offer'd *Peril* to her Majesty's safety in both (or either) *Kingdoms*, is of a Piece with the rest of his Banter, he not being able to give one single Instance of it. As for their *Printed Books* they are not inferior to any in that Age, for their Usefulness, Learning, Orthodoxy and Piety; as appears from the great *Fox* and *Cartwright's* Writings, and the Eminent Professors in both Universities, and many other Celebrated Divines then called *Puritans*, whose Opinions have nothing in 'em to give the least handle for that Uncharitable Reflection.

*Cartwright* serv'd the Protestant Interest by his Learn'd Pen, in one of the most Accomplish'd Pieces which that Age produc'd, against the *Rhemish Translation of the New Testament*. Fuller gives us such an Account of that Performance, as not only advanceth the just Praises of its Revd. Author, but also lets us in to the Secret Spring of Opposition that was made in that Age by the High-Church-Party to the most Innocent yea Laudable Attempts of the Puritan Divines. He expresses himself thus.

'Secretary (u) *Walsingham*, by his Letters solicited Mr. *Thomas Cartwright* to undertake the refuting of this *Rhemish Translation* : And the better to enable him for the Work, sent him an hundred pounds out of his own Purse. A bountiful gift for one who was tho' a great *Statesman* a man of *small Estate*, contracting honourable Poverty on himself by his Expence on the Public, as dying not so engag'd to his private Creditors, as the whole Church, and State was endebted to his Endeavors. *Walsingham* his Letters to *Cartwright* were seconded by another from the *Doctors*, and *Heads of Houses*.

\* Houses (and Dr. Fulke amongst the rest) at Cambridge, besides the  
 \* Importunity of the Ministers of London and Suffolk soliciting him  
 \* to the same purpose. Hereupon Cartwright buckled himself to the  
 \* Employment, and was very forward in The puruance there-  
 \* of.

'No sooner had *Waight* gotten Notice, what *Cartwright* was a writ-  
 \* ting, but presently he prohibed his farther proceeding therein.  
 \* It seems *Walsingham* was Secretary of State not of Religion, wherein  
 \* the Archbishop overpower'd him. Many commended his care,  
 \* not to entrust the Defence of the Doctrine of England, to a Pen so  
 \* disaffected to the Discipline thereof. Others blamed his jealousy  
 \* to deprive the Church of so Learn'd pains of him, whose judgment  
 \* would so solidly, and affections so zealously confute the Public Ad-  
 \* versary. Distastful Passages (shooting at Rome, but glancing at *Can-  
 \* terbury*) if any such were found in his Book, might be expung'd  
 \* whilst it was pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud, for some  
 \* had leaves about it. Disheartned hereat, *Cartwright* desisted, but for  
 \* some years after, encourag'd by a Honorable Lord, resumed the  
 \* Work; but prevented by death, perfected no further than the  
 \* fifteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*. Many years lay this Worthy  
 \* Work neglected and the Copy thereof moufe-eaten in part, whence  
 \* the Printer excused some defects therein in his Edition; which tho'  
 \* late, yet at last come forth anno 1618. A Book which notwithstanding  
 \* the foresaid Defects, is so compleat that the *Rhemists* durst never  
 \* return the least Answer thereunto.

We may see that the *Puritans* were employing their Studies against  
 the *Papists* and not against the Queen's Authority or Safety. But  
 supposing (for Arguments sake, tho' it be false in it self) that the  
*Puritans* had advanc'd some Opinions, which were not so much for  
 the Queen's safety, as they shou'd have been; yet all who have the  
 least Acquaintance with the Opinions of *Jesuits*, Must own that  
 their Opinions are by great Odds more dangerous to a Prote-  
 stant Queen than the very worst Principles that ever were al-  
 ledg'd upon the *Paritans*. The *Jesuits* hold, that Princes excom-  
 municated by the Pope may be depriv'd of their Crowns, they free  
 the People from their Allegiance, and assert that its Meritorious  
 to destroy such Heretics &c; which Doctrines *Puritans* ever ab-  
 horr'd. Neither does it mend the matter, That the *Jesuits* do this  
 closely and in a Cover: they are the more dangerous, and the Antidox  
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against such poyson the more difficult to be apply'd; whereas if this were done openly, the Remedy is obvious. From which it appears how Irrational as well as uncharitable his Speech is; which he concludes thus, ' by the separation of themselves from the Unity of their Fellow-Subjects, and they do but Joyn and concur with the Jesuits in opening the Door and preparing the way for the Spanish Invasion &c.

They never separated till they were driven away by *Whitgift's* Articles which they cou'd not in Conscience subscribe, and therefore they were not chargeable with any bad Consequence that might flow from it: 'Tis not to be doubted but Divisions among Protestants give great advantage to the Common Enemy; but the Debate is who are the Causes of such Divisions? For which I refer to *Stillingfleet's* opinion already quoted p. 108. *Thomas Long* is here adduc'd by our Author to confirm this Suggestion of *Puckering*, who says, That when the King of Spain sent his Armado upon the Coasts, The Protestant Dissenters instead of Arming in Defence of the Queen and themselves did with greater Importunity and Confidence assault the Queen with Petitions and Libels, taking Advantage of the times, as if they were more ready to assist the Spaniards, rather than her Majesty, in case their Unreasonable Requests were not granted, of which see more in *Cambden's Annals anno 1588.* " I can't find in *Cambden* the least Insinuation of the Puritans being in the Spanish Interest: 'Tis true *Cambden* shows his great Dislike of the Principles of the Puritans about Church-Discipline and their Opposition to Prelacy, he's pleas'd to call 'em Schismatics, and he charges 'em with *Contumacious Impudency* and *Contumelious Malapertness*, Upbraids 'em with writing Books that he thinks *Scandalous against the Church-Government & Prelates*: he names the Books viz. *Martin-Marre-Prelate, Minerals, Deatrefhes, & Demonstration of Discipline.* He Objects their holding Synods and Classes, and forming *Presbyteries*: For which *Cartwright, Snape, King, Froudlox, Payne*, and some other Ministers were call'd in question and that some *over-zealous people, Conspir'd to deliver 'em out of the Magistrates hands.* All this we have in his *History of Q. Elizabeth, Book 3. p. 421.* But after all these hard words, he breaks off his story thus, ' But how extravagant the Petulant Impudence of these Ministers was &c. I leave to the Ecclesiastical Historian to whom it properly

ly belongeth' and so he says no more of it: if *Cambden*, who had so bad an opinion of the *Puritans* and us'd such harsh Expressions against 'em, cou'd have justly impeach'd 'em of any Disloyalty, he wou'd not have omitted it: And therefore his Testimony does not in the least confirm the Assertion for which 'twas referred to by *Mr. Long*; As to the Matter of the Testimony it self, it shall be set in a true light when I come to examine *Sir Francis Walsingham's* Letter. In the mean time let the Reader be pleas'd to consider that *Cambden's* Account has nothing in it but a Collection of bitter Words and Precarious assertions.

I don't think *Mr. Long* has shown so much Veracity in that book quoted by our Author as to procure sufficient Credit to his own Testimony. The whole book is a Collection of the most Scurrilous Reflections, that have ever appear'd in Print against Dissenters, aggravated with all the *Stuff* Malice cou'd invent, and fill'd with the most *sulsome Court Flattery* that can be imagin'd: of which take this one instance p, 235. 'There hath not been (saith he) a *Succession* of four such Princes lineally descended, for *Eminency in Religion*, *Peaceableness and Clemency* in any *Age*, or *Nation*, since our Savior's time as amongst us'. King *Charles 2d* was the last of these four; the very naming of whom as a Prince of Eminent Piety is sufficient to expose this Author's Assertion to Ridicule. He inveighs furiously against the *Bill of Exclusion*, and rakes into all the *Sham-Plots of Fanaticks*; rails at Parliaments for voting 'em any favor; and flies to the highest Pin of Passive Obedience: from whence the Reader may observe; what sort of Vouchers our Author has convers'd with in his *strict Enquiry*; and it were easy to show (if it were worth while) that he has borrow'd Matter, method, and sometimes Expression from this dear friend of his *Thomas Long*.

That the Puritans did then ask *Unreasonable Requests* or give in *Libels to the Queen*, is deny'd; and why it should be Unreasonable in the time of danger from a Common Enemy, to desire the hearty Union of all good Protestants & to petition for proper Expedients towards it, I can't see. And this was all the Puritans did; who were still ready to defend the Queen by their Arms, at any time when they thought fit to employ 'em.

And by the Observation our Author has made, as any foundation

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of his Discourse p. 5. viz: ' That there ever was a perfect harmony both in Principles and Practice, among all the Dissenters of *England*, ' *Scotland*, and *Ireland* '. The *English* Puritans are *effectually vindicated* from this Malicious Aspersions, by that Solemn Band entred into by all the *Scots Presbyterians*, and faithfully prosecuted against the *Spanish Invasion*; among other things they swear in these words ' To ' (v) convene and assemble our selves publickly with our friends in ' *Arms*——at such times and places as we shall be required——to ' joyn with the *whole forces* of our friends and favorers against what- ' soever Foreign or Intestine Powers——that shall arrive or rise within ' this *Island* or any part thereof——to expose and hazard our ' Lives, Lands and Goods——in Defence of the said true and ' Christian Religion, and his Majesty's Person and Estate against ' whatsoever Jesuits——: '

I come next to answer the Testimony of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, whom our Author very justly adduceth in this place, as *speaking the sense* of *Queen Elizabeth*: for any one who knows his Character will readily grant, that he did not speak his *own sense*. Fuller says of him (w) ' Amongst all the Favorers of the Presbyterians, surely Honesty and Wisdom never met more in any than in Sir *Francis Walsingham*. ' Let the Reader observe the person to whom Sir *Francis* wrote this Letter, viz. *Monsieur Critoy*, the *French King's* Secretary; and that he lay under the greatest Temptations possible to put the best face he cou'd upon the Conduct of the Queen his Miltress. He had been overpower'd by *Whitgift's* Party, who kept a Jealous Eye over him: And when he is representing the Queen's Actions and the Maxims of her Government to a Foreign Court, and to a person of so public a Character, and himself being in an Eminent Post at home; he must have said the most Plausible things that cou'd be thought on, for justifying the Queen's *wholesome Severities* (as some call 'em) against the *Puritans*. Let the World judge whether the Testimony of Sr. *Francis* under these Temptations and in these Circumstances, be to be laid in Ballance with the Testimony of *himself*, speaking in behalf of the *Puritans*, and pleading for the Prevention of these Severities

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rities against them, which he endeavors *afterwards* to excuse. In the *one* he acted as a faithful Counsellor to her Majesty, setting forth the true Interest of Religion, of the Crown, and of the Kingdom, and struggled against the strong Current of a Prevalent Party at Court: In the *other*, the Rules of Decency, in not laying open the Weakness of the Government to a Foreign Court, and his own standing right in the Queen's favor, might prevail on him to say all that he has said. And when it is all well consider'd, we will not find so much in it against the Puritans, as at first View there appears to be.

Her Majesty's Proceedings both against *Papists* and *Puritans* were grounded (as he informs us) upon two Principles, 'The (*x*) one, 'That Consciences are *not to be forced*, but to be won and reduc'd by force of Truth with the aid of time, and use of all good Means of Instruction, and Persuasion. The other, That Causes of Consciences when they *exceed their bounds* and grow to be *Matter of Fashion* lose their Nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practises and Contempt, though coloured with the Pretence of Conscience and Religion.

Now unless Sr. *Francis* prove that these two Principles were observ'd in her Proceedings against the *Puritans*, his Testimony can *militate nothing* against 'em. A Particular Examination of what he offers, will give us an Opportunity of judging how far the Managements of the Queen with respect to her Puritan Subjects, were agreeable to these two Maxims which He makes to be the *Ground-Work* of the whole. 'For the other Party says he which have been offensive to the State, tho' in another degree, which named themselves *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritans* this hath been the Proceeding towards them: A great While, when they inveighed against such Abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities Non-Residence* and the like, their *zeal was not condemn'd* only their *Violence* was sometime censur'd.

*Answer*, It is here acknowledg'd, that they were *right in the main*; in opposing *Pluralities, Non-Residence* and the like: and that these

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are *Abuses* in the Church: And yet Sr Francis very well knew, that the Reformation of'em was stop't by the *Queen* and the *High-Party*, as evidently appears from the *Historians* I have mention'd on that Head. As to *their Silence*, they us'd *in free*, they rais'd *no Rebellion*, nor shew'd the *least Disloyalty* against their Prince. And if any of'em were *too vehement* and warm in their Expressions, this was not to be charg'd upon the whole Body of *Puritans*; and in such Cases, Censures are to be mitigated, where men are *driven* into some little Excesses by their Meeting with an *Unreasonable* Opposition to what is just and laudable.

Again he says, ' When they refus'd the Use of some Ceremonies and Rites, as *superstitious*, they were tolerated with *much Connivancy and Gentleness*; yea, when they call'd in question the *Superiority* of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracy* into the Church, yet their Propositions were here consider'd, and by *contrary Writings* debated and discuss'd.

*Ans.* Here is indeed the Spirit of true Christian Moderation, which breathed in many of the best Episcopal Divines, in the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign: And this lasted till *Wright's* Advancement to the See of *Canterbury*. O happy *England*, if that had continu'd and had never been stifled by the fiery heat of an *Imposing* Spirit, by which the Nation has been so frequently thrown into miserable Convulsions!

But he goes on and says, ' Yet all this while, it was perceiv'd that their Course was dangerous and very popular: as because *Papistry* was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the *Reliques of Papistry*; a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extreme to the other.

*Ans.* Sr. Francis's Assertion here must be weigh'd and judg'd by the Validity or Invalidity of the Reason he gives for it; for its founded upon this Supposition, that the *Puritans* were leading the People from the *Extremes* of *Papery*, into some *Opposite Extreme*; Which they deny'd; for the Purity of worship and Discipline which they aim'd at; was not (in their Opinion) *any Extreme* at all. The Merit of the Cause here lies in the Debate about Church-Government and Worship, with which the Cause of Loyalty is not concern'd.

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He adds, ' They open'd to the People a way to Government, by their Consistory and Presbytery ; a thing, tho' in Consequence no less prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than to the *Sovereignty of Princes* ; yet in first shew very popular. Part I:  
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Ans. This being an Assertion not of fact, but against a Principle ; human Testimony is not sufficient to prove it. And that Presbyterian Government is not prejudicial to the *Sovereignty of Princes*, I have fully prov'd in the preceding Chapter, Neither is it prejudicial to the Liberties of private men. For there is no Form of Church-Government whatsoever, Wherein greater Provision is made against the *Usurpation and Tyranny of the Clergy*, and for having the People duly Represented, and *their Liberties preserv'd*. And for the further Illustration of this, I refer my Reader to the Passage quoted in the following Chapter, out of the Book Entitul'd, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland 1703.* and to the Remark, which I there make upon it.

He adds, ' Nevertheless this, except it were in *some few* that entred into *extreme Contempt*, was don with ; because they pretended in dutiful manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magistrate.

This shows there were *but few* that entred into extreme contempt, and so can't affect the Body of these Puritans, who never Justify'd any *wilful Contempt*, tho' they cou'd not condemn a *Conscientious Dissent*. It is Certain, the *Brownists* were a dangerous Sect, who carry'd matters very high, and deny'd the Church of *England* to be a Church, and were indeed guilty of *Extreme Contempt* ; but the Sober Puritans both from the Pulpit and Preis refuted the Dangerous Errors of these Wild Sectaries ; and yet their Adversaries took an handle from the Extravagancies of that Mad Sect, to deal severely with the whole Puritans, as if they had been answerable for the folly of the Deluded *Brownists* ; in the same manner, as the *Presbyterians* were charg'd in the Reign of King *Charles 1st.* with the abominable Principles and Practices of the Sectarian Party ; of which more in its proper place.

What Sr. *Francis* hath hitherto said, proves That the Puritans were look'd upon as (at least) a Tolerable People, and insinuates that, as the Reason of the mild Treatment they met with from the State

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for some time. But when he comes to wind up his Argument, and to give a Colourable Gloss to the severity of the Queen's Proceedings against 'em, he then picks up a few Heads, and itaks 'em together in short and general Expressions; well knowing, that they could not bear an Enlargement, without spoiling the Queen's cause he was then defending: For had he told the particular Stories, upon which his General Observations are founded, every one must have presently seen, that they were not sufficient to vindicate the Severity of the latter part of that Reign against the Puritans.

He proceeds thus, 'But now of late years, when there issu'd from them a Colony of those, that affirm'd the *Consent of the Magistrate* was not to be attended, when under a Pretence of a Confession, to avoid Slander and imputations, they Combin'd themselves by *Classe & Subscriptions*, and when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take an Oath &c. When they began to vaunt of their strength, and Numbers of their *Partisans*, and to use the Comminations that their Cause wou'd prevail, tho' with Uproar and Violence then it appear'd *no more Zeal, no more Conscience*, but more *Faction and Division*. And therefore tho' the State were compell'd to hold somewhat an harder hand than before, yet it was with as great Moderation, as the peace of the Church and State wou'd permit.

I shall particularly inquire into the facts, which gave any Colour for what is offer'd in the above Words; and make it appear, that they are either innocent; or, so far as they are bad, not chargeable upon the Puritans as a Body; but on some few of their Number only. And consequently no Proof of their being *factions* and *Disturbers* of the State, nor of the Equity of the bad Treatment they met with.

First, 'tis said that they affirm'd, *That the Consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended*: This is short and Obscure. That the Consent of the Magistrate is not to be attended in all Cases, is a Truth acknowledged by all Sound Divines; otherwise the Primitive Christians, and even *Christ* himself and his *Apostles* had been in the wrong, to assert and adhere to the Christian Religion, without the Consent of the Civil Magistrate; and 'tis certain, wherever God by his *Positive Command* enjoys us to perform any Duty, that Duty ought to be

be perform'd, whether the Magistrate Consent to it or not: for no human Law can Repeal the Divine Statutes, and in every such Case we must obey God rather than man.

Now the Case of the Puritans which gave Occasion for this Remark was this. They believ'd in their Consciences, that 'twas the Will and Command of God to them to proceed to a farther Degree of Reformation than the Public Laws had enjoy'd. In this Case they Petition'd the Queen and Parliament, and Convocation; beside their Addresses to Particular Bishops, and other Persons of Note both in Church and State. But by the Means I have already hinted, their Endeavors were frustrated; and therefore after all this fruitless waiting, 'twas their Opinion that, seeing they cou'd not procure such Laws, as might reform the Church of England in General, from those things they judg'd to be abuses, that 'twould be a Sin in 'em to contradict the Light of their own Conscience, by delaying the Exercise of that Discipline and Worship which they thought most agreeable to the Word of God, tho' the Magistrate wou'd not add the Civil Sanction. Now suppose that they had been mistaken in their Opinion about the Presbyterian Model of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and that Episcopal Government were the best; that does not infer any Disloyalty in 'em, or that what they did was from Faction, and not from Conscience. And if we once believe, that their Consciences truly dictated to 'em the Points wherein they differ'd from the Establish'd Church, they cou'd not (without manifest Contempt of the Authority of God) forbear to put their Principles in Practice. Indeed if any of them had affirm'd, That they might take away the Church-Livings of the Conformable Clergy, and possess themselves of 'em and of their Churches, without the Consent of the Magistrate; this had been a plain Usurpation upon the Rights of Civil Authority. But this is what they never pleaded for. And for the Reader's farther Satisfaction in this Point, I must refer him to the 3d Chap. of the 3d. Part of this Discourse, where that matter is largely debated.

2ly Its Objected, that under Pretence of a Confession to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combin'd themselves by Classes and Subscriptions. This can't have a Relation to any thing, but the Meetings of the Puritan Ministers, for the Exercise of Discipline, according to their

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Consciences. And the same answer given to the former Accusation may be applied to this. But here I shall lay before the Reader a brief account of the progress of the Disciplinary Party in *England*, for so those were termed that set up their *Classes* or *Presbyteries* and *Synods*; that we may have not only an Historical Idea of the *English* Presbyterians in *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, but see that their presbyteries and Synods did nothing that was prejudicial to the *Crown*, tho' they were against *English* Prelacy.

That the Reader may at once have both the History and my Vouchers, I shall give it him in *Fuller's* own Words; joining together such pieces of his History, according to the Order of time, as will best enlighten the Subject.

‘ The (y) Non-Conformists, tho' over-power'd for the present in Parliament (viz. anno 1572) yet found such favor therein; that after the Dissolution thereof they presumed to Erect a *Presbytery* at *Wandsworth* in *Surrey*. Eleven Elders were chosen therein, and their Offices and General Rules (by them to be observed) agreed upon and described; as appears by a Bill indorsed with the hand of *Mr Field* the Lecturer (as I take it) of that Place, but living in *London*. *Mr Smith* of *Micham*, and *Mr Crane* of *Roughampton* (neighbouring Villages) are mention'd for their Approbation of all Passages therein. This was the first-born of all *Presbyteries* in *England*, and *secundum usum Wandsworth* as much honor'd by some, as *secundum usum Sarum* by others.

‘ It may seem a Wonder that the Presbyterian Discipline, should ripen sooner in this Country Village than in *London* it self: where, as yet, they were not arrived at so formal a Constitution, tho' we may observe two sorts of Ministers: first, *M. Field*, *Mr Wilcox*, *Mr Standen*, *Mr Jackson*, *Mr Bonham*, *Mr Seintloe*, *Mr Crane*, *Mr Edmonds*; Afterwards, *Mr Charke*, *Mr Travers*, *Mr Barber*, *Mr Gardner*, *Mr Chesten*, *Mr Crooke*, and *Mr Egerton*. The former of these were Principally against Ministers Attire, and the Common-Prayer Book. The Latter endeavor'd the Modelling of a New Discipline, and it was not long before both Streams uniting, together

gether, *Non Conformity* began to bear a Large and great Channel
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In the year 1590. The Venerable *Cartwright* was call'd before the High-Commission, to answer upon his Oath to 31 Articles, which are very Arttually renn'd; & because divers of 'em relate to the Synods and Presbyteries that had been us'd, for some years preceding that, by the *English Presbyterians*, and give some Account of their Constitution and Buiness, I shall insert here what relates to that Subject.

10 (2) the first of September (anno 1588) Mr. *Cartwright* Batchelor in Divinity, was brought before her Majesty's Commissioners, there to take his Oath, and give in his Positive Answer to the following Articles.

Such of these Articles as concern the History of the Presbyterian Disciplinary Party, are these.

9: *Item* (a), That since his said Return, in sundry private Conferences, with such Ministers and others, as at sundry times by Word, and Letter, have ask'd his Advice or Opinion, he hath shew'd Mislike of the Laws, and Government Ecclesiastical, and of divers parts of the Liturgy of this Church; and thereby persuaded, and prevailed also with many in sundry Points, to break the Orders and Form of the Book of Common-Prayer who observ'd them before, and also to oppose themselves to the Government of this Church, as himself well knoweth, or verily believeth.

13 *Item*, That preaching at the Baptizing of one of *Job Throgmorton's* Children, he spoke much of the Unfaithfulness, and in Derogation of the Government, Polity, Laws, and Liturgy Ecclesiastical of this Realm; and to the Justification of a Government by *Elderships in every Congregation*, and by *Conference and Synods*, &c. abroad, as Divine Institutions commanded by Christ; and the only lawful Church-Government, seeking to prove and Establish such Elderships out of that Word in one of the *Psalms* where *Thrones* are mention'd.

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25. *Item (b)* That for, and in the behalf of the Church of England he penn'd or procur'd to be penn'd, all or some part of a little book entitul'd in one part *Disciplina Ecclesie Sacra Verbo Dei Descripta*; and in the other Part, *Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum usu &c.* And, after it was perus'd by others, whom he first acquainted therewith, he recommended the same to the Censures and Judgments of moe Brethren (being *Learn'd Preachers*) and some others, assembled together by his Means, for that and other like Purposes: which, after Deliberation, and some Alterations, was by them or most of them allow'd, as the only lawful Church-Government, and fit to be put in Practice; and the ways and Means for the practising thereof in this Realm, were also then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

26. *Item*, That for the better, and more due practise of it within the Space of these *seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one year* last past. the said *Thomas Cartwright* and sundry others, (as aforesaid according to former Appointment, and Determinations by them made) have met in assemblies, term'd *Synods*, more General (as at *London*, at Terms, and Parliament Times; in *Oxford* at the Act, in *Cambridge* at the Times of Commencement, at *Sturbridge* fair) and also more particular, and *Provincial Synods*, and at *Classes* or Conferences of certain Selected Ministers in one or moe Places of sundry, Several Shires, as *Warwick, Northampton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex*, and others.

27. *Item* That at such Synods, and Conferences it hath been concluded, that all the Ministers which should be receiv'd to be either of the said General Synods, or of any more particular and *Provincial*, or of a *Classis*, or Conference, should *subscribe to the said Discipline*, that they did allow it, would promote it, practise it, and be govern'd by it. And according to the Form of a Schedule hereunto annex'd, or such like; both he the said *Thomas Cartwright* and many others, at sundry, or some General Assemblies, as at *Provincial*, and at several Conferences have within the said time, subscrib'd the same, or some part thereof.

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28, ' *Item*, That at such Synods and all other Assemblies, a Moderator of that Meeting, was first by him and them Chosen, according to the Prescription of the said Book. And at some of such Meetings and Assemblies amongst other things, it was Resolv'd and Concluded; that such Particular Conferences in several Shires shou'd be erected; how many Persons and with what Letters from every of them shou'd be sent to the General Assembly; and that one of them, at their coming home to their Conference, shou'd make known the Determinations of the General Assembly, to be by every of them follow'd, and put in Practice; which Course in sundry Places of this Realm hath (within the time aforesaid) been accordingly follow'd and perform'd.

30 ' *Item* (c) That he with others Assembled in such a General Assembly, or Synod at Cambridge, did conclude and decree (as in another Schedule annex'd or in some part thereof is contain'd) which Decrees were made known afterwards at Warwick to sundry Classes there by his means assembled, and allow'd also by them then met together in the same or like form.

31 ' *Item*, That at such several meetings, Synods, and Conferences within the said time, many other Determinations, as well what shou'd be done and perform'd, or omitted; as also what shou'd be holden Consonant to God's Word, or disagreeing from it, have been set down by the said Thomas Cartwright and others. As namely, that all admitted to either Assembly shou'd subscribe the said Book of Discipline, Holy, and Synodical, that those who were sent from any Conference to a Synod, shou'd bring Letters Fiduciary, or Credence: That the last Moderator shou'd write them: that the Supercription thereof should be to a known man of the Assembly then to be holden: That no Book made by any of them shou'd be put in Print, but by Consent of the Classis at least; That some of them must be earnest, and some more Mild and Temperate, whereby there may be both of the Spirit of Elias, and Elizus: That all admitted amongst them, shou'd subscribe and promise, to conform themselves in their Proceedings, Administration of Sacraments, and of Discipline, to the Form of that Book; and that they would subject themselves to the Censuring of the Brethren, both for Doctrine and Life: and lastly, That upon Occasion when any of their Brethren shall be sent by them upon Affairs of the Church (as to

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the great Meetings, Parliament &c) they all wou'd bear their Charges in Common : That there might be *no Superiority* amongst them, and that the *Moderatorship*, (as it happen'd) is not a Superiority, or honor, but a Burden : That no Profane Writer, or any other than Canonical Scripture may be alledg'd in Sermons : that they shou'd all reach, that the *Ministry* of those who did not preach, is no Ministry, but a Mee Nullity, that it is not lawful to take any Oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing *Penal to himself*, or to his Brother ; especially if he be perswaded the Matter to be lawful, for which the Punishment is like to be Inflicted, or having taken it in this Case, need not discover the very Truth : that to a *Bishop* or other *Officer Ecclesiastical* (as is used now in the Church of *England*) none Obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abstaining from that which they inhibit : that in such Places as the most of the People favor'd the Cause of Sincerity, Elderships shou'd warily & wisely be placed and Established; which Consistory in some places hath been either wholly, or in part erected accordingly, yea in some Colledges in the Uaiversity, as he knoweth, hath heard, or verily believeth.

The most Particular Account I find of the Acts of any of their Synods, is that of the Synod of *Coventry*, Anno 1588. But *Fuller* takes it all from Bishop *Bancroft*, whose Authority is not very great, as I shall shew in the next Chapter : However compar'd with better attested accounts, it may help to give some light in this matter, and will be of use in my Application of this Historical Narrative, for vindicating the Loyalty of those Presbyterians.

A *1st* Synod of the Presbyterians, of the *Warwick-shire-Classis*, was call'd at *Coventry*, die decimo quarti ; that is on the tenth of *April* (Anno 1588) : wherein the Questions, brought the last year from the Brethren of *Cambridge-Synod*, were resolv'd, in manner as followeth.

1. That Private Baptism was unlawful.
2. That it is not lawful to read Homilies in the Church.
3. That the Sign of the Cross is not to be us'd in Baptism.

4. ' That the Faithful ought not to Communicate with unlearn'd Ministers, altho' they may be present at their Service, if they come of purpose to hear a Sermon, the reason is, because Laymen as well as Ministers may read public Service.
5. ' That the Calling of Bishops &c. is unlawful.
6. ' That as they deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, there is no duty belonging unto, nor any publickly to be given them.
7. ' That it is not lawful to be ordain'd Ministers by them, or to denounce either Suspensions, or Excommunications sent from them.
8. ' That it is not lawful to rest in the Bishop's deprivation of any from the Ministry, except (upon Consultation with the Neighbour Ministers adjoining and his flock) it seems so good unto them: but that he continue in the same until he be compell'd to the Contrary by Civil Force.
9. ' That it is not lawful to appear in a Bishop's Court, but with Protestation of their unlawfulness.
10. ' That Bishops are not to be acknowledg'd either for Doctors, Elders, or Deacons, as having no Ordinary Calling.
11. ' That touching the Restauration of their Ecclesiastical Discipline, it ought to be taught to the People as Occasion shall serve.
12. ' That (as yet) the People are not to be sollicit'd (publickly) to the practise of the Discipline, (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.
13. ' That men of better Understanding are to be allur'd privately to the present embracing of the Discipline, and Practise of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the Peace of the Church.

' Likewise in the same Assembly the aforesaid Book of Discipline was approv'd to be a Draught Essential and necessary for all times; and certain Articles (devis'd in Approbation, and for the manner of the use thereof,) were brought forth, treated of, and subscrib'd unto, by Mr. Cartwright, and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to the several Classes, for a general Ratification of all the Brethren.

But the best attested and most Authentic Account of these Meetings

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ings for Discipline, is from Mr. Stone one of the Ministers and Members of the said Assemblies.

‘ *Thomas (e) Stone* Parson of *Warkton* in *Northampton-Shire* (by virtue of an Oath tender’d him the day before by the Queen’s Attorney, and solemnly taken by him) was examin’d (*anno 1590.*) by the Examiner for the *Star-Chamber* in *Gray-Inn*, from six of the Clock in the Morning, till seven at night, to answer unto thirty three Articles, but cou’d only effectually depse to these which follow; faithfully by me transcrib’d out of a Confession written with his own hand, and lately in my Possession.

‘ 1. *Interrog* Who and how many assembled and met together with the said Defendents, T. C. H. E. E. S. &c. all or any of them, where, when, how often &c?

‘ The Answer of T. S. to the *Interrog.* touching the Circumstances of first, Places of Meeting. 2 Times. 3 Persons. The Places of Meeting were either greater or less: The greater were *London* in the Houses of *Travers*, *Egerton*, *Gardener* and *Barber*; and *Cambridge* in *St. John’s Colledge*. The lesser Places of Meeting were *Northampton* in the Houses of *Fishson* and *Snapes*; and *Kettering* or near it in the Houses of *Dammes* and *Stones*.

‘ 2. The times of Meeting were 1. Since the beginning of the last Parliament. 2. Sundry times at *London*, how oft he remembred not. 3. Sundry times at *Northampton*, how oft not remembred. 4. Sundry times at *Kettering*, how oft not remembred. 5. Once at *Cambridge*; about *Sturbridge-fair-time* was one or Two Years, 6. Once at *London*, a little before Mr. *Cartwright* was committed, at Mr. *Gardener’s* House. 7. Once at this Deponent’s House, the certain time not remembred.

‘ 3. The Persons Meeting in *London* jointly or severally were, Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Egerton*, Mr. *Gardener*, Mr. *Barber*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Somerscales*, Mr. *Cartwright*, Mr. *Charterton*, Mr. *Gyfford*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Edmunds*, Mr. *Gyllybrand*, Mr. *Culverwell*, Mr. *Oxenbridge*, Mr. *Barbon*, Mr. *Fludde*, and this Deponent. Those Meeting

(9) *Id. Ibid.* p. 206, &c.

Meeting in Cambridge were, Mr. Chatterton and others of Cambridge, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Snape, Mr. Fludde, and this Deponent. Those meeting in Northampton jointly or severally were, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Snape, Mr. Sybthorp, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fludde, this Deponent, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Fleishware, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Littleton, M. Williamson, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Barbon, Mr. King, Mr. Proudcome, Mr. Massie, and Mr. Bradshaw. Those meeting at Kettering, or near it, were Mr. Dammes, Mr. Pattison, Mr. Oaks, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Massie, and this Deponent.

2. *Interrog.* Who called these Assemblies, by what Authority, how, or in what sort?

Answer, That he knew not by whom they were call'd, neither knew he any other Authority therein, saving a Voluntary or free Motion, one giving another Intelligence as occasion serv'd, sometimes by Letters and some times by word of Mouth.

3. *Interrog.* Who were Moderators in them, and what their Office?

Answer. That he remembred not who were Moderators in any Meeting particularly, saving one at Northampton, when Mr. Johnson was admonish'd, and that was either himself, or Mr. Snapes, he knew not well whether.

4. *Interrog.* What things were Debated in those Meetings or Assemblies?

Answer. That the things chiefly and most often consider'd of in these Assemblies were these. *first,* the Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer; how far it might be yielded unto, rather than any should forgo his Ministry. *2dly,* The Book of Discipline was often Perus'd, discuss'd &c *3dly,* Three Petitions or Supplications were agreed upon to be drawn. *first,* to Her Majesty. *2dly,* To the Lords of the Council. *3dly,* To the Bishops. The things debated of in particular, he remembred not more than these. *First,* the perfecting of the Book of Discipline, and purpose to Subscribe to it at Cambridge, *Secondly,* This Question disputed, whether it were convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal the Circumstances of the Conference a little before he was Committed. *Thirdly,* The Admonishing of Mr. Johnson once at Northampton. *Fourthly,* The debating of this Question, whether the Books call'd Apocrypha

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‘ *pha* were Warrantable to be read Publickly in the Church, as the Canonical Scriptures.

‘ 5. *Interrog.* Whether any *Censures* were exercis’d, what *kinds, when, where,* upon *whom,* by *whom,* for what Cause ?

‘ *Ans.* That he never saw any Censure exercis’d, saving Admonition once upon Mr *Johnson*, of *Northampton*, for miscarrying himself in his Conversation to the scandal of his Calling, neither was that used with any kind of Authority, but by a *voluntary yielding* unto it, and approving of it, as well in *him* that was admonish’d, as in *him* that did *admonish*.

‘ 6 *Interrog.* Whether any of the said Defendents had moved or persuaded any to refuse an Oath, and in what Case &c ?

‘ *Ans.* That he never knew any of the Defendents to use words of Persuasion to any to refuse an Oath ; only Mr *Snape* sent him down in Writing certain Reasons drawn out of the Scripture, which moved him to refuse the General Oath, *ex Officio* ; which I stood persuaded, that he sent to no other end, but to declare that he refused not to swear, upon any Contempt, but *only for Conscience sake*.

‘ ‘ I have insisted the longer on this Deposition, because the first and fullest I find in the kind thereof, containing their *Classes* more formally settled in *Northampton-Shire*, than any where else in *England*. For as the west part of that Shire, is observed to be the highest place of *England*, as appeareth by the Rivers rising there, and running thence to the four Winds : so was that County a probable Place (as the middlest of the Land) for the Presbyterian Discipline, there Erected, to derive it self into all the quarters of the Kingdom.

This History of the Disciplinary Party makes it plain, what the meaning was of their *Combining themselves by Classes and Subscriptions*, (as Sr *Francis Walsingham* terms it). They Erected Presbyteries, reduced their Discipline into a Method, and took care that their Members should observe it. And all this amounts to no more than this, that they were Presbyterians, and acted according to their Consciences, believing that they were setting up and Promoting an Ordinance of God. And therefore they must either have proceeded according to those Principles, or they must wilfully have omitted

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ted what they believed in their Consciences, was their Duty to practise, which would have been in *them* a very great Sin. Was not this *meer* Conscience then, and not Faction? Wherefore according to the *first* of the *two* *Maxims* by which the Queen propos'd to govern in Matters Ecclesiastical, viz. *That Conscience should not be forc'd, the Discipularians* ought not to have been so severely dealt with, for holding their *Classes*, and such like Meetings.

I beg the Reader may carefully observe one thing, that tho' a great Part of the above History is taken from the Profess'd bitter Enemies of the Presbyterians, viz. from *Bancroft* (out of whom *Fuller* transcribes the Acts of the Synod of *Coventry*) and from the High-Commission; who exhibited the Articles against *Cartwright*, yet there is not so much as AN HINT of any Rebellion; Conspiracy against the Queen's Title, Person, or Government; or of any Seditious Combination against her: nor are any of those things laid to the Charge of those Presbyterians. If any thing of this Kind could have been with any Colourable Pretence charg'd upon 'em, would the High-Commission have failed to have put it in their Articles against *Cartwright*? Surely nothing had been more Proper to justify their Proceedings against the Puritans, than to have impeach'd 'em of an Undutiful Behavior to their Prince; for that wou'd have taken away all ground of Censuring their Conduct as severe. But instead of this, they proceed against 'em for Meer-Non-Conformity.

Mr *Stone's* Evidence upon Oath exceedingly strengthens the Observation I have been making. For, some of his Brethren and Friends being dissatisfy'd with his revealing the whole of their Proceedings in their Meetings for Discipline, he gave the Reasons of his Practice in several Letters to his friends, faithfully transcrib'd by *Fuller*, as he asserts. And among other things Mr *Stone* alledg'd in his own Defence, that their concealing of their Meetings and of what was transacted in them might occasion suspicion of some Evil, as *Treason, Rebellion, Sedition* &c. And that to show the contrary to the whole World, he did freely reveal all that was done by 'em, which indeed they themselves did not conceal out of any Consciousness of such Villanous Practices, but lest a Discovery should draw upon 'em some Rigorous Proceedings, and cause the Persecution of honest Innocent People. Com-
pare

Part I. pare this with the Character, which his greatest Enemies gave him.

‘ Sure I am (says Fuller (f)) the Bishops till his dying day beheld him as an *Ingenuous man*, carrying his Conscience with the Reason thereof in his own breast, and *not pinning* it on the President of any other : Whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess his Parsonage, (being none of the meanest) tho’ he *continu’d a stiff Non-Conformist*, only Quietly Enjoying his own Opinion. Indeed he was a downright *Nathanael*, If not Guilty of too much of the Dove in him.

And seeing such a *Nathanael*, freely resolving to tell all, could not ex the least blot upon their Loyalty, and when he was upon Oath too; and that their rankest Enemies could not find any Ground to accuse ’em upon, except their meer Non-Conformity; I can’t see what can be said, from these Meetings for Discipline, to justify the hard Treatment the Presbyterians in those days met with.

There are indeed *some things* in the Acts of the Synod of *Coventry*, and in some of the Conclusions fram’d in these Meetings, as they are represented in the Articles against *Ca. wright*, which, tho’ they are not Disloyal, yet appear, (as they are *worded there*) to need some Explication, to reconcile ’em to Truth and Charity. But then, we must consider, that these are convey’d to us only by the *known Adversaries* of the Puritans, who gave just cause to suspect ’em of misrepresenting the Opinions of those whom they persecuted with so much Rigor. And Fuller himself gives us this Caution, having quoted *Ban-croft* in his Margent for his Voucher. ‘ The (g) worst is, that in matters of Fact, all Relations in these times are Relations, I mean much Resent of Party and Interest to the Prejudice of Truth. Let me mind the Reader to reflect his Eye on our Quotations, (the Margent, in such Cases being as Material as the Text, as containing the Authors) and his Judgment may, according to the Credit or Reference of the Author alledg’d *believe*, or *ABATE*, from the Reputation of the Report.

Are we sure then that they asserted, That *Laymen as well as Ministers might read Public Service*, as ’tis told of them, in the 4th Act of the

the Synod of *Coventry*; or that they did not in some other Act, or Explication of the same Act, give a sound meaning and Sense of this matter, (tho' it be not recorded in *Bancroft's* Relation of their Acts.) And the very same may be said of the 10th Act of that Synod, viz. *That Bishops are not to be acknowledg'd, either for Doctors, Elders or Deacons*: Their meaning must have been, that the Office of an English Prelate as exercis'd by him was not the Office of a Doctor, or Elder or Deacon. Otherwise 'twas not true, for by being Bishops, they ceas'd not to be Doctors, Elders or Deacons; and Mr. *Cartwright* who was the great Manager, both in promoting these Meetings, and the Resolutions taken in 'em, knew better things than to join in such an Act, unless it were explain'd in the Sense I have mention'd.

If we make allowance for *these* and *such* like mistakes, that might be misrepresented and aggravated by their Enemies; I must own, that I believe the Substance of all the rest that's said of them is true; but especially in those Parts of the History, that are confirm'd by the joint Testimony both of Mr. *Stone* and their Adversaries. And after all, they did nothing but what was plainly agreeable to the known Measures of Presbyterian Discipline. And therefore, if the Principles of Presbyterians be not Injurious to the Civil Magistrate (as I have prov'd they are not, in the preceding Chapter;) And if their Managements in their present Synods and Judicatories be not Derogatory from the Rights of Magistracy (as I shall prove they are not, in the first Chapter of the third Part of this Book); then the Classes and other Meetings of the Presbyterians in Queen *Elizabeth's* time that maintain'd the same Principles and manag'd the same way so far as their Circumstances did permit, are not justly chargeable with *Disloyalty, Faction or Sedition*.

3ly, It is Objected by *Walsingham* against the Puritans, that they descended into the vile and base means of defacing the Government of the Church by Ridiculous Pasquills.

Answer. It is true there were in those Days some sharp biting Expressions us'd in some Books against the Bishops, which had been better wav'd; for, tho' the Bishops did too much tempt the Patience of the Puritans, by putting the Court upon severe Measures; yet it had been more Civil, yea, and Christian too, to have suffer'd with meekness. But it must be granted, That the Fury of the High Party does

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much extenuate, tho' it does not altogether excuse this Fault. And few will think it very strange, that *hot Persecution* shou'd extort some indecent Words from the *Miserable*, or that *Oppression* shou'd make wise Men mad.

But after all this, these Papers were but the Acts of private Men; they were not written by any Concert, or in the Name of the Puritans, or approv'd by them and their Class: or Synods, and therefore they ought not to have been *ill us'd* for the Faults of *some* of their Number only. Fuller does 'em Justice in the following Account of this matter.

‘ *Bullets* (*b*) did not fly about so much at Sea, as baſtardly *Libels* by Land, so fitly call'd, because none durst Father 'em, for their Issue. They are known tho' not by their *Parents*, by their Names
 ‘ 1. *The Epitome*, 2. *The Demonstration of Discipline*. 3. *The Supplication*. 4. *Diotrephes*. 5. *The Minerals*. 6. *Have you any Work for the Cooper?* 7. *Martin Senior Mar. Prelate*. 8. *Martin Junior Mar. Prelate*. 9. *More Work for the Cooper*&c. The main drift and Scope of those Pamphlets, for know one and know all (these foul mouth'd Papers, like *Blackmoors*, did all look alike) was to Defame and Disgrace the *English Prelates*, scoffing at them for their Garb, Gate, Apparel, Vanities of their Youth, Natural Defects, and personal Infirmities; it is strange how secretly they were Printed, how speedily dispers'd, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea and how firmly believ'd, especially of the Common sort, to whom no better Musick than to hear their Betters upbraided.

‘ Some precise Men of that side thought these jeering Pens well employ'd. ——— But the more discreet and devout sort of Men, even of such as were no great friends to the Hierarchy, upon solemn Debate then Resolv'd, (I speak on certain Knowledge from the Mouths of such whom I must believe) that for many foul Falshoods therein Suggested, such Books were altogether unbecoming a pious Spirit, to Print, Publish, or with pleasure Peruse, which supposed true both in Matter and Measure, Charity wou'd rather conceal, than discover.

4thly,

ly, It is Objected against them, that they *begun to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths, &c.*

The plain Answer to this Objection is, that the Puritans *never scrupled nor refus'd to swear Allegiance to Her Majesty; nor to be Evidences in Public Courts, for detecting of any Crime, that was against the Laws of God, or the just Laws of the Kingdom. But the Oath which they scrupled was, the Oath ex officio, tender'd by the Bishops and the High-Commission-Court; by which Men were to discover their own Actions in Criminal Cases, and so to Accriminate themselves upon Oath. They thought this was against the Laws of God, Nature & Nations. Cartwright refus'd to answer upon Oath to the Articles exhibited against him. Besides, that they thought this Method unfair in it self, they were in their Consciences satisfy'd that what they were charg'd with (tho' true) was no Crime, but a Duty; for 'twas meer Non-Conformity, they were prosecuted for. And therefore, they thought 'twas sinful to have any hand in carrying on a Persecution of honest People: And that they cou'd not with a good Conscience be Assistants to their Persecutors in that bad Cause; which their Swearing in these Cases wou'd have made 'em. The Reasons on both sides, are represented by Fuller (i) to whom the Reader is referr'd for full Satisfaction. And we must consider what Mr. Stone says of their Debates among themselves about this Subject, and of the Reasons Mr. Snape offer'd from Scripture against the Oath, ex officio, and of the Peaceable Temper of the Brethren who were against it, for they dissuaded none, but gave Reasons of their own Practice, to shew that what they did was from Conscience and not from Wilfulness.*

Upon the whole, 'tis humbly submitted to all Mea of Impartiality and Candor; whether the imposing of the Oath *ex officio*, upon Non-Conformists under Queen Elizabeth, and with the Circumstances that attended it, was not rather an Instance of the Severities than of the Vertues of that Reign; and whether their refusing it was not more justly to be accounted a Preservation and Defence of the Rights of Conscience and Liberties of the Subject, than a Criminal Disaffection to the Queen and Government.

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Lastly,

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‘ *Lastly,* ’Tis Objected against the Puritans by Sr. *Francis,* ‘ that they began both to vaunt of their strength & number of their Partizans and Followers, and to use Comminations that their Cause wou’d prevail tho’ with Uproar and Violence.

Ans. I don’t doubt but the Puritans represented themselves to be a *Considerable Numerous* Party (as indeed they were) And, that their Adversaries might readily misconstrue this, as vaunting. It is hard, that men may not represent their Grievances to the State, with this Argument, that both the Grievances and the Number of Sufferers by them is great. As to their *Comminations, Violence, and Uproar,* I can find nothing that gave any Colour for that Accusation, but the Story of Mr *Wigington’s* Letter to Mr *Porter* upon Occasion of Mr *Cartwright’s* Imprisonment for refusing the Oath, *ex Officio,* when the Articles were exhibited against him in the High-Commission-Court.

Fuller gives us both the Story, and a just Defence of the Puritans against the Calumnies which some founded upon it. ‘ Some (*k*) soon after expected the Appearance of the Presbyterian Party, accounting it more Valor to free than to keep their friends from Prison. ‘ The rather because of a Passage in a letter of *Wigington’s* to one ‘ Mr *Porter* at *Lancaster.*

‘ Mr *Cartwright* is in the Fleet for the Refusal of the Oath, (as I hear) and Mr *Knewstubs* is sent for, and sundry Worthy Ministers are disquieted, who have been spared long. So that we look for some Bickering ere long, & then a Battle which cannot long endure.

‘ Words variously expounded, as mens Fancies directed them. Some conceived that this *Bickering* and *Battle* did barely import a *Passive Conflict* wherein their Patience was to encounter the power of their Adversaries and to conquer by Suffering, Parallel to the Apostles Words, *Without were fightings,* meaning *Combats* to wrestle with, in many Difficulties opposing their Proceedings. Others

ex-

' expounded the Words literally (not of a *rare* but *mild Battle*) and
 ' of some intended Violence, as if shortly they would muster their
 ' (hitherto invisible) Forces to storm the *Fleet*, and rescue their friends
 ' therein. A *third sort* beheld *Wigington* the writer of these words, as
 ' one, but of the soberer sort of *Distracted Men*, and therefore in
 ' vain do *stupid Heads* make *serious Comments* on light mens *random-*
 ' *Expressions*, where the knot is *neither to be untied, nor cut, but Cast*
 ' *away.*

Thus have I been led into a Considerable Part of the History of
 the Presbyterians under Q. *Elizabeth*, by examining Mr. Secretary
Walsingham's Letter, which contains a Collection of the most Plausible
 things that his deep Judgment could very well set together, for put-
 ting a Colourable Gloss upon the Severities of the Queen his mis-
 tress, *whose* sense (and NOT HIS OWN) he has been speaking all
 this while. And I submit it to the Judicious Reader, whether all that
 has been said against Puritans (when duly examined) can infer the
 Reasonableness of those hardships they met with.

Let any sober man peruse the doleful Narrative of the Tragical
 Severities, BUT OF ONE act in Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign, as they are in-
 geniously and truly Stated by Sr *Peter King* in his Speech upon the
 second Article of the Impeachment of Dr *Sacheverell*, who had heartily
 recommended these for *wholesome Severities*, and thereby condemn'd the
Toleration Act in *England*, which has happily Repeal'd the Law that
 Enacted 'em: Let him (*I say*) peruse that Speech, and it will help
 him to make a judgment of the Reasonableness of those Remarks I
 have been making, and of the Unchristian Temper of such as would
 have those Severities Repeated under the Government of our
 Gracious Sovereign Q. *Anne* Sr *Peter* speaks thus,

' What (*I*) cou'd be said more contrary to the *Toleration-Act*,
 ' than to recommend the Severities used in Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign, be-
 ' cause they were *wholesom in themselves*, and of happy Consequence
 ' to the person and Government of that Renown'd Queen. If there
 ' were not a *Necessity for it on this Occasion*, I would not mention
 ' what those Wholesom Severities were, but rather *cast a Veil* over
 ' that part of the Reign of that Great and Glorious Queen.

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‘ To give a short View of those *Wholesom Severities*; some Hereticks were burnt, other Persons were *hanged*, some had their *Goods Confiscated*, others had their *Persons Imprisoned*, and to mention more particularly a public act in writing that cannot be falsify’d or misrepresented, and which is since relaxed by the *Toleration-Act*, an Act pass’d in the 35th year of Queen *Elizabeth* intitled *An Act to retain the Queen’s Majesty’s Subjects in their due Obedience*; by which the *Dissenters* are, among other penalties to *Abjure the Realm in forty Days* or SUFFER DEATH without *Benefit of Clergy*

‘ This Penalty of abjuration of the Realm was taken from the ancient Common Law of *England* in Relation to *Felony*, by which if a man committed any *Felony*, excepting *Sacrilege*, and fled to a *Parish Church*, he might within forty days before the *Coroner* confess the *Felony*, and take an oath to *abjure the Kingdom* for ever; and if he thus confess’d and took that Oath, he was thereby *Attainted* of the *Felony*, and then he had forty Days from the coming of the *Coroner* to provide and prepare for his *Voyage*, and the *Coroner* assign’d him such a *Port* as he chose for his *Departure* out of the *Kingdom*; and if he did not go straightway out of the *Kingdom*, or being gone out did return without *Licence*, he had Judgment to be hang’d, except he was a *Clerk*, and then he had his *Clergy*.

‘ This Practice was what the Law call’d *Abjuration*; and being by several Regulations in the time of *Henry the Eighth* in effect taken away, the *Revival* of this Practice, was thought to be a *WHOLE-SOM SEVERITY*, fit to be inflicted on the *Protestant Dissenters* of those Times, and therefore the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* doth Enact, That if any Person obstinately refusing to repair to some *Church* or *Chappel*, or usual Place of *Common Prayers*, and forbearing by the Space of a month to hear *Divine Service*, should after forty Days after the End of that *Session of Parliament*, willingly join or be present at any *Conventicle* or *Meeting*, under Pretence of *Religion*, contrary to the *Laws* and *Statutes* of the *Realm*, that then such Person shou’d be committed to *Prison*, till he shou’d conform and come to *Church*; and if within three months after *Conviction*, he should not Conform and come to *Church*, and make his public *Confession* and *Submission*, being thereunto requir’d

according to the Form of the said Act, that then such Offender should *Abjure the Realm*; and it, being thereunto required should refuse to make such Abjuration, or after such Abjuration made, should not within the time appointed him depart the Realm; or after such Departure should return without the Queen's Licence: then, in every such Case, every Person so offending should be A FELON WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY. So that the Abjuration inflicted on Protestant Dissenters by this act, was worse than Abjuration for *Felony* at the Common Law; in that they had the Benefit of Clergy, in *this* they had not.

This is one of the Severities of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, whether it be a *Wholesom* Severity or not, HUMAN NATURE WILL DETERMINE; however, Wholesom it might have been esteemed in those Days by those who had the Power and will to punish others, yet the Legislature have in *Terminis* declared it Unwholesome for those times, and the Toleration-Act doth expressly, and by name exempt the Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of this act of the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Our Author is so much in love with these *Wholesom Severities*, that he subjoins a Quotation from Dr *Burnet*, in their Defence; which he alledgeth to be in his Preface to the 2d Vol. of his History of the Reformation: But upon a careful Perusal of that Preface, without missing one Syllable or Point in it, I can aver there is no such Passage there at all; and I am apt to believe his friend *Thomas Long* hath led him into that Mistake, having quoted it the same way, upon whose Word he has ventur'd to quote it again in his second Letter viz. the *Conduct of the Dissenters* &c. and to conclude that Piece with it. The Words, as he alledges, are these,

Queen *Elizabeth's* strict enjoining Uniformity, making some Turbulent Spirits Examples, countenancing the Clergy, especially *A. B. Whitgift*, and the Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council and Inferior Officers, preserved the Nation in Peace all her days, & if her Successors had held the Reins of Government with like steadiness of hand, the Nation how Head-strong soever would never have run into those Desperate Confusions, from which nothing but the hand of God could have Redeemed us.

Part I.



I'm of Opinion that Bishop *Burnet* either used no such Words as are quoted by our author; or if he did, that he intended not by them to justify the Persecution of the Puritans; because he has declar'd his Opinion against all such Persecutions, 'God be thanked (*says he*) (m) ' That there is an End put to all Persecution in matters of Conscience; and that the *first and chief Right of human Nature* of following the Dictates of Conscience in the Service of God, is secur'd to all Men amongst us; and that we are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the *Remnants of the worst Part of Popery, that we had too long retain'd*; ' I mean the SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION.

This Passage makes me believe, that the *Dr.* Understood what our Author quotes (if he truly said such Words) concerning the *Papists* or some *Insolent Brownists* only; and what confirms me in it is that, he mentions the *Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council* &c. as contributing to *preserve Peace* during this Queen's Reign: Now from what has been said, it appears, That the Sincerity and Watchfulness of the Council was employ'd *against the Suspension, Deprivation and other miseries of the Puritans*, brought on 'em by *Whitgift* and his Party; which so Judicious an Historian as *Dr. Burnet* cou'd not but know; and therefore we can't force a Meaning upon his Words, contrary to his own declar'd Opinion, and to obvious Truth.

Our Author concludes his Account of this Reign with drawing a Parallel between the *Presbyterians* under *Q. Elizabeth*, and their *Successors* under her present Majesty, and between the Carriage of the *former* with respect to the *Spanish Invasion*, and the Behaviour of the *latter* upon the *Pretender's Invasion*; accusing 'em of Disloyalty for their refusing to Enlist in the Militia, and to take the Oaths. And he offers this Parallel of Practices, to draw Her Majesty into Severities Parallel to those of *Q. Elizabeth*. But the true History and Reasons of their Conduct, belonging to the Reign of Queen *ANNE*; I dismiss it until we come to that Period, and shall then give a full Account of it, and consider what he has advanc'd in both his Pamphlets concerning it.

CHAP.

(m) *E. Short*, 10 *Peace and Union* p. 27. quoted by *P. A.* in his *Vanity, Mischief and Danger of continuing Ceremonies, &c.* p. 4.

CHAP. III.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians During the Reign of King JAMES, the First of England, and Sixth of Scotland.

FROM the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* our Author next comes to her Successor King *James*, ‘ And here (*says he*) I do solemnly protest to you, that I think it wou’d raise the Indignation of any Ingenious Man and Loyal Subject to read the Account, that not only Bishop *Spotwood*, but even *Petrie* and *Calderwood* give of their Treatment of that Prince and his Royal Family. In short, the Assembly of the *Kirk*, rejecting all his Authority, and convening themselves, and subverting the whole Constitution as they pleas’d, did treat him to indecently, so insolently, I may say barbarously upon all Occasions, that no body can wonder, that that much Injur’d Prince should tell his Son in his *Basilicon Doron*, I have been vex’d by these Puritans from my very Birth, yea they persecuted me whilst I was in my Mother’s Belly, and it must be little that they had not Murder’d me before I was born.

I hope every good Man will be on his Guard against that HEIGHT

Part I.

OF INDIGNATION, and *Transport of Passion* into which this Author is rais'd, and by which he has been driven into these Reproachful Errors. How the Assembly, that never met during his whole Reign without Addressing him as their only Sovereign upon Earth, and owning their Allegiance to him; And who never encourag'd any Man to take up Arms against him, but who often Address'd him for punishing the Popish Lords, and their Abettors who rebelliously made an Insurrection against him, and who encourag'd all the Subjects to stand by him, not only against the Spaniards, but all Foreign Powers that shou'd make any Attempt upon his Crown, Dignity and Dominions; who were particularly Instrumental in keeping all his Subjects in Peace during his Absence in *Denmark*, as he himself acknowledg'd on his Return; and who after all his *thwarting* of them and overturning their Ecclesiastical Constitution after his Accession to the Crown of *England*, never once rais'd the least Disturbance to his Title or Authority: How, I say, the Assembly (notwithstanding of all this) can be said to reject all his Authority, is such a piece of History, as nothing but an highly raised Indignation durst advance. Seeing he gives not one Instance out of *Calderwood*, or *Petrie*, of their Indecent, Insolent and Barbarous Treatment of that Prince, or of their Subverting the least part (and far less the whole) of the Constitution, I am satisfy'd he cou'd not do it; for his Indignation was too great to pass any thing of that kind that was within the Compass of his *kenn*. And tho' he shou'd pick out of *Spotswood* some Stories reflecting upon their Behavior, yet few Impartial Men will lay much Stress upon what he says against them, seeing the Strain of his History favors so much of Party and Resentment.

As for King *James's* Testimony of the *Puritans*: I desire our Author may take that Prince's Testimony of the Kirk of *Scotland* in his Speech to the Assembly *Anno 1590* wherein (n) he prais'd God, ' that he was Born to be King of such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk of ' the World, the Kirk of *Geneva*, (said he) kept *Pasch*, and *Yule*, ' what have they for them? They have no Institution. As for our ' Neighbour Kirk in *England*, their Service is an EVIL SAID MASS

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IN ENGLISH; they want nothing of the Mass, but the Livings. Part I.
 charge you, my good People, Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen and Barons, to stand to your Purity, and to exhort the People to do the same, and, I forsooth, so long as I BROOK MY CROWN AND LIFE, shall maintain the same against all deadly.

Compare this with his Letter to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Puritan Ministers in England, which is as follows, 'Right (o) Excellent, High and Mighty Princess, ——— Our dearest Sister and Cousin; in our heartiest manner, We recommend Us unto You. Hearing of the Apprehension of Mr. Udall and Mr. Cartwright, and certain other Ministers of the Evangel within your Realm; of whose good Erudition and faithful Travails in the Church, we hear a very credible Commendation; howsoever, that their Diversity from the Bishops and Others of Your Clergy, in matters touching them in Conscience, hath been a Mean by their Delation, to work them Your Misliving; at this present we cannot (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their Conscience in that Profession) but by our most Effectuous and Earnest Letter interpose us at your hands, to stay any harder Usage of them for that Cause; requesting you most earnestly, that for our Cause and Intercession, it may please you to let them be reliev'd of their present Strait, or whatsoever Accusation or Pursuit depending on that Ground: respecting both their former Merit, in setting forth the Evangel; the Simplicity of their Conscience, in this Defence; which cannot well be let by Compulsion; and the great slander, which cou'd not fail to fall out, upon their farther Straitning, for any such Occasion: which we assure us, your Zeal to Religion, besides the expectation we have of your good Will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our Request: Having such Proofs, from time to time of our like Disposition to you, in any matter which you recommend unto us. And thus Right Excellent, Right High, and Mighty Princess, our dear Sister and Cousin, We commit you to God's Protection. Edinburgh, June 12th 1591.

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Part I.

Let the Judicious Reader observe that here is a full Vindication of that *Kirk of Scotland*, and the Puritans of *England*: The former neither could be the Sincerest nor the Purest Kirk in the World, if they had been such a Nursery of Rebellion, Sedition and Barbarity to their Prince as our author makes 'em to be; and why the King should charge 'em to stand by their Purity and exhort all the People to do so; and promise to maintain the same against all Deadly, if they had rejected all this Authority, subverted the whole Constitution, vexed him from his birth, and Persecuted him from his Mother's Belly, is hard to Determine. If it be objected, that he spoke all this *against his Conscience* and only to *flatter the Kirk*; its as easily answer'd, that he might speak against the Puritans from the same Principle, and to flatter a Party of the *High Church*; he lay under as great Temptations to the *latter* after he went to *England*, as to the *former* while in *Scotland*: besides, this Objection does so impair the Reputation of his Testimony in any Case, that I question (if it be true) if his single Evidence can be admitted to prove any Point whatsoever. We don't use to lay much stress upon Witnesses who give Contradictory Evidences. As to the the *English* Puritans, he gives 'em a large Character, for their *good Erudition, faithful Travails* in the Church, and *former Merit*; representing 'em as differing from the Bishops from *Conscience* and *not from Wilfulness*, and therefore dissuades from persecuting of them.

But let us consider the Credibility of the thing it self asserted in his *Basilicon Doron*. The Lord *Darnley's* Relations did indeed when he was in his Mother's Belly, kill the Italian *David Rizio* in her Presence, for Reasons which Historians mention, and which the Rules of Decency forbid me to repeat. If his own Father's friends did this, I know not how the *Kirk* is bound to answer for it; and I never heard of any other danger he was in while in his mother's Belly, if that was any at all. Upon his *birth*, he was taken care of: and his mother a violent Enemy to the Reformation, having *abdicated*, all possible care was taken of the Young King's Education to that Degree, that he was one of the Learnedest Princes of his Age, or perhaps of any other.

The General Assembly were so far from encroaching upon the Rights of his Crown, or from raising, abetting or countenancing any
Rebellious

Part 1.
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Rebellious, Treasonable or Disloyal Practises against him, that they thought themselves bound in Conscience to use their Ecclesiastical Authority and Censures against those who were guilty of 'em; an Undoubted Proof of their being Dutiful and Loyal Subjects. The Case of Mr *Andrew Hunter* is a plain Instance of this. Mr *Hunter* had deserted his Flock, and joined himself to *Bothwell*, who was guilty of Rebellion against his Prince: Whereupon the *General Assembly in the year 1594* SOLEMNLY DEPOSED the said Mr *Hunter* from the Office of the holy ministry, until he should satisfy his Majesty and the Kirk. And the King himself acknowledged, That this was the first Instance of an Open Traytor of their Function against a Christian King of their own Religion, and their Natural Sovereign: (p) Their early Zeal against this Scandalous and Rebellious Crime was not only a mark of their just Indignation against it, but also the best means that could be Apply'd on their Part for preventing it in others. *Bothwell* himself (who headed that Rebellion) and some of his Chief Followers were Excommunicated.

In the Year 1595. the Assembly met at *Montrose*, to show their Detestation of all Treason and Disloyalty, and to testify their Compliance with his Majesty's just Desire, made an Act in the following Words. ' Whereas (q) an Ordinance is craved to be made against Practisers of any Treasonable Enterprize, or Conspiracy against his Highness Person or Estate, being found and declared Culpable thereof by Law; that they therefore shall incur the Sentence of Excommunication: The GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGREETH, *Legitima Cognitione Ecclesiastica Præcunte*.

When he came into *England*, the Puritans received him with all the joy and Satisfaction Possible (r); after all their hopes were frustrated upon the *Hampton-Court-Conference*, They present a Petition to the King signed by one thousand Ministers, wherein they say ' Seeing (s) it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great Comfort of all good Christians, to advance your Highness, according to your just Title to the Peaceable Government of this Church and Commonwealth of *England* '. Can any thing be more dutiful and Loyal

(p) vide *Calderwood's Hist.* p. 304, 305, 307. (q) *Id. Ibid* p. 308. (r) *Coke's* Detest. Part 1. p. 11, 12. (s) *Fuller's Church Hist.* Book 10. p. 22.

Part I.

Loyalty than what is contained in these Expressions? And in the Body of the Petition it self, They frankly offer'd Subscription to the Articles of Religion according to the Law (i.e. *so far as concern'd Matters of Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, being all that was required by the Statute of 13 Eliz.) and to the Kings Supremacy.

And the Non-Conformists of *Devon* and *Cornwall* upon the Persecution raised against 'em by him and his Favorites, do vindicate 'emselves and all their Brethren in *England* from any Rebellious or Factious Practises, in their Printed book, called, *A Removal of Certain Imputations, laid upon the Ministers &c*, which I here insert, because it is a public Challenge to any in that age to Convict 'em of Disloyalty, and refute their Assertions, which has never been yet done by any

p. 21. they say, ' Let them sit well our Courses since his Majesty's happy Entrance in amongst us; and let them name wherein we have done ought, that may justly be said ill to become the Ministers of Christ Jesus. Have we drawn any sword, have we raised any Tumult, have we used any Threats, hath the State been put into any fear or hazard thro' us? Manifold Disgraces have been cast upon us, we have endured them. The Liberties of our Ministry hath been taken from us and (tho with bleeding hearts) we have sustained it, we have been cast out of our Houses, and deprived of our Ordinary Maintenance, yet have we blown no Trumpet of Sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of Violence. Truth is, we have Petitioned the King and State; and who hath Reason to deny us that Liberty? We have craved of the Prelates to deal with us by Law; and is not that the Common Benefit of every Subject? We have sought them to convince our Consciences by Scripture———Alas! what would they we should do? Will they have us content our selves with this only, that they are Bishops, and therefore for their Greatness only to be yielded to? *Episcoporum Authoritas opprimere nos potest, decere non potest.*

' Now let our Author or any other disprove these Assertions, or show that the *English* Puritans or *Scots* Presbyterians did not walk according to the Measures laid down in 'em; and if they be not found false in this, 'twill be hard to find 'em guilty either of Rebellion or Sedition. *Laud* himself confesseth in his Character of King *James* 'That

‘ (1) he continued full two and twenty years Reign all in Peace, without
 ‘ War from Foreign Enemy, or Rebellion at home? And I believe
 all will own that *Leud* was not so great a friend to the *Puritans*, as
 to hide under a Veil any of their Rebellions, if he cou’d but have
 had the *least Pretence* of accusing ’em.

but if we examine the Reasons of this Prince’s Spleen again, st the *Puritan*
Coke in his *Discet.* will help us to find ’em out, who *(assays)* of him,
 ‘ That he was the first (at least since *Richard 2d*) That asserted and
 ‘ endeavor’d to introduce an *Arbitrary Power* in *England*, Foreign to
 ‘ the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of it; and in all his Reign was more
 ‘ governed by *Flatterers* and *Favorites*, than by the Advice of his *Par-*
 ‘ *liament* or a *wise Council*—————He was more zealous for
 ‘ himself and the Preservation of his *Inherent Birth-Right* to the
 ‘ Crown of *England*, than for the honor of God and our Savior by
 ‘ the *Pope’s* Usurpations otherwise; for in his Speech at the Open-
 ‘ ing: the first Parliament of his Reign he calls the Church of *Rome* a *true*
 ‘ *Church*, and our *Mother-Church*, and if they would lay aside their
 ‘ King-killing and King-Deposing Doctrine, and some Niceties
 ‘ (but he names them not) *he was content to meet them mid-*
 ‘ *way*.

‘ When King *James I.* came to the Crown (*says he*) (2) The Re-
 ‘ presenting the Grievances of the Nation, by his Disorderly Reign
 ‘ was *Language Intolerable to him*, so that of four Parliaments
 ‘ (which were all he had in his Reign) in the last he boasted *he had*
 ‘ *broke the neck of three of them*, and his Son broke the neck of the four
 ‘ first Parliaments of his Reign.’ The *Presbyterians* were never clear
 for meeting the Church of *Rome* midway, and abhorr’d any Prac-
 tice that looked like a Coalition with them upon such Terms; and
 were not a little Dissatisfy’d with the King’s Constant favoring of the
 Popish Lords in *Scotland*, And with his dangerous Articles of the *spanish*
 Match in *England* recorded by *Rushworth* (of which I shall have an Occasi-
 on to give a particular Account in the first Chapter of the second Part of
 this Discourse] & his other Practices inclining too much that way; They
 were

(1) vide *Rushworth’s Collect.* Vol. I. p. 155. (2) Part 1, p. 196.

(3) Part 2, p. 409.

Part 1.


were constant Haters of *Arbitrary Power* in all Princes, and therefore no Prince of that Temper in *Britain* ever loved them. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Presbytery does provide such Effectual Remedies against the Usurpations and Ambition of the Clergy, and lays such Foundations for the Liberty of the Subject in Church matters: that it naturally creates in People an Aversion from all Tyranny and Oppression in the *State* also: which hath always made it odious in the *Eyes of such Princes*, as have endeavored to stretch the Prerogatives above the Laws of the Nation, and Liberties of the Subjects. The Author of the *Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, May 6. 1703.* confirms this Observation (w.)

‘ In our General Assemblies (*says he*) Our Laity as well as Clergy are fully represented, by Deputies from all parts of the Nation. The Lay-Members are generally Men of the best Quality, and of the greatest Esteem for Piety and Parts, in their several Countries; they are many times Members of *Parliament*, well acquainted with our Laws, and *Zealous* for our *Constitution*; which makes them a necessary Ballance both upon the Court and the Clergy. This our former Princes knew well enough, and therefore *such of them* as had form’d Designs against our Religion and Liberty, did *ever hate* those Assemblies; because as our Parliaments were one Barrier, they were another about both, and many times *harder to force* than the *Parliament*.

‘ This our Princes were sensible of, and being many times *more thwarted* in their Designs of introducing *Popery* and *Slavery* by *those* Assemblies, than by *Parliaments*; they either endeavoured to have the said Assemblies, wholly in their own Power, so as that they might call, pack, overaw and Dissolve them, how and when they pleased, as King *James* the 6. and King *Charles* I. frequently attempted by the *influence* of *their* Bishops; or else to abolish them Totally, as King *Charles* 2. did by *his* new *Model* of Prelacy.——
‘ From all this it is evident, that no reason can be assign’d, why our Princes have been such Enemies to the General Assemblies of our Church, that they wou’d either have them wholly laid aside, or so cramped

‘ cramped in their Power as that they should be entirely at their
 ‘ Devotion; but that they knew it was impossible for them to ob-
 ‘ trude any Religious Innovations upon us, or to make *Tools of the*
 ‘ *Church* to overthrow the Liberties of the People, by the slavish
 ‘ Doctrines of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, while we con-
 ‘ tinu’d in Possession — of such a free and popular Constitution,
 ‘ as our General Assemblies.

Dr. *Burnet* gives us an hint of the like Temper of the *English* Pu-
 ritans in this Reign, which may discover the Reason of their falling
 under the Censure of this Prince. (x) ‘ Upon King *James’s* coming
 ‘ to the Crown, (*says he*) and the Divisions that came to be after-
 ‘ wards in Parliaments, between the too often named Parties, for
 ‘ the Court and Country; And Clergymen being link’d to the Inte-
 ‘ rests of the Crown, all these who in *Civil Matters* oppos’d the De-
 ‘ signs of the Court, resolv’d to cherish those of the Division, under
 ‘ the Colour of their being *hearty Protestants*, and that it was the
 ‘ Interest of the Reform’d Religion to use them well, and that all Pro-
 ‘ testants shou’d Unite. And indeed the Difference between them
 ‘ was then so small, that if great *Art* had not been used to keep
 ‘ them asunder, they had certainly united of their own accord.

What the Designs of the Court were; while the King was a *break-
 ing the Necks of his Parliaments*, are too well known to need any far-
 ther Enlargement: And the honest part of the Nation who were
 struggling for the Liberties of their Country, and yet were as truly
 Loyal as any Subjects cou’d be, were for taking the *Puritans* by the
 hand, and for uniting all Protestants in that Juncture; which shows
 the Disposition of the *Puritans*, to have been for the Public Good both
 of King and Subject. But the Prince was vex’d by all who oppos’d
 his Arbitrary Power; that was *their Unpardonable Crime*.

His Son Prince *Henry* was of another mind; *Coke* says of him, (y)
 ‘ That he was a Prince adorn’d with Wisdom and Piety above his
 ‘ Years, — of a Noble and Heroic Disposition, and an Hater of flatteries
 ‘ & Flatterers, — His Court was more frequented than the Kings,
 ‘ and by another sort of Men, so that the King was heard to say,

X

will

(x) vide Preface to the 2 Vol. Hist. Reform. (y) vide Detec. Part 1. p. 60. &c.


Part I.

‘ will he bury me alive? Never was any Prince’s Death more univer-
 ‘ sally and cordially lamented.’ And yet this Prince had so great a
 Friendship for Presbyterians, as made him very Unacceptable to
 his Father’s great Minions: For *Coke* assures us ‘ That the High-
 ‘ Church-Favorites tax’d him for being a Patron to the Puritans’ if
 they had used his Father so *Barbarously* and *Insolently*, *Subverted the*
whole Constitution, and rejected all his Authority, this Prince was
 too wise to be ignorant of it; and his Spirit too *Heroic*, not to
 Resent such *high affronts* offer’d to the Illustrious Imperial Crown
 upon his Father’s Head, of which himself was the hopeful Apparent
 Heir.

Our Author’s next (and last) Testimony against the Dissenters in
 this Reign is Dr. *Bancroft*’s, of whom he says [p. 11.] ‘ I cannot
 ‘ give you a juster view into this Matter, in letting you understand
 ‘ who these *Puritans* were, and how they proceeded, than to give
 ‘ you the words of a Sermon preach’d before the Parliament of
 ‘ England in the Year 1588. by Dr. *Bancroft*, afterwards Arch-
 ‘ Bishop of Canterbury.

Whether the justest Account that can be expected of the Proceed-
 ings of the *Scots* Presbyterians, must come from *Bancroft*, let the
 Reader judge by *Coke*’s Character of him, who [2] says, ‘ About this
 ‘ time the Clergy [at least a Faction which stiled themselves the Clergy] made
 ‘ an Attempt to try how far their Doctrine of *Absolute Power* in the
 ‘ King had taken Root in him, they had gain’d their Point so far,
 ‘ as the King had declar’d his Command to the Commons as *Abso-*
 ‘ *lute King*, and now they’ll see whether the King wou’d assert
 ‘ it, and the Case was this, — — — Dr. *Richard Bancroft* (a man
 ‘ of a Rough Temper) as Zealous an asserter of the Rights of the
 ‘ Church of *England*, or rather a *Faction of Church-men*, who arro-
 ‘ gated to themselves the Title, as *Julius the 2d* was of the Papacy,
 ‘ exhibited to the King and Council 25 Articles, in the name of
 ‘ all the Clergy of *England*, called *Articuli Cleri*, which were de-
 ‘ sired to be reformed in granting Prohibitions, tho’ there were a
 ‘ Parliament and Convocation then sitting, which I do not find had
 ‘ any hand in it: This

[2] Detest. part. 1. p. 46. 47,

' This Exhibition, as it ascrib'd an *Absolute Power* to the King, Part I.
 ' so it struck directly at the Constitution of Parliament, the Prin-
 ' cipal End whereof is to Redress Grievances and Abuses in the
 ' Nation. 

By this the Reader will perceive that *Bancroft* headed the High-Church Faction, exalted *Arbitrary Power* in the Prince, and run down the Privilege of Parliament; to all which the Presbyterians being so justly Opposite, they have Reason to except against his Evidence, as a Partial Witness; and indeed, it is rather an Evidence of the justice of their Cause, than of its Weakness, that they are condemn'd, by men of *his Temper*; by whom to be evil spoken of is rather a Mark of honor than Disgrace.

I must further observe, that *Bancroft* was entirely officious and Meddling, in preaching such Doctrine before the Parliament of *England*, Anno 1588. concerning the Affairs of another Church and Kingdom wholly Independent on theirs; and it confirms the Observation the *Scots* Presbyterians have still made, *viz.* That the High-Church Party in *England* did still inflame the Differences between their Princes and them, in order to make the Civil-Government reproach and Persecute 'em: And that this shou'd be done in that very year, wherein the whole Island was in danger by the *Spaniard*, shows who were the guilty Causes of these Divisions, which encourag'd that horrid Attempt.

Mr. Davidson answer'd this Sermon in a Book, Entitul'd *Dr. Bancroft's Rashness in railing against the Church of Scotland*: There's nothing Material in what our Author quotes from it, but what's fully answer'd already. The Doctor gives his Charge in three Articles, to which he prefixes a gross Historical Mistake, which with all Judicious Men can't but lessen the Reputation of what he advanceth upon it, ' About some six or seven years ago (*says he*) certain
 ' Men of the new Government intending the Erection of these Pres-
 ' byteries in *Scotland*, began their Parts &c.' Whereas this Design of Erecting Presbyteries in *Scotland* was begun several years before that time he mentions.

In his first Article he chargeth 'em with *inveighing against the Superiority of Bishops*, here is his Quarrel with 'em indeed: They did the same from the year 1560. and it has been still the Opi-

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nion of all the *Free Assemblies* of that Church, that Bishops are not *jure divino* superior in Office to Preaching Presbyters; but I can't see wherein this tends to the Detriment of Magistracy. And for the King's *Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical*, what they assert of it, and how agreeable their Principles about it are to all the Ends and Rights of Magistracy has been already clear'd. What they did in the Kings *Minority*, is but what all Nations in the World do, when their Kings are *Minor*, that is, they do their business the best way they can by the Assistance of a Regency. And all their Policy and Discipline begun in the King's *Minority*, was after many full and free Conferences between him and them firmly Establish'd by him and the Parliament, when he came to age; they never pretended to *alter one Law* (as has been shown) and far less without Knowledge or approbation of King and State. Such false History does not become any man in any Place, but far less a Clergy-man and from the *pulpit* too, which is too Sacred to be made the Stage of such Untruths. And to our Author's Question in his Marginal Note upon it, viz. *what do they now in their Provincial Synods?* I answer, they do their own proper business for the good of Mens souls, without attempting or pretending to alter any Law of the State, or disturbing either Queen or Subject.

In his 2d Article, he says, *they discharg'd the Bishops*; for which the same Reason which justify'd their Opinion against the Superiority of Bishops, is sufficient. They use no such Terms as *Commanding the King and Council under pain of Excommunication*, tho' they did frequently Petition him in most humble manner, to that effect. 3ly, He says they *prescrib'd Laws for the King and State*, which is as great an Untruth as any of the former. And tho' they may set forth in their humble Supplication, that such and such particular things wou'd be an *Establishing of Iniquity by a Law*. (as his Marginal Note insinuates) is this prescribing a Law? I suppose *our Author* and all good Protestants wou'd allow the Convocation to Address the Government, if they were about to establish *any Iniquity by a Law*; (which I hope they are too Vertuous to Attempt) and yet this cou'd not be reckon'd a prescribing of Laws to the Queen and State. If the Assembly has judg'd that to be *Iniquity*, which in truth is no Iniquity at all, that it self wou'd be *nothing to the purpose in Hand*; and the



the discussing of that Controversy won'd lead me clear off the present Subject: And therefore I shall say no more of it, but only insert one Paragraph of the humble Address and Apology of the Presbyterian *Ministers* and *Gentlemen* in the North of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the Representation of the *Irish* Convocation against them, wherein that matter is sufficiently clear'd. It runs thus,

' While (a) the Convocation asserts, that where we have the Ascendency, the constant Tenor of our Discourse is to call Toleration, *establishing Iniquity by a Law*; we beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, that we neither know nor remember that ever we us'd any such Expression, but find it once us'd in a Representation of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, not with *any Design* to pass that Censure upon all *Toleration* in General of such as Dissent from 'em, but only against a particular Draught of an *Act of Toleration* for Episcopal Dissenters, brought into the Parliament of that Kingdom, in the year 1703. which laid them under no Obligation of giving Security for their Fidelity to the Government, tho' many of 'em were *known Jacobites*, and continue still to be such, as appears by their praying openly for the *Pretender*, and *refusing to pray* for your most Excellent Majesty. And whether such a Toleration wou'd not have been an *establishing Iniquity by Law*, even in the Judgment of all your faithful Subjects of all Persuasions, we humbly submit it to your Majesty.

But to return to *Bancroft*, he misrepresents the Principles of Presbyterians, while he asserts that they maintain'd before the King, ' That *He was an Incompetent Judge*, and utterly disclaim'd his Authority, that for such matters as were spoken in the Pulpit, they ought to be exempt from the Judgment and Correction of Princes.' For they teach that the Magistrate ought to maintain the true Religion, and suppress Heresy and Idolatry; whence it necessarily follows that the Magistrate has a power of punishing Preachers of false Doctrine taught in the Pulpit as well as out of it. But the true State of the Controversy between the King and some of the Ministers was this; some of them having been cited to appear before the Privy-Council

(a) *vide* Present State of Religion in *Ireland*, p. 38.

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Council, on pretence of their saying something in the Pulpit which reflected on the King and the Court, they pleaded that the Faithful Exercise of their Ministry oblig'd 'em to *Reprove Sin* in the *Highest* as well as the *Meanest*; and that what they did being a Part of their *Meer Spiritual Function*, & no way relating to the King's Title to his Crown, or to his Civil Authority, Power and Jurisdiction, was Cognizable only, *Prima Instantia*, by the Ecclesiastical Judicatures of the Church. The Debate turn'd much upon the Question about their Church Establishment. But the King's Power in punishing by the Civil-Sword the Preachers of False and Scandalous Doctrine, and of his being a Competent Judge of it in order to the Exercise of that Power was not deny'd by them: But the Question was whether the Church was to judge in these matters *Prima Instantia*, or whether the Magistrate might do it before it was try'd in any Ecclesiastical Court; For, that he might do it afterwards, and punish a Presbytery or any Ecclesiastical Judicatory that give a wrong Judgment, is what *Ruchersford* and *Gillespie* (two Zealous Presbyterians) have fully granted, as I have shown *Chap. 1. p. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.*

Our Author alledgeth that Mr. *Boyse* and Mr. *Mc Bride* (two Presbyterian Ministers) do scurrilously Preach against the Constitution, the Instance he gives of the first is his *Sermon against Episcopacy* (I suppose he means the Sermon Entitul'd the *Scriptural Bishop*.) But the Debate between Mr. *B---* and his Opponents upon that Head being in Print, I refer the Reader to what is said on both Sides. The Instance he gives of the *latter*, is his Sermon Preach'd at the Synod in *Antrim*; an Account whereof we have in the first Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the Representation of the House of Lords, in these Words. 'As (b) to the Sermon alledg'd to be Preach'd by Mr. *Mc Bride*, at a Provincial Synod at *Belj. st*; we humbly offer, That that Sermon was Preach'd at *Antrim*, in the Year 1698. When the Author cou'd not be call'd a *Non-Juror*, the Oath of Abjuration not being then impos'd, That it was Printed without his Order and Knowledge, and that he, being on account of it called before the then Lords Justices and Council, was *acquitted*. But



But to pass our Author's Marginal Digressions, let us return to the reign of King *James* 1. And here I find our Author has very prudently wav'd giving any Account of the Behaviour of Presbyterians in *Ireland* under this Reign; for (if he is acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, upon King *James's* Accession to the Crown of *England*) he'll soon find that the Settlement of Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland*, was one of the Chief Means of bringing that Kingdom into the Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and of Securing and Enlarging the *British* and *Protestant* Interest in *Ireland*, as will appear by the following brief account of it.

When King *James* 1. came to the Crown of *England*, the Kingdom of *Ireland* in General, and the *British* and *Protestant* Interest there in Particular was in a very Deplorable Condition: A Tragical Series of Concurring Causes contributed to the Miseries of that unhappy Nation. The Natives had a rooted Prejudice against the *English* Government, looking upon themselves as reduc'd to a State of Slavery by *England*; and believ'd that their Antient Government by their own Kings, and their Laws, Liberties and Properties were all taken from 'em by Violence; and they had not the Right notion of the Excellency of the *English* Constitution, which is very fit for civilizing a Barbarous People. This oblig'd the *English* to have a Watchful and Jealous Eye over all the Motions of those, whom they rather found to be Implacable Enemies, than good Subjects: and therefore they transplanted as many of their own Country-men into *Ireland*, as they cou'd well spare from home, and persuade to go abroad, upon so discouraging an Enterprize.

But the *English* Settlements in *Ireland* being weaken'd by the Debates between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* about the Succession, which carry'd home divers of the *English* to assist the several Candidates, according as their interest and Party led 'em, the *Irish* got Head again. In King *Henry* 8th's time, their Aversion to the *English* grew greater, upon his throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, and then their Bigotted Clergy wrought upon a blinded People, and inflam'd 'em to the greatest Height, telling them that before they had lost their Liberties and Ancient Privileges, but now their Religion (more valuable than all the Rest) was at Stake. All these Grounds of Prejudice were farther improv'd upon Queen *Elizabeth's* happy Accession to the

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Crown; in whose Reign the *English* were miserably harass'd, and many of 'em destroy'd in *Ireland*, by the Rebellions and Insurrections rais'd by that bloody People. And there was a Law Enacted [3. and 4. *Philip and Mary*] Entitul'd *An Act against bringing in of Scots, retaining of them, and Marrying with them*; which continu'd in force during the whole Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and hindred the *Scots*, from planting *Ulster* or any other part of *Ireland*: the Rebellions of the *Irish*, the Destruction of the *English*, and the keeping out the *Scots* made it a miserable Distracted Kingdom. And in this Posture of affairs King *James* found it.

That Prince finding that he cou'd neither Levy the Rents and Revenues of the Crown, nor execute the Ordinary Course of Justice, nor Protect such of his Subjects as were faithful there, without Military Force, endeavor'd to Civilize the Barbarous Natives, and win them by acts of Grace and Lenity; and therefore restor'd some of the most Considerable of the *Irish* Rebels to their Estates and Inheritances. But this Experiment had not the Desir'd Issue. For soon after follow'd the Ungrateful and Traiterous Rebellion of the Earl of *Tyrone*, and *Sr Cahir O Doghirtie* and their Accomplices, which made a Considerable addition to these Miseries under which the Nation lay groaning, when he came to the Throne. The Parliament of *Ireland*, (11, 12, and 13 *Jac. 1. Cap. 4.*) pass an *Act for the attainder of Hugh late Earl of Tyrone, Rory Late Earl of Tyrconnel, Sr Cahir O Doghirtie and others*, wherein there is this Remarkable Exp'dition; that gives a most Authentic Proof of the Weakness of the Protestant and British Interest in *Ireland* at that time; the Words are, 'It may please your most Excellent Majesty of your Gracious Disposition which your Highness doth bear towards the "SETTLING OF THIS UNREFORMED KINGDOM" The Parliament then look'd upon *Ireland* to be an *Unreform'd* and an *Unsettled* Kingdom.

Many Projects were set on foot for the settling and Reforming of it, and among others, that same Parliament that had so feelingly express'd its Miseries, and who were the best Judges of proper Expedients for remedying them, pass an Act (Chap. 6.) for *repealing the Act against bringing in of Scots, retaining of them, and Marrying with them*; and thereby gave a public *PARLIAMENTARY* Encouragement and Invitation to the *Scots* Nation to come and plant *Ire-*
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land, and to promote the Settlement and Reformation thereof. And tho' divers of the Scots had come over before the passing of the aforeſaid Act, conceiving hopes that their own Natural Prince wou'd take care to have ſuch a Law put in due time, yet we muſt date the Commencement of the moſt conſiderable Attempts of the Scots for the Plantation of Ulſter, from that Law; after which, there came over many *Thousands* of 'em in a few years, and ſettled in Ulſter. They brought alongſt with them their Presbyterian Principles, which they had learn'd at home, and encourag'd Miniſters of their own Perſuaſion to ſettle amongſt 'em. The firſt Miniſter of that Perſuaſion (of the Scots Nation) I have heard of was the Reverend Mr. *Edward Bryce*, who ſettled in *Broad-iſland* in the County of *Antrim*, Anno 1611. And about the ſame time, or very ſoon after it, we have an Account of the Reverend Mr. *Robert Cunningham* in *Hollywood*, in the County of *Down*. And there were three Miniſters who came from *England*, and were Contemporary with Mr. *Bryce* and Mr. *Cunningham*, viz. Mr. *John Ridges* of *Antrim*, and Mr. *Henry Calvert*, and Mr. *Hubbard* of *Carrickfergus*, who had been a Pupil under the great *Cartwright* in *England*. He was encourag'd by the Lord *Chicheſter*, then Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, who himſelf had been a Pupil of *Cartwright's* too; and was a Man of great Parts, had got a conſiderable Eſtate in *Ireland*, and was amongſt the firſt Planters of Ulſter in this Reign, and an Encourager and Favourer of the Puritans, finding it for the Intereſt of the Crown and Kingdom to have the Country Planted with Proteſtant Inhabitants. Mr. *Ridge* and Mr. *Calvert* were encourag'd by the Family of the *Clotworthy's* of *Antrim* upon the ſame Principles, and eſpecially being themſelves of that Perſuaſion.

In the Year 1622. the famous Mr. *Robert Blair* came from *Scotland*, and was ordain'd Miniſter of *Bangor*, in the County of *Down*; he was Encourag'd by the Lord *Clanboy*, Son to a Presbyterian Miniſter in *Scotland*, who had been a Fellow in the Colledge of *Dublin*, reported to have been Tutor to the great *Usher*, was now become a Lord, and poſſeſs'd of a great Eſtate; and a great Encourager of the Plantation of Ulſter, and who ſaw a neceſſity of Encouraging the Presbyterians upon his Eſtate, otherwiſe the Country muſt have remain'd a Wilderneſs. His own Nephew Mr. *James Hamilton*, became Presbyterian Miniſter of *Ballywalter*, and Mr. *John Livingſton* (a Man of ſingular Learning and Piety) came ſoon after into the Miniſtry

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and was settled in the Parish of *Killiney*, with divers others, in the County of *Down*. And in the County of *Antrim*, were settled about this time) Mr. *Josias Welsh* at *Templepatrick* Son to the great *John Welsh*, and Grandson of *Knox* the Reformer, and Mr. *George Dunbar* at *Lynn* with divers others in that County.

The mutual Moderation of the different Denominations of the Protestants of *Ireland* at that time, was a great help to the Settlement and Plantation of *Ulster*; of which I shall give several Instances, which I wish may be duly consider'd by their Successors. When Mr. *Robert Blair* was presented to the Parish of *Bangor* by the Lord *Claneboy*, the difficulty that stuck with him was how he cou'd be ordain'd, for he was a Zealous Presbyterian, and scrupled to receive *Episcopal Ordination* according to the establish'd Form. The Lord *Claneboy*, brought him into Company with the then Bishop of *Down*, viz. Bishop *Ecclin*; and the Bishop and Mr. *Blair* had a free Conference upon that Subject, and at last Compromis'd the matter thus. The Bishop propos'd that Mr. *Robert Cunningham*, and the other Ministers of Mr. *Blair's* Persuasion, who were in the Country shou'd concur with him in the Ordination; and that he (*i. e.* the Bishop) being acknowledg'd by Mr. *Blair* to be a Presbyter, and as such to have Power of Ordination in Conjunction with other Presbyters, shou'd join with 'em in that Act; and that all those things which Mr. *Blair* scrupled at in the establish'd Form of Ordination shou'd be laid aside, and the Expressions in it he excepted against exchange'd for others to be concerted with his own Consent and Approbation. This Proposal Mr. *Blair* readily consented to, and in pursuance of it was ordain'd Publickly in the manner agreed upon in the Church of *Bangor*; finding nothing in it repugnant to his Principles and Conscience, and hoping that this might happily Contribute to the Union of Protestants in order to the preserving and promoting the Infant-Plantation of *Ulster*, and for laying a good Foundation for rooting out the Principles of Popery and Rebellion, which had been so industriously kept up by the *Irish* Natives. All these of the same Persuasion who were ordain'd in *Ireland* between that time and the Year 1642. were ordain'd after the same Method; and particularly Mr. *John Livingstone* hath left a full Narrative of his Conference with *Knox* Bishop of *Rapho*, who join'd with the Presbyterian Ministers in his Ordination. And all of them, (*Blair* and all the rest) enjoyed the Churches and Tithes, tho' they remain'd Presbyterian still, and us'd not the Liturgy, and there

was a Civil Comprehension of them, and a sort of an Ecclesiastical Comprehension too; for they frequently met and Consulted with the Bishop about Affairs of Common Concernment to the Interest of Religion, and some of 'em were Members of the Convocation in the Year 1634.

These Ministers kept a *Monthly Meeting* at *Antrim*, wherein four of them usually preach'd in one day, and they commonly spent two days at these Meetings in Preaching and solemn Humiliation, by Prayer and fasting, for the Sins of the Land; and then consulted amongst themselves of the best Methods for Cherishing Piety in their several Congregations, and for the Propagation of it thro' the whole Country, and for the Extirpation of Popery: wherein God was pleas'd to bless 'em with Admirable Success in a few Years. A very Coarse People were brought in by their Ministry, not only to be wonderfully Civiliz'd, but by a Powerful Blessing upon the Gospel, great Numbers of 'em became serious Christians; and from all parts of the Country resorted to these Monthly Meetings, and to the Quarterly Communions then in use. For Mr. *Blair* and Mr. *Cunningham* soon Concerted between themselves to give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *each of them four times* a year, and adjusted the Times of the Celebration of it, so as the *Greatest Number* of their Parishioners, who were *Proficient* in Religion Communicated in both their Churches, upon all these Occasions, which was once in six or seven Weeks. And the other Ministers found so great Comfort, & so much divine Assistance in their Work, as encourag'd them likewise to a Desirable Frequency in the Administration of that solemn Ordinance. They employ'd themselves in their Ministerial Work with Indefatigable Diligence, to the Approbation of all the *Moderate* and *Seber Episcopalsians*; and particularly of the Great *Usher*, with whom Mr *Blair* was well acquainted, and from whom he and his other Brethren had great Applause.

And many of them were in high Esteem amongst the People of Distinction and of the best Station then in *Ulster*, and their Ministry much regarded, and attended upon even by *these* who had *freedom* in their Consciences to conform to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Establish'd Church*, one Instance whereof (to mention no more) was in Mr. *Blair's* Preaching before the Judges of Assize (at the desire of the

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Bishop of Down) upon the Lords-day which happen'd to be Easter-Sunday, upon which the Judges were to receive the Sacrament; he preach'd to 'em before Noon that day, and on the Saturday before; had not cleareness to Communicate kneeling, upon which the Curate of the Place perform'd the Office, according to the Liturgy; And Mr. Blair was sent for on the Lords day in the Evening by one of the Judges, who made him repeat the Heads of his Sermon, discours'd him seriously about the Covenant of Redemption, which had been the Subject of it, and spoke with great Regard to Mr. Blair, and the Methods us'd by him and his Brethren in the Exercise of their Ministry, and exprest'd a Cordial Willingness to be under such a Ministry, which, he perceiv'd, was favor'd by so much of God's Countenance.

The Providence of God was very remarkable in promoting this Plantation of Ulster by means of the hard Treatment of Presbyterians at that time both in England and Scotland; for Persecution drove many of 'em from both Kingdoms into Ireland. And those who gave too much way to their ill Treatment at home, found it for the public Safety of Ireland and the Protestant Religion, to protect them there.

And 'tis very Remarkable, that after the Principles and Behavior of the same Presbyterians who came into Ulster were publickly known, even as long after as in the tenth Year of the Reign of K. Charles I. the Parliament of Ireland made an Act (Cap 4) for the Naturalization of all the Scottish Nation, which were Ante-Nati, born before his late Majesty King James, &c. happy Access to the Crown of England and Ireland; and the very Design of that Act was to give farther Encouragement to some of the Scots who had come over before, and for want of being Naturaliz'd, were liable to divers Inconveniencies mention'd therein, and to Encourage more Scots to come over, and they particularly set forth the usefulness of the Scots for promoting the Happiness of the Kingdom; in these Memorable Words, 'It being a great Discouragement and Disheartning unto many of your said Subjects of Scotland, that otherwise wou'd have planted themselves here, for the further CIVILIZING, STRENGTHNING, and SECURING this your Highness said Realm, against Rebels at home, and all Foreign Invasion.

Here is one of the most ample Testimonies (and from the Parliament too) of the Loyalty and Usefulness of the Scots Planters in Ulster.

ster, that they or any Body cou'd desire; and whoever compares this with the State and Condition in which they found the Country, when they came to it, must acknowledge the Justice of the Observation, made by the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland*, in their first Apology to Her Majesty, wherein they say;

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' We crave leave with all Humility to observe to your Majesty, that since our first Settlement in *Ulster*, an hundred Years ago, by Encouragement from the Crown, the *British* and *Protestant* Interest, which was very weak before, has been considerably strengthen'd by our Means, to that Degree, as to have a great Influence on the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom, of which your Royal Predecessors have been very sensible.

I doubt not but the Reader will expect that I shou'd satisfy him, how I came by the Materials of this short Narrative I have given of the first Settlement and Progress of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* in this Reign, having quoted no Printed History for some Parts of it. As to the Acts of Parliament I have mention'd, these will speak for themselves; and the publick Histories do all so unanimously agree upon the State of *Ireland*, as I have represented it in the beginning of this Reign, that he must be very Ignorant that doubts it. And for other Parts of the Narrative, I have them from a Manuscript-History of the first Settlement and Progress of Presbyterians in *Ulster*, wrote by the late Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Presbyterian Minister in *Belfast*. That Reverend Divine had all the Advantages that any Man in his time cou'd be suppos'd to have for coming to the exact Knowledge of the Facts he relates: for he himself was ordain'd *May 7th* in the Year 1646, about 24 Years only after Mr. *Blair* was ordain'd, and was personally acquainted with him. He had the Advantage also of a Manuscript-History of Mr. *Blair's* Life, written by Mr. *Blair* himself, giving the same Account; which I have perus'd carefully, and find an exact Harmony between 'em. Mr. *Adair* was a great Intimate and (in some respect) a Disciple of the Famous Mr. *John Livingstone*, who has likewise left us a Manuscript-History of his Life. I have seen it too, and find it exactly agree both with Mr. *Blair* and Mr. *Adair*.

Mr. *Adair* himself lived near 50 years in the Ministry, and by his long Experience had great Opportunities of making Judicious Observations

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various upon the History of the Times; especially if we consider, that during that whole time he was constantly employ'd by his Brethren, in all their Affairs of Moment and Intricacy; was often in Conference with the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, with *Monsieurs*, *Venables*, and the most considerable of the Usurper's Party, and with *Henry Cromwell* himself; being call'd by all these to appear before 'em, and still asserted the King's Right (as shall appear in it's proper place.) He was frequently a Commissioner from the Presbyterians to the Duke of *Ormond*, and other Chief Governors of *Ireland*, after the Restoration; And was sent over by all his Brethren in the North of *Ireland* in 1688, with their Address to the Prince of ORANGE, and staid at Court for some time: And by these means had the Honour of Acquaintance with many Noblemen and Gentlemen; and was richly furnish'd, thro' the whole Course of his Ministry, with the best of Materials for Composing such a Work. Besides, he had Assistance from some who were Compiling such an History, before he attempted it, and particularly from Mr. *John Greg* Presbyterian Minister in *Newton*, and Mr. *Andrew Stuart* Presbyterian Minister in *Donnaghadee*, who made some Progress in the Work; and were Men of great Sagacity, Judgment, and Veracity, as many yet alive can Testify. He had the Benefit of the Conversation and Observations of three old Ministers, viz. The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hall* of *Lairn*, Mr. *Anthony Kennedy* of *Templepatrick*, and Mr. *Robert Cunningham* of *Broad-Island*, who all surviv'd the late Happy Revolution, and were as Old Ministers as Mr. *Adair* himself. And their Characters are all so well known to many Gentlemen of Worth of all Persuasions, as 'twould be needless to say any thing in Proof of their very great Sincerity.

Add to all this the Excellent Character of Mr. *Adair* himself, who was a Man of great Natural Parts and Wisdom, Eminent Piety and Exemplary Holiness, great Ministerial Gravity and Authority, Endued with Savory and most Edifying Gifts for his Sacred Function; wherein he was Laborious, Painful, and Faithful; was a Constant, Curious, and Accurate Observer of all Public Occurrences; and with all these Rare Qualities, had not only the Blood and Descent; but the Spirit and just Decorum of a Gentleman.

If all these things be Compar'd, and duly weigh'd, I think I may Adventure to say, that its morally Impossible we shou'd be led into Mist;



Mistakes by what *Accounts* are taken from that *Manuscript-History*; And I know nothing that can be said, for questioning its *Veracity*, but that *Mr. Adair*, *Mr. Blair*, and *Mr. Livingstone* were *Presbyterian Ministers*; which carries in it a most *Uncharitable* *Insinuation*, as if *all the Honesty in the World* were *Confin'd to one Persuasion*. And if it be *Undeignable*, That there are several *Ingenuous Popish Historians*, who deserve *Credit*, even in the *Facts* they relate concerning the *Church of Rome*, he must be a *very Sceptic*, who will refuse the *Testimony* of these *Worthy Protestant Divines*, of such *Establish'd Characters* amongst all who knew them.

I have been the *Larger* in shewing the *Credit* due to this *Manuscript-History*, because I shall have *Occasion* afterwards to refer to it. The *History* it self contains a *Curious Collection* of some very *surprising Affairs*, and perhaps may be *expos'd to a Public View* in due time.

PART II.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians from the beginning of the Reign of King CHARLES I. To this present Year MDCCXIII.

CHAP. I.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King CHARLES I.

THERE are three Instances adduc'd by our Author, and insisted upon in both his Pamphlets, to prove Presbyterians guilty of the height of Disloyalty in this Reign. *viz.* 1. Their taking Part with the Long Parliament against the King, which he calls Rebellion. 2. Their opposing Duke Hamilton's Engagement for rescuing the King out of the hands of the Sectaries, and for saving his life. And 3^{ly}, The Execrable Murder of the King, as the worst of all; with all which he charges them.

What I shall be oblig'd to offer for clearing these three points, will give



give an Impartial and Distinct Account not only of their Conduct and Loyalty, but of several very Material Parts of the History of these Kingdoms, without which the Behavior of Presbyterians can't be set in a true light.

As to the first, *viz.* the Civil War between King *Charles* 1. and the Long Parliament, I shall not give my own opinion in that Matter, but represent to the Reader the Reasons on both Sides, leaving him to form a Judgment for himself. The most *Impartial* way I can think of for stating the Debate, is, to give the Reasons of a very Learn'd Prelate, who thinks that War to have been a Rebellion on the Part of the Parliament and their Abettors: And on the other hand to insert the Reasons of the Author of a very Celebrated Paper, who is of the Contrary Opinion. The first is the present Bishop of *Sarum*, who in his speech on the first Article of the Impeachment of Dr. *Sacheverel* says,

' I go next to shew what was the Common Doctrine for the next
' 60 years, from 1628, to 1688. I must yield up the first 12 years ;
' For upon the Unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and that
' Parliament, there was a *long Discontinuance* of Parliaments, then the
' lately condemn'd Doctrine was again in vogue ; and nothing was so
' much heard of, as the Law of Government which was from God, An-
' tecedent to all Human Laws : Out of this sprung *Illegal Imprison-*
' *ments*, *Illegal Monopoles*, *Severe Proceedings* in the *Star Chamber*, but
' above all the *Ship-Mony*. These things put the Nation in an *Uni-*
' *versal Disjointing* and Feebleness. And when an unavoidable Necessi-
' ty forced the King to call a Parliament, the fatal Effects of those
' Councils broke out terribly. I know many fancy, that the War is
' to be charg'd on the Principles of Self-Defence ; they are much
' mistaken, I had Occasion to see a great way into the Secret
' of that time, when I examin'd the Papers relating to the two Dukes
' of *Hamilton*. I knew a great deal more since from two Persons of
' Unquestionable Integrity, who knew the Secrets of that time, the
' Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* ; but all receiv'd a full Con-
' firmation, when I found it agreed perfectly with the noble account
' given by the Earl of *Clarendon*.

' No Body dream'd of a War, nor had they any principles leading
' to it. But there was an unhappy Train of Accidents that hinder'd

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‘ Matters from being brought to Settlement, even while the King was granting all they could desire. Stories were carried by Persons about both the King and Queen, of Words let fall, that made them conclude, there were still ill designs on Foot, against the Laws that were then pass’d. But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the Discovery of a Negotiation, to engage the Army to declare against the Parliament. Whosoever compares the Depositions in *Aushmorth* with the account of that matter by the Earl of *Clarendon*, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe; tho’ he acknowledges they had both *Goring’s* Evidence, and *Piercy’s* Letter with them. I will not take it upon me to determine, whether they believ’d too much, or the Earl of *Clarendon* too little. It is certain they believ’d all that was in the Depositions and a great deal more: For *Goring*, being continu’d in the Government of *Portsmouth*, and his Father being advanc’d from being a Baron to be an Earl, and *Piercy’s* being made a Lord and Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*, made them conclude they had suppress’d a great deal, instead of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in their Hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the Demand of the Militia, that brought on the War, which I do own was plainly a *Rebellion*, because a force was offer’d to the King, not to defend themselves from an unjust Invasion, or Illegal Grievances, but to extort a new Law from him.

Thus the true Occasion of the War, was a Jealousie, that a Conduct of 15 Years had given too much Ground for; and that was still unhappily kept up, by a fatal Train of Errors, in every step that was made.

Besides these Reasons, all the Reasons that are usually advanc’d for Passive Obedience and Non-resistance were offer’d, to show the Unlawfulness of that War. But the Reader must excuse me for omitting them here; because that sort of Reasons is now universally rejected by those, who assert the Legality of the late happy Revolution in 1688. And were given up by *Dr. Sacheverel’s* Council in his Tryal as I have shown Part 1. Chap 1. p. 15. & the debate about the Civil War does not now turn upon that Point, but meerly upon this hinge, whether there was sufficient Cause for the Parliament and the Subjects under their Conduct to take up Defensive Arms against the Arbitrary

bitrary Courses of that Reign, and the Invasions made upon their Religion and Liberties by the Prerogative. That there were such Violations of Liberty as were very heavy Grievances, is acknowledg'd on all Sides, but that they were so great as to Justify a War, is denied by the one Party, and affirm'd by the other.

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Of all those who have embrac'd the Affirmative of this Question, I don't find any who gives so clear a State of the Case, as the Author of a late Celebrated Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *Faults on both Sides*. He gives his opinion in these Words, (a)

' It is neither in my Inclination or Purpose, to vindicate any of those many ill things that were acted in the Prosecution of that Civil War; but since my Lord *Clarendon* himself *fairly acknowledgeth*, That that Prince was misled into many Mistakes in the Conduct of his Government, we may modestly say, that 't was the proper business of the Parliament to insist upon a *thorough Reformation* of all that had been done amiss, and to OBTAIN SUCH LAWS as might *Effectually* secure the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the People from the *like Invasions* for the future: If the King, at first, *adher'd* to the Advice of those who dissuaded him from giving such satisfaction to his Parliament, as he wou'd have yielded to at last; and if he was persuaded to decide the Dispute by the Sword, and to begin it by Displaying his Standard of War against his People, *what cou'd then remain* for them to chuse, but either to *give up* for ever all their *Rights* and *Liberties*, and to submit themselves and their Posterity to be govern'd by the *Will and Pleasure* of all their future Kings: Or, to resolve to defend their Ancient Laws and Privileges to the utmost, and to oppose Force with Force?

' There is, doubtless, a true Distinction to be made between a Rebellion and a Civil War; the first is Notorious, when Subjects take up arms against *Lawful Governors Lawfully Governing*; but when a Prince *violates* the *Establish'd Laws* of the Nation, *raises Taxes* by his own Authority contrary to the known Rules of the Constitution, *invades* the *Liberties* of his Subjects by *Illegal Imprisonments*, unjust *Prosecutions* and other *Grievous Oppressions*, *per-*

Z. 2

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' *sists* in such *Arbitrary* Acts of Government for a course of Years; if
 ' a People can find *no other* Means to preserve their most valuable In-
 ' terests, but by having Recourse to the last Remedy, and shall *take*
 ' *up Arms* to Compel such a Prince to *restore* their *Rights*, and reform
 ' his *ill Government*; 'tis evident, from the Histories of the Civil Wars
 ' of *France* and other Countries, that grave and impartial Historians
 ' have *not thought fit* to treat this way of opposing the Unlawful U-
 ' surpation of Princes with the *Odious name of Rebellion*; and 'tis ob-
 ' serv'd, that our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts
 ' pass'd after the Restoration, in Relation to the preceeding War
 ' between the King and Parliament, they *wou'd never give it the name*
 ' *of Rebellion*, doubtless out of the Consideration that it behov'd 'em
 ' to keep up the Sanction of the Parliamenrary Authority; and that
 ' *that War was Authoriz'd* by a *legal Parliament*, who had Right to
 ' vindicate the Liberty of the Nation.

' The Names of Reproach, which pass'd in these Times, were
 ' *Cavalier* for these who sided with the King, and *Roundheads* for such
 ' as took part with the Parliament: Now if the Intention of the lat-
 ' ter were no other than to bring the evil Counsellors to condign
 ' Punishment, to prevail with the King to comply in a just settlement
 ' of their Civil and Religious Liberties; and then to restore him to
 ' the *Regal State* under such *Limitations* as might *secure* them from
 ' any *future Invasions* of their Rights and Priviledges, (and this I be-
 ' lieve, was the GENERAL DESIGN of *those that took up Arms at*
 ' *first*) I see no reason why these *Roundheads* shou'd lie under a har-
 ' der Censure for what they Acted at that time, than may be *impu-*
 ' *ted to our selves* for what *we* have done in the late HAPPY RE-
 ' VOLUTION, for the Rescuing our Laws and Religion from the
 ' Violations of the late King *James*.

' Hitherto you will say I have argu'd like a *Whig*, but I shall soon
 ' shew you that I am not inclin'd to be Partial. When this very
 ' Reforming Party had reduc'd the Forces of the King, and 'twas
 ' in their Power to have put a good end to the War, they fell into
 ' Factions and Divisions among themselves, and many of those that
 ' had Eminently distinguish'd themselves and gain'd the Applause of
 ' the People, enter'd into designs to advance their own Grandeur;
 ' the *great Officers of the Army* form'd *Cabals* in the House of Com-

mons, who by their Strength and Interest *violated the Rights of* Part 2.
Parliament, by imprisoning several of their fellow-Members with-
 out just Cause, and excluded such as oppos'd their sinister Designs,
 without filling the House with New Elections; so that they became
 no true Representative of the People, and carry'd on all their ex-
 travagant Actions afterwards by a small number of their own Fa-
 ction: In short, when the King was at last brought to yield to
 such Terms as might have settled the Nation in Peace, they *rejected*
all manner of Accomodation with him, *hurried him to the Block*, usurp'd
 the Regal Power, kept up the Army to support their own Tyren-
 ny, oppress'd the People with illegal exactions, and rul'd the three
 Nations by the Sword; and if those who style the whole a Rebel-
 lion, had but *distinguish'd* between the *Commencement* of the Civil
 War, and the *time* when *these* Actions were perpetrated, I shall be
 content to allow them that Term, or even a worse if they cou'd in-
 vent it.

That the Reader may be able to judge whether the Reasons of the
 last mention'd Author, or of the Bishop of *Sarum*, be of greatest
 Weight, it will be proper for him to observe that those who defend
 the Parliament's War against the King do alledge, that his Reign con-
 sisted not of *some few* single Acts; but of a *constant Series* of Male-Ad-
 ministrations, to the *Endangering* of the Protestant Religion, the *sub-*
verting of the Priviledges of Parliament, and the *Overthrow* of the
 Liberties and Properties of his Subjects: And that *all possible means*
 on their Part were us'd for the Redress of those Grievances, but to
 no purpose; that the Intrigues of his Prime Favorites and the Preva-
 lency of evil Council put the Parliament and Nation under the un-
 happy necessity of defending their Rights by the Sword, as the last
 and only means of their Self-preservation.

One main Cause of the People's Grievances in Religion under his
 Reign, was his Marrying a *Bigotted Papist*, upon such base and *Dis-*
honourable Articles confirm'd by his Oath, as *inevitably* open'd a Door
 to a Popish Interest and Council with all its mischievous effects both
 in Church and State. This unfortunate Prince was led into this snare
 by his Father, who us'd all his Interest for promoting the *Spanish*
 Match, in the Articles whereof there were many things *highly* pre-
 judicial to the *Protestant* and favorable to the *Popish* Religion.

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The *Roman-Catholick Apostolic Religion*, and the *Holy Roman Church*, were too loose Epithets for a Protestant Prince to Swear to, as he did in the 2 and 8 Articles. By the 6th Article, not only the *Infanta* her self, but also her Men-Servants and Maid-Servants, and their Servants Children and Descendants, and all their Families of what sort soever serving her Highness might be freely and publicly *Catholicks*." The 5, 7, and 8, provide her a Church, Chappel and Oratory, with all Popish Ornaments. The 10th allows her 24 Priests and Assistants to serve in them; and over them a Bishop or his Vicar, (by the 11) with full Authority and Jurisdiction: who "only may proceed (by the 15th Article) against Ecclesiastical Persons as *hath been accustomed by Catholicks*: And if any Secular Judge shall apprehend any Ecclesiastical Person for any offence, he shall forthwith Cause him to be deliver'd to the aforesaid *Superior Ecclesiastic*, who shall proceed against him according to the *Canon-Law*. By the 12, the *Infanta* and her Servants might procure from *Rome* Dispensations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces as shall seem meet to their Religion and Consciences. By the 16th, the Laws made against *Catholicks* in *England*, or in any other Kingdom of the King of *Great-Britain* shall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and tho' they be *Catholicks*, they shall not lose their Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of *Great Britain*". The *Infanta* must chuse the very Nurfes for their Children of the Marriage by the 17th, & which is more, the Chil'ren must be brought up in her Company, at the least, until the *Age of Ten Years*, by the 20th. By the 22d, The King, Prince, and Council must Swear to all the Articles, and endeavour, if possible to have them *Establish'd by Parliament*. And by the 23d, All was "to be allow'd and approv'd of by the Pope, that he may give an *Apostolical Benediction*". In a Word, there is not one of all the 23 Articles, but what is in favor of the Popish Religion and Interest, and yet all Sworn to by the King, Prince and Council, as appears by the Forms of their several Oaths recorded in *Rusworth's* Collections, together with the Articles themselves at large (b)

Besides all these, there were other private Articles, Sworn to by the King, Prince and Council, in favor of the Papiits, which *Rusworth*,

worth (*Ibid.*) mentioneth, the most Material Clauses whereof, are these, ' 1. That particular Laws made against the Roman Catholicks as likewise General Laws — which are repugnant to the Romish Religion, shall not at any time hereafter, by any means or Chance whatsoever directly or indirectly be Commanded to be put in Execution against the said Roman Catholicks; And we will cause that our Council shall take the same Oath, so far as it pertains to them, and belongs to the Execution, which by the hands of their Ministers is to be exercis'd.

' 2. That no other Laws shall be made anew against the said Roman Catholicks, but that there shall be a perpetual Toleration of the Roman Catholic Religion, &c.

' 3. That neither by us, nor any other interpos'd Person directly or indirectly, privately or publicly, will we treat (or attempt) any thing with the most Renown'd Lady *Infanta Donna Maria* which shall be repugnant to the Roman Catholic-Religion, neither will we by any means persuade her that she shou'd ever renounce or relinquish the same, &c.

' 4. That we and the Prince of *Wales* will interpose our Authority, and will do as much as in us shall lye, that the Parliament shall ratify all and singular Articles in favor of the Roman-Catholics —, and Revoke and Abrogate particular Laws made against the said Roman Catholicks — as likewise the General Laws — repugnant to the Roman Catholick-Religion &c.

In the *Prince's* Oath confirming these Articles, let the following Words be remark'd, ' Moreover I *Charles* Prince of *Wales* engage my self ----- That all those things which are contain'd in the foregoing Articles, and concern as well the Suspension as the Abrogation of all Laws made against the Roman Catholicks, shall WITH IN THREE YEARS INFALLIBLY TAKE EFFECT, and sooner if it be possible, which we will have to lie upon our Conscience and Royal Honour. That I will intercede with — my Father, that the Ten Years of the Education of the Children which shall be born of this Marriage ----- (which Term the *Pope* of *Rome* desires to have Prologu'd to twelve years) may be lengthen'd to the said Term. And I ----- swear, that if it so happen that the entire Power of disposing of this matter be devolv'd to me, I will also grant and approve the said Term. Furthermore --- as often as the *Infanta* shall re-

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‘ require that I shou’d give ear to Divines and others whom her Highness shall be pleas’d to employ in matters of the Roman Catholick Religion, I will *HEARKEN TO THEM WILLINGLY* without all Difficulty, and laying aside all excuse &c.

Compare all this with the Letters between the Pope, King, and Prince upon that Subject; and consider that Clause of the Prince’s Letter to the Pope (c) ‘ Your Holiness Conjecture of our desire to Contract an Alliance & Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princess is agreeable both to your *Wisdom and Charity*: for we cou’d never desire so vehemently to be join’d in a strict and Indissoluble Bond with any Mortal whatsoever, whose Religion we hated; therefore your Holiness may be assur’d that we are and always will be of that Moderation, as to abstain from such Actions, which may testify our Hatred against the Roman-Catholic Religion.

Both Houses of Parliament Anno 1623. in their joynt Address to the King say, (d) ‘ The humble Advice of us your Obedient Subjects we joyntly offer from both Houses, *No one Person there dissenting or Disagreeing from the Rest*---That the Treaties both for the *Marriage* & the *Palatinate* may not any longer be continu’d with the honor of your Majesty, the *Safety* of your People, the *Welfare* of your Children and Posterity, as also the *assistance* of your Ancient Allies & Confederates”. And in their Reasons for this Address they say, ‘ The Spaniards taking advantage of the Prince’s being in Spain, importun’d a General Connivance of Religion, to the Diminution of the King’s Sovereignty, and to the Discouragement of all his well-affected Subjects. And thus they have labor’d with the Pope, being of Mischievous Consequence. During this Treaty the Popish Faction hath mightily increas’d.

In their next Address by their Committee in answer to his Speech they say (e) ‘ The Weal and Safety whereof (*i. e.* of England) is in our judgments apparently threatned, if your Majesty’s Resolutions for Dissolving of the Treaties now in question be longer deferred”. The King was prevail’d with to Dissolve these Treaties, which

(c) *Restwimb Collect.* Part. I. p. 82. 83.(d) *Ibid.* p. 228.(e) *Ibid.* p. 135.

‘ which occasion’d Bonfires Ringing of Bells, and great Joy in *London*. (f) Part 2.

The Parliament, being resolv’d to strike the Iron while ’twas hot, prepar’d a smart Petition against Popish Recusants, exactly opposite to the Articles of the *Spanish Match*; which the King in his Letter to Secretary *Conway* calls, a *Stinging Petition* against the Papists, In which this is one clause, (g) ‘ Seeing we are thus happily deliver’d from that danger, which those Treaties now Dissolv’d, and that use which your ill-affected Subjects made thereof, wou’d certainly have drawn upon us, and cannot but foresee and fear lest the like may hereafter happen, and inevitably bring such Perils to your Majesty’s Kingdoms; we are most humble Suitors to your Gracious Majesty, to secure the Hearts of your good Subjects by the Engagement of your Royal word unto them, that upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty or other Requests from any Foreign Prince or States whatsoever, you will take off, and slacken the Execution of your Laws against the Popish Recusants.

The Parliament *Anno 1621.* gave sufficient Warning of those Mischiefs and danger to Religion by *any such Match*: The Commons in their Address (h) to him say, ‘ finding how ill, your Majesty’s Goodness hath been requited by Princes of Different Religion, who even in time of Treaty have taken opportunity to advance their own ends, tending to the Subversion of Religion—: by reason whereof of your ill affected Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have taken too much Encouragement, and are dangerously increas’d in their Number, and in their Insolencies”. In this address they give 14 Causes of great and growing Mischiefs in the Kingdom, whereof the 7th. is, ‘ The Expectations of the Popish Recusants of the Match with *Spain*, and feeding themselves with great Hopes of the Consequences thereof’. They propose ten Remedies of the Evils they fear’d from these Causes, whereof the 6th is, ‘ That to frustrate their Hopes for a future Age, our most Noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own Religion.

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(f) *Id.* *Ibid.* p: 128. (g) *Id.* *Ibid.* p. 142.

(h) *Id.* *Ibid.* p. 40.

Part 2.

In all the *Intrigues* of this Match, declar'd by *divers* Parliaments to be *dangerous to Religion, & the Kingdom*, King Charles 1st (then Prince of Wales) was as deeply concern'd as his Letters, Oaths and Promises above mention'd cou'd make him, being early ensnar'd by his Father's Favorites.

This Match being broke off, there is another immediately set on foot with *France*, which took effect, and produc'd all the Mischiefs, which these wise Parliaments above mention'd did foresee. Of which *Rushworth* says (i) 'The *French* enlarg'd their demands in favor of Papists (as the *Spaniards* did do before them) and strain'd the King to the Coacession of such Immunities, as he had promis'd to his Parliament, he wou'd never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign Princes.

'The Cardinal *Rickelieu* — — — being appointed to the Management of the Treaty, assur'd the Catholics of *Great-Britain*, that the *most Christian King* remembering that he was born and rais'd up no less for the Propagation of the Catholic Cause than for the Enlargement of his own Dominions, was resolv'd to obtain *honorable Terms for Religion*, or *never to conclude* the Match: and for his own part, such was his Compassion towards them, that if he might work their Deliverance, or better their Condition, not only with Counsel, Interest & Authority, but with his life and Blood, he wou'd gladly do it. — — —

'In *August* the Match was concluded, and in *November* the Articles were sworn unto by King *James*, Prince *Charles*, and the *French King*. The Articles concerning Religion were not much short of these for the *Spanish Match*. The private Articles of it besides what was common to it and the *Spanish Match* were (k) 'That the *Catholicks* as well *Ecclesiasticks* as *Temporal*, imprison'd since the last Proclamation which follow'd the breach with *Spain*, shou'd be set at *Liberty*, and that the Goods of the *Catholicks*, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Temporal*, that were seiz'd on since the fore-mention'd Proclamation, shou'd be restor'd to them, and that the *English Catholicks* shou'd be no more search'd after, nor molested for

(i) *Id. Ibid.* p. 152. (k) *Id. Ibid.* p. 169.

‘ for their Religion, and in the 10th of May, says *Rushworth (Ibid.)*, Part 2.
 ‘ as the first fruits of this promis’d Indulgence and favor, the King
 ‘ granted (*viz. Charles 1.*) unto twenty Roman Priests a special Par-
 ‘ don of all Offences committed against the Laws then in Force against
 ‘ Papists.

The first Parliament of his Reign express’d the Eminent Danger of the Protestant Religion, and the growth of Popery under his Administration, in a Long petition in as moving and plain Terms as cou’d be devis’d; they give (1) eight Causes of the Encrease of Popery, each whereof doth either explicitly or by necessary Consequence tax him with Male-Administration; but for Brevity’s sake, I take notice only of the 1st, 2^d, and 8th.

‘ 1. The Want of the due Execution of the Laws against Jesuites,
 ‘ Seminary Priests, and Popish Recufants, occasion’d partly by the
 ‘ *connivancy of the state*, partly by Defect in the Laws themselves, and
 ‘ partly by the manifold abuses of Officers.

‘ 2. The Interpoling of Foreign Princes by their Ambassadors
 ‘ and Agents in Favor of them.

‘ 8. The *Employment of men ill-Affected in Religion* in Places of Government, who do, shall, or may countenance the *popish* party.

They propose 16 Remedies against this *Outragious and Dangerous Disease* as they justly term’d it, all pressing the strict Execution of the Laws, and proposing the wisest Expedients for the more effectual doing of it. To this he gave three Answers, 1. A very General one, promising to be more particular, and 2^{ly}, by the Lord Keeper in a short message assuring ’em of his real *Performance in every particular (m)*. The third Answer was full to each Article, and part, occasion’d by the Commons Desire sometime after, that the Lords might concur with them in presenting to the King these Matters following (n)
 ‘ That notwithstanding they did petition his Majesty for advocating
 ‘ God’s true Religion, and the suppressing of Popery, : *Unto which*
 ‘ his Majesty vouchsaf’d, as well from his own mouth, as the Lord

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Keeper

(1) *Id. Ibid.* p. 181, &c. (m) *Id. Ibid.* p. 174. (n) *Id. Ibid.* p. 180

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Keeper, to return such an Answer, as assur'd them of his Royal Per-
 formance; yet at this Meeting they found, that on the 12 of July
 last, his Majesty granted a pardon unto *Alexander Baker* a Jesuite, &
 unto *ten other Papists*, which [as the Commons have been inform'd] was
 gotten by the *Inportunity of some forreign Ambassidor*, and pass'd
 by *Immediate Warrant*, and was recommended by the *Principal Secre-*
tary of State, without the payment of the Ordinary Fees. And
 further that *Mary Estmonds* in *Dorset-Shire*——made her escape
 from the *Constable*, and complain'd to the King. The principal
 Secretary did write to two Justices in her favor.

Upon these Passages, the Commons made Observations, 1. Upon
 the Date of the pardon, which was the NEXT DAY AFTER
 HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER BY the Lord Keeper to *their Pe-*
tition concerning Religion. 2ly, That the pardon dispens'd with fe-
 veral Laws, as the 21, and 27. of *Q. Elizabeth*, and 3d. of King
James, provided to keep the Subjects in due Obedience. 3ly, That
 the Pardon was sign'd by the *Principal Secretary of State*. And
 therefore the Commons declar'd that these Actings tended to the
Prejudice of true Religion, his Majesty's *Dishonor*, the *Discountean-*
ing the Ministers of Justice, the *grief of the good People*, the *mi-*
ning of the *Popish Party*, who by such *Examples* grew more proud
 and Insolent, and to the *Discouragement* of the *High-Court of Par-*
liament.

Hereupon the King gave a Distinct answer in open Parliament to
 each Paragraph, and afterwards emitted divers Proclamations, and
 Orders against the *Papists* in Pursuance of the said Answer; but his
 evil Counsellors did not intend they shou'd take any great Effect, as
 appears by the Commons Address to him anno 1626. (o) Wherein
 they Observe his Majesty's promise in answer to the above Petition
 and particularly 'That he wou'd give Order to remove from all Places
 of Authority and Government, all such Persons as are either *Popish*
Recufants, or according to Direction of former Acts of State, justly to be
suspected, which was then presented as a great and Principal Cause of
 that *Mischief*. Notwithstanding whereof, they in the body of their
 Address

Address mention by Name above 70 Persons of that kind to be then in Offices of Trust; five whereof were Lords, a great Number of them *Knights* and few or none under the Degree of *Esquires*; and many of those Offices they enjoy'd were very considerable, and of great Importance to the safety of the Nation. The Enumeration of these Persons, their Offices and Characters fills 5 Pages in *Rushworth*; after which they proceed in these Words, 'Wherefore they humbly beseech your Majesty not to suffer your loving Subjects to *continue any longer discourag'd* by the Apparent Sense of that encrease both in Number and Power, which by the favor and Countenance of such ill-affected Governors accrue to the Popish Party.

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A new Parliament call'd *March 17th, 1627*, falls a fresh upon the Grievances in Religion, and finds the Insolencies of Popish Recufants and Persons Popishly affected (notwithstanding of all the endeavors of former Parliaments) to remain as yet intolerable, whereupon several Worthy Members made such Speeches as will ever be remembered to their honor; and even the King's Secretary (*Cooke*) asserts (p) whilst we sit here in Parliament, there was another intended Parliament, of Jesuits and other Well-wishers within a Mile of this Place, that this is true, was discover'd by Letters sent to *Rome*.

The Issue was a Petition from both Houses of Parliament against Recufants consisting of eight Articles, all grounded upon the Non-Execution of the Laws against them, or making such Compositions with those against whom the Laws were executed, as defeated their Design, and continu'd the Danger 'to the Emboldning of Popish Recufants to entertain *Massing-Priests*, into their private Houses, and to *exercise* all their *Mimick Rites* of their gross Superstition (as by their daily Practice and Ostentation we may conceive) to the Nature of a *Concealed Toleration*: Your Majesty (say they) wou'd be Graciously pleas'd to entertain this particular *more nearly* into your Princely Wisdom and Consideration; and to dissolve this *Mystery of Iniquity* patch'd up of colourable Leaves, Contracts, and Pre-conveyances, being but *Masks* on the one part to *deceive your Majesty*

Part 2. *justly and States*; on the other part, for *private Men* to accomplish their Corrupt Ends (q)

In their Petition about Billeting of Soldiers, they take ' Notice of many Companies who openly profess'd themselves Papists, and that some of their Captains and Commanders were as Popishly affected as themselves. (r)

In the following Session, we find the Commons in three Remonstrances (s) speaking very home to the Court in these Words, ' There is a GENERAL FEAR conceiv'd in your People of SECRET WORKING and COMBINATION to *introduce* into this Kingdom *Innovation* and Change of our *Holy Religion* — for notwithstanding the many good and wholesome Laws and Provisions made to prevent the increase of Popery within this Kingdom, and notwithstanding your Majesty's most Gracious and Satisfactory Answer to the Petition of both Houses of *Oxford*, we find there hath follow'd *no good Execution nor Effect*, but on the contrary — these of that Religion do find *extraordinary favor* and respect in Court from Persons of great Quality and Power, whom they continually resort unto, and in particular to the Countess of *Buckingham*, who her self openly professing that Religion, is a known Favourer and Supporter of them, that do the same, which we well hoped, upon your Majesty's Answer to the aforesaid Petition at *Oxford*, shou'd not have been permitted, nor that any of your Majesty's Subjects of that Religion justly to be suspected, shou'd be entertain'd in the Service of your Majesty, or your Royal Consort the Queen; some other wise of that Religion have had *Honour, Offices and Places of Command and Authority* lately confer'd upon them. But that which STRIKETH THE GREATEST TERROR into the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects concerning this, is, that Letters of Stop of Legal Proceedings against them have been procur'd from your Majesty (by what indirect Means we know not) and Commissions under the Great Seal, granted and executed for Composition to be made with Popish Recusants, with *Inhibitions and Restraint* both to the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Courts and Officers, to intermeddle with them; which is

con-

' conceiv'd to amount to no less than a Toleration, odious to God, full of Part 2.
 ' DISHONOR and EXTREME DISPROFIT to Your Majesty, of
 ' GREAT SCANDAL and GRIEF to your GOOD PEOPLE, and
 ' of APPARENT DANGER to the present State of your Majesty and
 ' of this Kingdom; their Numbers, Power and Insolency, daily in-
 ' creasing in all parts of your Kingdom, and especially about London and
 ' the Suburbs thereof.' After mentioning the danger from the Armi-
 ' nian Faction headed by Laud and Neal and the discountenancing of
 ' Orthodox Preachers (of which more afterwards) they subjoin these
 ' Words, ' It doth not also a little increase our Dangers and Fears this
 ' way, to understand the miserable Condition of your Kingdom of
 ' Ireland; where without Controul, the Popish Religion is openly
 ' profess'd and practis'd in every part thereof, Popish Jurisdictions
 ' being there generally exercis'd and avow'd, Monasteries, Nunne-
 ' ries and other Superstitious Houses newly Erected, reedify'd and re-
 ' plenish'd with Men and Women of several Orders, and in a plenti-
 ' ful manner maintain'd at Dublin, and most of the great Towns, and
 ' divers other Places of the Kingdom; which of what ill consequence
 ' it may prove, if not seasonably repress'd, we leave to your Ma-
 ' jesty's Wisdom to Judge; And now, if to all these your Majesty
 ' will be pleas'd to add the Consideration of the Circumstances of time
 ' wherein these Courses tending to the Destruction of true Religion,
 ' within these your Kingdoms, have been taken here, even when the
 ' same is with open force and violence persecuted in other Countries,
 ' and all the Reform'd Churches in Christendom either depress'd or mi-
 ' erably distress'd; we do humbly Appeal to your Majesty's Princely
 ' Judgment, whether there be not just Ground of fear, that there is
 ' some Secret and Strange cooperating here with the Enemies of our
 ' Religion abroad, for the utter Extirpation thereof; and whether
 ' if these Courses be not speedily redress'd, and the Profession of
 ' true Religion more encourag'd, we can expect any other but Mife-
 ' ry and Ruin speedily to fall upon us.

In the last Session of this Parliament, there arose divers Debates
 between the King and them about the Order of their proceeding,
 he urging first of all for Subsidies, and they preferring the Considera-
 tion of their Grievances in Religion; and therefore gave him a De-
 claration, containing their Reasons for so doing; they continu'd by

Part 2.

a short time, and finding they were immediately to be dissolv'd, the Commons fram'd three Resolutions; the first whereof was this (t; ;
 ' Whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favor or
 ' Countenance seem to extend or introduce *Poper*y or *Arminianism*, or
 ' other Opinion Disagreeing from the Truth and Orthodox Church,
 ' shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-
 ' wealth.

From the Year 1628. to 1640, the Court took care that there shou'd be no Parliamentary Complaints of *Mis-Administration* in the Affairs of Religion nor *any thing else*; for during that time, there were no Parliaments in England at all, but besides what Historians say of the Dangers of Popery in that time, *public Records* of Inferior Courts give a Melancholy Account thereof. Let the Reader be pleas'd to peruse *Prynne's Royal Popish Favorite*, wherein He'll find an Account of King Charles 1sts, ' Extraordinary Favors
 ' and Protections of Notorious Papists, Priests & Jesuits, against
 ' all *Prosecutions* and *Penalties of the Laws enacted against them*, notwithstanding his many Royal *Proclamations*, *Declarations* and
 ' *Protestations* to the contrary, manifested by sundry Letters of Grace,
 ' Warrants and other Writings under the King's own Sign-Manual,
 ' Privy-Signet, his Privy-Councils and Secretary *Windetank's* hands
 ' and Seals, by divers Orders and Proceedings in open Sessions at
 ' *Newgate* in the *King's-Bench*, and elsewhere (all extant on Record,
 ' in the *Sessions Books*, *Goal-Books*, *Crown-Office*, where all who scruple
 ' their Indubitable Verity or Reality, may Peruse them for their better Satisfaction.) Some of the Persons Names, in whose favor these Writs (Copied by the said Author, and publish'd by Authority of Parliament) are these, *viz.* *Will. Keely Gent.* *Will. Cobb Gent.* *Sir Francis Egelsfield* Baronet, *Sr. John Shelly* Baronet, and his Lady, *Sir John Wintour* and his Lady, *Sir Francis Marnock* Baronet and his Lady, *Thomas Jennings* Merchant, *Sir Charles Smith*, *Sir Henry Bedngfield*, and his Lady and Family, *Clement Preston Esq;* *Will. Peters Gent.* My Lady *Elizabeth Stover*, *Sir Will. Pearse* Knight, *John Carill Esq;* Son to *Sir John Carill*; *Edward Cotton Esq;* and his Wife, The Lord *Arundel* and his Lady. *Will. Thorold Esq;* and his Wife, Lady *Elizabeth Dormer*, *Capt. John Read*, *Anthony Midcass Gent.* My Lady *Sands*
 Dow-

Dowager, and her Daughter and Servant, Sir *Henry Audley*, and his Lady; My Lady *Windsor*, *Will. Arundell* Esq; (Son to Lord *Arundel*) and his Lady, Sir *Henry Brown* and his Lady, *Will. Bradshaw* Esq; and his Lady. The following Persons deliver'd by the like Letters were all Priests, viz. *John Dally*, *Cornelius Crawley*, *John Soutworth*, *Reynault Mc. Donald*, *Palmer*, *Gilbert Brodin*, *Roger Clay*, *Thomas Gaunt*, *Middleton*, *Stevens*, *James Williamson*, *Richard Salvin*, *Thomas Ridale*, *Bryan Midcoss*, *John Seargin*, *Will. Bidale*, *Thomas Holms*, *Robert Widdington*, *Tho. Readman*, *Tho. Berry*, *Tho. Shephard*, *Gilb. Shelton*, *Matth. Wilson*, *John Plausford*. All legal Proceedings against these and vast Numbers more were staid by Writs under the King's own Hand; beside all that was done by the Privy-Council and *Windebank*.

The three first Articles charg'd by the Commons, *Decemb. 7. 1640.* (u) are 1. Seventy four Letters of Grace to Recusants, within those four Years, sign'd with his own Hands. 2. Sixty four Priests discharg'd from the Gate-house at *Westminster* within these four years, and for the most part by him. 3. Twenty-nine discharg'd by verbal War-rant by him. Of the King's Letters above-mention'd it's remarkable that in many of them there is this Clause, *at the Instance of our dear Consort the Queen*; some of 'em say, *at the Instance of the Queen Dowager of France*, and divers of 'em were at the Instance of foreign *Popish* Princes and their *Ambassadors*.

The Parliament met *April 13. 1640.* wou'd not Grant the King any Subsidies to enable him to invade the *SCOTS*, until their Grievances shou'd be first consider'd; among which their Members complain of the, *universa Suspension of the Laws against the Papists*, their being employ'd in places of Trust and Power, & many other things of that kind, tending to the Destruction of Religion (w) but were dissolv'd in disgust, before they cou'd come to any Resolutions, except about Conferences between the Two Houses, and Messages.

Between this and *November 3d 1640.* (the Meeting of the long Parliament) the Papists were so far from having the Laws executed against 'em, that the King's extraordinary Favors to them were the Arguments us'd by the Queen, *Montague* and Sir *Kenelme Digby* and others in their

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several Letters to the Roman-Catholicks for raising Money for the King against the Scots &c); And particularly in that from many Papists in London to their Friends in the Country, there is this remarkable expression, 'It is the sense of us all both Ecclesiastical and Lay- Persons, that besides the discharging of their and our Duties to God and the King, it mainly importeth the good of the Catholicks, to have their business take good Success.

And thus I have given the Reader a brief Account of the open and barefac'd Countenance given by the Court to Papists, from the public Records of the Nation, during that part of his Reign, which preceded the long Parliament. The Arguments from these Instances are so fully improv'd by all his Parliaments, that makes it altogether needless to say any thing further about them; and I think he sees little, that sees not that these wise and prudent Parliaments who were so Zealous for Religion and Liberty, have not prov'd to a Demonstration that both were evidently endanger'd under this King's Administration: If his Marrying a Popish Queen, and upon such Articles, as he must (if he kept them) dispense with the Laws, and deny all his Parliament's just Desires in Religion, together with all that follow'd naturally thereupon, did no Prejudice to Religion and Liberty; our wise Parliaments since the Revolution must be mightily to blame, who have enacted; that if the Successor to the Crown be Papist, or but Marry a Papist, he or she shall lose the Crown and right of Succession, and the next Protestant Heir is to succeed, as if the former were Dead. Shall a Practice in the Protestant Successor be carried so far as to make him Guilty of a Forfeiture of his Crown? and shall not that same Practice in a Protestant Predecessor with what follow'd upon it, be justly accounted a dangerous Subversion of the Fundamentals of a Protestant Government?

My Lord Clarendon himself confesseth the truth of a great part of what has been now advanc'd (y) The Papists had for many years (says he) enjoy'd a great Calm, being upon the matter absolv'd from the severest parts of the Law, and dispens'd with for the Gentlest; and were

(*) *Id. Ibid.* Part 2, from p. 1327. to p. 1331. (y) *vide Clarendon's Hist. Book 2. p. 116, 117. Edit. Folio.*

were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a Sacrifice to the Law. They were look'd upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good neighbours in the Country; all the Restraints and Reproaches of former Times being forgotten. But they were not prudent Managers of this Prosperity, being too *Elite* and *Transported* with the Protection and Connivance they receiv'd, tho' I am perswaded their Numbers encreas'd not, their *Pomp* and *Boldness* did, to that Degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appear'd more publicly, entertain'd and urg'd Conferences more avowedly, than had been before known; they resorted at common hours to Mafs to *Somerset-House*, and return'd thence in great Multitudes, with the same *barefacedness* as others came from the *Savoy* or other Neighbour Churches, they attempted and sometimes obtain'd Profelytes of weak uninform'd Ladies, with such Circumstances as provok'd the Rage and destroy'd the Charity of great and powerful Families, which long'd for their Suppression: They grew not only *secret Contrivers*, but public profess'd Promoters of, and Ministers in, the most odious, and the most grievous Projects; as in that of soap, form'd, fram'd & Executed, by a Corporation of that Religion, which under that *Licence and Noion*, might be, and were suspected to be qualified for: other Agitations. The Priests, and such as were in Orders (Orders that in themselves were punishable by Death,) were departed from their former *Moderesty* and *Fear*, and were as willing to be known, as to be hearkned to; insomuch as a Jesuit at *Paris* who was coming for *England*, had the boldness to visit the Ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and offering his Service acquainted him with his Journey, as if there had been no Laws there for his Reception. And for the most Invidious Protection and Countenance of that whole Party, a Public Agent from *Rome* (first Mr. *Con*, a *Scottish Man*, and after him the Count of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) resided at *London* in great Port; publicly visited the Court; and was avowedly resorted to by the Catholicks of all Conditions, over whom he assum'd a particular Jurisdiction; and was Carefs'd and Presented Magnificently by the Ladies of Honor who inclin'd to that Profession. They had likewise with more Noise and Vanity than Prudence would have admitted, made Public Collections of Money to a considerable Sum, upon some Recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her

Part I.

Majesty presented as a free Will-Offering from his Roman Catholic Subjects to the King, for the carrying on the War against the Scots; which drew upon them the Rage of that Nation, with little Devotion and Reverence to the Queen her self; as if she desir'd to suppress the Protestant Religion in one Kingdom, as well as the other by the Roman Catholicicks. To conclude, they carry'd themselves so, as if they had been suborn'd by the Scots to root out their own Religion.

The evil Counsellors of that Unfortunate Prince were not satisfy'd with all the Countenance Papists got under him; but to compleat the danger of Religion, must put him upon Methods for corrupting the Protestant Doctrine by spreading the Poysonous Infection of the most Rigid Tenets of *Arminianism*, for corrupting Protestant Worship by dangerous Innovations, for abusing Protestant Church-Government by making it degenerate into a most Arbitrary and Tyrannical Usurpation; whereby many sincere and Zealous Protestants were ruin'd, while dangerous Recusants were treated with distinguishing Marks of Royal Favor. To this purpose the Commons in their Remonstrance Anno 1628. (z) say, 'And as our fear concerning Change or Subversion of Religion is grounded upon the daily encrease of Papists ——— So are the Hearts of your good Subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily Growth and Spreading of the Faction of the *Arminians*, that being, as your Majesty well knows, a cunning way to bring in Popery, and the Professors of those Opinions, the Common Disturbers of the Protestant Churches, and *Incendiaries* in those States, wherein they have gotten any Head, being Protestants in shew but *Jesuits* in Opinion ——— who notwithstanding are much favor'd and advanc'd, not wanting friends even of the Clergy near to your Majesty, namely Dr. *Neale* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dr. *Laud* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who are justly suspected to be unsound in their Opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to Preferment, and Promotion in the Church, many scholars do bend the Course of their Studies, to maintain those Errors; their Books and Opinions are



' suffer'd to be Printed and Publish'd, and on the other side the Im-
 ' printing of such as are Written against them, and in defence of
 ' the *Orthodox Church*, are hinder'd and prohibited — and fur-
 ' ther increase our fears concerning Innovation of Religion, we find
 ' there hath been *no small* laboring to *remove* that which is the *most*
 ' *powerful* means to strengthen and increase our own Religion, and
 ' to oppose both these, which is the diligent Teaching & Instruction of
 ' the people in the true Knowledge, and Worship of Almighty God.
 ' And therefore Means have been sought out to *depress and Discoun-*
 ' *tenance pious and powerful and Orthodox Preachers*, and how Confor-
 ' mable soever, and Peaceable in their Disposition and Carriage they
 ' be, yet the preferment of such is oppos'd, and instead of being en-
 ' couraged, they are molested with Vexatious Courses, and Pursuits,
 ' and hardly permitted to lecture.

' Among the 16 Remedies Propos'd by both Houses of his first
 Parliament *anno 1625*, against Popery and the danger of Religion,
 this was the 3d, (a) ' That special Care be taken to enlarge the
 ' Word of God, throughout all the Parts of your Majesty's Domini-
 ' ons, as being the *most powerful* Means for *planting* of true Religion,
 ' and rooting out of the Contrary: To which end, among other
 ' things, let it please your Majesty to advise your Bishops by
 ' fatherly Entreaty, and tender Usage to reduce to the peaceable and
 ' orderly Service of the Church, such *able Ministers as have been si-*
 ' *lenc'd*, that there may be a profitable use of their Ministry in these
 ' needful and dangerous times.

' King Charles (says *Rushworth*) (b) in his father's life time was
 ' link'd to the Duke of Buckingham, and now continu'd to receive
 ' him (*i. e. in the beginning of his Reign, which he there describes*) into
 ' an Admir'd Intimacy and Dearness, making him partaker of all
 ' his Counsels and cares, and chief Conductor of his affairs —
 ' The public State of Religion, and the Steering of Church Matters
 ' had an *early Inspection* & consultation in the *Cabinet-Council*. Bishop
 ' *Laud* who in King James's life time had deliver'd to the Duke
 ' a little Book about Doctrinal *Puritanism*, now also deliver'd to the
 Duke

(a) *Id. Ibid.* p. 182. (b) *Ibid.* p. 167.

Part 2.

‘ Duke a Schedule wherein the Names of Ecclesiastical Persons were written under the Letters *O* and *P*, *O* standing for Orthodox and *P* for Puritans : for the Duke Commanded that he shou’d thus digest the Names of Eminent Persons, to be presented to the King under that Partition.

‘ Who these Persons were, *depress’d at Court*, and persecuted with the highest Severity under the name of Puritans, appears by the above mention’d Petition of the Commons ; whence we may see that all the sober, moderate Conformists, who were against *Arminianism*, and *Laud’s* other Innovating Principles, did suffer under that name, and those who were dissatisfy’d with some things in the Legal Establishment and therefore silenc’d, were able Ministers, to be *intreated* and tenderly us’d, and their Ministry necessary in those dangerous Times. Their Character with their ill Usage is attested by a very Violent Royalist. *viz. Dr. Bates (c)* ‘ They were treated (says he) with ‘ *Suspensions, Deprivations, Imprisonments and Banishment* by the Bishops and Ecclesiastical Courts. But that Severity, tho’ ’twas inflicted almost according to the letter of the Law, brought an odium on the Prelates, and made the Opposers of *Hierarchy* to be pity’d ; and the rather because they seem’d to suffer for Conscience sake, and their desire of purer Worship ; were men of strict Morals ; fervent in their sermons, zealously given to prayer and the Offices of Piety ; and, in one Word, otherwise good Men. Therefore many freeborn Subjects even among the Gentry and Nobility took their part, caref’d them, and at length came into the same Sentiments, and measures with them against the Hierarchy.

All which is further attested in the Celebrated Speech of *Sr. Benj ; Rudyard*, a great Royalist and friend to Episcopacy, made in Parliament anno 1640 (*d*) ‘ We well know (says he) what Disturbance hath been brought upon the Church, for vain petit Trifles, how the whole

(c) *Elench. Mor. Nuper. in Angliæ part. 1. p. 115, 116.* ‘ *Suspensiones, Privationes, vincula, Exilium regeruntur ab Episcopis, et Civibus Ecclesiasticis, sed odium in Prælatibus conflavit ista Sæveritas, et illis tum ad præcepta fere exercebatur ; & Anti-hierarchicis misericordiam peperit, eoq ; Majoræ, quod Conscientiæ*

' whole Church, the whole Kingdom hath been troubled, where to
 ' place a Metaphor, an *Altar*. We have seen *Ministers*, their *wives*,
 ' *Children* and *families* undone *against* Law, *against* Conscience, *against*
 ' all bowels of Compassion about not dancing upon Sundays. What
 ' do these sort of men think will become of themselves, when the
 ' *Master of the House shall come*, and find them thus beating their fel-
 ' low-*ser* vants. These Inventions were but *snives* made a purpose to
 ' *winnow* the *best men*, and that's the *Devils Occupation*. They have
 ' a mind to *worry* *Preaching*, for I a'e'er yet heard of any, but Dili-
 ' gent Preachers that were vex'd with these and the like Devices,---
 ' they wou'd evaporate and Dispirit the power and Vigor of Religi-
 ' on, by drawing it out into solemn, specious Formalities, into Ob-
 ' solete, Antiquated Ceremonies, new furbish'd up----A Romanist
 ' hath brag'd and congratulated in Print, that the face of our Church
 ' begins to alter, the language of our Religion to Change. And
 ' *Sancta Clara* hath publish'd, that if a Synod were held *non intermix-*
 ' *tis Puritanis*, setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their Religi-
 ' on wou'd soon be agreed. They have so brought it to pass, that
 ' under the Name of Puritans, *all our Religion is branded*, and under
 ' a few *hard Words* among Jesuits all Popery is countenanc'd. Who so-
 ' ever *Squares* his Actions by any Rule, either Divine or Human, he
 ' is a Puritan; whosoever wou'd be Govern'd by the King's Laws,
 ' he is a Puritan. Their great Work, their Master-Piece now is, to
 ' make all those of the Religion to be the suspected Party of the King-
 ' dom. If we secure our Religion, we shall cut off and defeat many
 ' Plots that are now on foot by them and others.

I suppose the true reason why all the Moderate Conformists have
 still been assaulted when ever the *Puritans* have been oppress'd, but e-
 specially under this Reign, was because they always were united in
 heart and Affection, and in their most vigorous Endeavors against
 the Common Enemy of Religion and Liberty; and therefore the one
 cou'd

' entia gratia, & purioris Cultus desiderio luere viderentur, moribus severis essent,
 ' in concionibus vehementes, precibus & piis Officiis prompti, uno verbo, ad
 ' caetera boni. Hinc Multi Municipis Generosi etiam et Nobiles ipsis patrocinari,
 ' eosq; in sinu fovere, tandem una sentire & in Hierarchiam suam Conspirare.

Part 2.

could not be destroy'd, and the other safe, nor could Popery and Arbitrary Power be advanced but upon the Ruines of both: for (says *Coke*) (d) ' when King *James* died (i. e. the first of England) the Nation was rent into four Parties viz. the *Prerogative*, which extended the King's divided Will from the Laws and Constitutions, above his Royal or Regal Will: The *Country* or *Legal Party*, which stood for the Legal Establishment both of Church and state, and the *Puritan* and *Popish Party*: after the Treaties of Marriage between the Prince and Daughters of *Spain* and *France*, the *Popish* and *Prerogative Parties* joyn for carrying on the Court-Designs: and were oppos'd by the *Country* and *Puritan Parties*.

It being therefore the Design of the Court, of Papists and High-flyers, as being united in one Interest, to run down the Low-Church and the Dissenters, they took various Methods for accomplishing this dangerous end: With respect to the *Low-Church*, they went to work, two ways. 1. They contriv'd ways against the Promotion or Preferment of any of that Party to places either in Church or State. 2. They turn'd them out of all Offices they enjoy'd, upon the least Colorable Pretence. The first was easily done, the disposing of Bishopricks and other considerable Offices being in the breast of the Court; and that they did so, is confirmed by the above-mention'd Address of the Commons: and that such places as were at the Disposal of Bishops might not be given to persons opposite to the unhappy Interest of the *sher-Court*, all persons were put into the highest Ecclesiastical Posts, that might answer the Ends of their Advancement. *Laud* was brought from step to step till he cou'd rise no higher; *Manwaring* and *Mortague*, tho' censur'd by the Parliament, were preferr'd; and all that Party encourag'd with all possible respect and Power.

The second Essay was more difficult, viz. how to turn them out of what they had, instead of giving them more: but this by Degrees was accomplish'd. Archbishop *Abbot*, because he wou'd not license *Sibthorp's* Sermon, such another as *Sacheverell's* and *Manwaring's*, was questred, confin'd to his house, and disgraced; as in the King's letters of sequestration, his long Narrative of his own case, with the History relating

relating to it, the reader may see in *Rushworth* (e) and the most suspected persons and greatest Highflyers entrusted with th' Administration of all his Ecclesiastical Offices. The Archbishop among many Memorable things in that Narrative says, (f) 'I saw what little esteem was made of me in those things which belong'd to my own Occupation; with Bishopricks and Deanries, or other Church-Places, I was no more acquainted, than if I had dwelt at *Venice*, and understood them but by some *Gazette*. The Duke of *Buckingham* had the managing of those things, as 'twas generally conceiv'd: for what was he not fit to determine, in *Church* or *Common-wealth*; in *Court* or *Council*, in *Peace* or *War*; at *Land* or at *Sea*, at *Home* or in *Foreign Parts*: *Montague* had put out his *Arminian Book*; I three times complain'd of it, but he was held up against me, and by the Duke magnify'd as a well-deserving-Man. *Cosins* put out his Treatise, which they commonly call *the seven Sacraments*, which in the first Edition had many strengthenings, as it seemeth; I knew nothing of it, but as it pleased my Lord of *Durham*, and the Bishop of *Bath*.

To throw out the Inferior Conforming Clergy, of sober Principles, the *BOOK OF SPORTS* was enjoind to be read by them on the Lord's Day, *without any Parliamentary Authority*; an Act in it self profane and odious, for Disobedience thereunto many sober Conformists were depriv'd, and thereby Room was made for the Promotion of an *High flown Arminian Laudersian Clergy*.

And now, that the Party seem'd to have secur'd to themselves the present Possession of Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to have enhanc'd the Supreme Management of Church-Affairs; to confirm all against any necessary Reforms, they impose an Oath in the Convocation 1660. commonly called the *et cetera*-Oath, because they Swore in these Words, 'Nor will I ever give my Consent to alter the Government of this Church by Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans and Arch-Deacons *et cetera*.' wherein that blind *et cetera* startled more of the sober Conformists, whom former Methods cou'd not expel, and produc'd Multitudes of Unanswerable Exceptions against it from *Northampton*, *Kent* and *Devonshire* (g), and from the latter a Petition

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to

(e) Collect. *Ibid.* p. 431, to p. 458, (f) *Id.* *Ibid.* p. 453. (g) *Id.* Part 2, p. 1205, to 1208.

Part 2.

to the Council, wherein (b) they say, 'but this Oath striking deeply at the Root of many Conscientious and constant Preaching Ministers, and Purity and Zeal to the Peace of the Church hath led them hitherto to a Dutiful Conformity, must needs deprive them, if they take not the Oath, *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and consequently induce a general Ignorance, the Mother only of Popish Devotion.

The Low-Church being thus oppress'd, the violent Persecution of Dissenters in *England* can't satisfy *Laud* and his Party; but he throws in a bone of Contention into *Scotland*, by his new *Service-Book*, and *Canons* illegally intruded upon that Church, and countenanc'd with all the Power the Court cou'd employ to second them; and kindled such flames there as ended in Blood and Confusion: *Coke* justly observes (i) of *Buckingham* and him, 'These two stopp'd up both the King's Ears, from any other Directions in Church or State but what was infus'd by them,—— before a year goes about, you shall see *Buckingham* set the King at Odds with his Parliament, and yet engage him in a War against *Spain*, and before another goes about, engage the King in another against *France*—— and after 12 years, *Laud* shall be the Firebrand to set all the three Nations into the flame of a Civil War, as King *James* had foretold.

The High-Commission-Court and *Star-Chamber*, as manag'd in those times, were the powerful Engines of gaining and maintaining the height of Arbitrary-Power to the *Laudensian Faction*, whereby they rais'd themselves upon the Ruins of the *Low-Church* and *Dissenters*, molesting them with vexatious Courses and Pursuits, as the worthy Commons observ'd in their above-mention'd Petition. And therefore Mr. *Johnston's* Observation (k) of *K. Char. I.* is good, 'The best friends that King had (says he) and who spilt their Blood for him can't deny, but he had set his heart upon a *Laudian* Religion, and an *English* Patriarchate, which we all know wou'd have ended in Latin, and have been still *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as it was in all Ages.

If there was Open and Notorious Countenance given to Papists against the Advice of all his Parliaments, while the Protestant Interest was persecuted abroad, and the Insolencies of Papists encreasing at home

(b) *Ibid.* 1209. (i) *Detest.* Part 1. p. 211. (k) Notes on the Pastoral-Letter, p. 104.

home, and at the same time a visible Discourteasing and Oppressing the most sober of the Protestants, Conformists as well as Dissenters; & raising, advancing and rewarding all those who were of the most High-flown Principles; and managing of all the most important Affairs of Religion by the Advice of such as contriv'd, and executed all Methods for accomplishing these Ends, *some whereof were known Papists* as the great Lord Treasurer *Weston*, Secretary *Windebank* with divers others. If, I say, all this be true, (as abundantly appears from the most Authentic Records of the Nation above mention'd further proving the same) and that this was not by some single Acts or casual Oversight, but by a *constant* Uninterrupted Series of Male-Administration from the beginning of this Unfortunate Reign, to the very Commencement of the Civil War; then it necessarily follows, that the Protestant-Religion was in *danger of being subverted* under his Administration, by the Influence of his evil Counsellors.

I shall next consider the Violation of the Fundamental Liberties and Properties of the Subject under his Reign, and observe the same Method, I did in shewing the danger of Religion; which indeed was effected by *trampling* on the best Laws that were in being for the Security of Religion, and subjecting 'em, from time to time, to a *dispensing-Power*, the inseparable Character of Arbitrary-Government.

King *James's* advice to his Son, *that he shou'd not break with his Parliaments*, was not so prevalent with him as his example, whereby he taught him the contrary Lesson: King *Charles* (when Prince of *Wales*) was present in Council when his Father with his own Hand took out of the Journal-Book of the House of *Commons* their Protestation they had made *Anno 1621*, against his invasions of their undoubted Rights and Priviledges, See the Protestation it self, and the Declaration relating to it. [1] Upon his Accession to the Throne, the Principles of Government he had early imbib'd, were as early and constantly exerted.

His very first Parliament complains of *mispending the public Treasure*, and of his neglect of *Guarding the Seas*, [m] and tho' in their first Session they had granted him Subsidies, and were a little encourag'd by his answer to their Petition about Religion in the *Second*, yet in the

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third they wou'd grant no more Subsidies tho' earnestly Prefs'd for by him, until their Grievances were redress'd; and therefore he dissolv'd them (n). Immediately after their Dissolution, he issueth out his Letters for Levying Money off the Subject by way of Loan (o) and Summons a new Parliament to meet in *February*. The Commons begin upon Grievances, viz. the *Miscarriage of the Fleet to Cadiz*; the *evil Counsellors about the King*, and *Misgovernment and Misemployment of the King's Revenue* (p). Tunnage and Poundage, and the other Impositions without Authority of Parliament, are question'd. He presseth for their speedy Resolution of giving him Subsidies, urging his great Necessities to which they Answer, begging him to 'accept of the faithful and necessary Information of his Parliament — in discovering the Causes, and proposing the Remedies of those great evils which occasion'd his Majesty's wants, and his People's Grief. (q) And in assurance of the Redress of their Grievances, promise to supply him. He gives this return. 'I must let you know (*says he*) that I will not allow any of my Servants TO BE QUESTION'D AMONGST YOU, much less such as are of eminent Place and near to me — I see you specially aim at the Duke of *Buckingham*, I wonder what hath so alter'd your Affections towards him — I assure you he hath not medled nor done any thing concerning the public or Common-wealth, but by special Directions and Appointment, and as my servant (*Id. Ibid.*)'. The House not affrighted out of their Privileges by this Speech, proceeds and lays all their Grievances upon the *Duke's* evil Counsel, upon which the King calls up the Commons to the Lords-House and tells 'em, he was come to *show them their Errors and their Unparliamentary Proceedings*; and the Lord Keeper (by his Majesty's Command) entertains them with a long and bitter Invective, impeaching their whole Procedure; vindicating the Duke in every thing; and with respect to their Searching into his Conduct, says, 'It is therefore his Majesty's EXPRESS and FINAL Commandment, that you yield Obedience unto these Directions which you have formerly receiv'd, and cease this Unparliamentary Inquisition, and commit unto his Majesty's Care, and Wisdom and Justice, the future Reformation of those things, which you

‘ you suppose to be otherwise than they shou’d be ’ (r) His Speech concludes with a sharp *Reprimand* to them for their *Scanty Supply*, and their not dispatching it before the Redress of Grievances, threatening they shou’d sit no longer, if they did not enlarge it. The King not content with what my Lord-Keeper had said, tells ’em himself (s) ‘ Remember that *PARLIAMENTS ARE ALTOGETHER IN MY POWER*, for their Calling, Sitting, Dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them *good or evil*, they are to continue or *not to be*: And remember, that if in this time, instead of mending your Errors, by delay you persist in your Errors, you make them greater and irreconcilable.

In Answer to the King’s and Ld Keeper’s Speeches, the Commons prepared an humble *Remonstrance*, wherein they assert their Proceedings to be grounded upon the Laws of the Kingdom and Parliamentary Precedents, and particularly concerning *Buckingham* they say (t) ‘ Now concerning your Majesty’s Servants and namely the Duke of *Buckingham*; we humbly beseech your Majesty to be inform’d by us your faithful Commons, who can have no private end, but your Majesty’s Service and the good of our Country, That it hath been the *Antient, Constant and Undoubted Right & Usage of Parliaments* to question and complain of *all Persons of what Degree soever*, found Grievous to the Common-wealth, in abusing the Power and Trust committed to them by their Sovereign: A Course approved not only by the examples in your Father’s days of famous Memory, but by frequent *Precedents* in the *best and most Glorious Reigns* of your noble Progenitors, appearing both in Records and Histories; without which Liberty in Parliament, no private Men, no servant to a King, perhaps no Counsellor, without exposing himself to the hazard of great Enmity and Prejudice, can be a Means to call *great Officers* in question for their Misdemeanors, but the Common Wealth *Might Languish* Under Their Pressures, *Without Redress*.

The Commons Impeach the Duke in 13 Articles, of heinous Crimes.
 1. Of engrossing so many great Offices, impossible for one man to discharge faithfully. 2. Of buying the Office of *Great Admiral*,
 con-

(r) *Id. Ibid.* p. 223. (s) *Id. Ibid.* p. 225. (t) *Id. Ibid.* p. 245.

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contrary to Law. 3. Of buying the Offices of *Lord-Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports* and *Constable* of the *Castle of Dover*. 4. Of neglecting to guard the seas, to the decay of Trade and Ruin of the Nation. 5. Of seizing the Ship *Stephen* of *New-Haven* worth 40000 pounds unjustly, and detaining it for his own use. 6. Of oppressing the *East-India-Merchants*, to the Ruine of Trade. 7. Of putting treacherously the *Vanguard Ship* under the Command of Captain *Pennington*, and six English Merchant-Ships, under the Power of the *French King*. 8. Of his knowing that the aforesaid Ships were to be employ'd by the *French King* against the Protestants of *Rochell*, to the scandal of Religion, and Dishonor of *K. Charles*, and the Nation. 9. Of his disposing of Titles of Honor to persons unworthy of 'em, and forcing others to buy them against their Will. 10. Of Receiving a Bribe of 20000 pound for procuring the *Lord Treasurer's Place*, beside other Bribes mention'd in the said Articles. 11. Of procuring many Titles of Honor to his near Kindred, with Pensions of great value from the Crown to support them, to the burthen of the Public, and Discouragement of the Nobility. 12. Of embezzeling and engrossing the King's Mony and Lands, to the impoverishing the Public Treasury and Confusion and danger of the Kingdom. 13. Of his Administring to *King James* a Plaister and Potion contrary to the Advice of his sworn Physicians, not compos'd by (or with the knowledge of) any of his sworn Apothecarys, in his last sickness, whereof he died. It would make any true *English* heart bleed, to consider the Unparallel'd and insupportable Oppression of the Subject occasion'd by this mighty Favorite, and proved against him with so much Solidity, Learning & Shining Evidence, by those worthy Patriots who were the Managers of those Articles. (u).

Sr *Dudley Diggs* having made the Prologue, and Sr *John Elliot* the Epilogue to the Impeachment of the Duke; they were both by the King's Command committed to the Tower. And the King himself speaks again to the Lords in behalf of the Duke, and to approve his Innocency, as touching the Matters against him, *I my self can be a Witness to clear him in every one of them.* The Commons prepare a Remonstrance against the Duke, and *Tunnage and Poundage* as illegal; and that very day 'twas finish'd, the Parliament is dissolved, tho' the Lords

Lords had prepared a Petition advising the contrary as necessary for preventing great and Apparent Dangers at home and abroad, and for making him happy in the Duty and love of his People, the greatest Safety and Treasury of a King. (w) Part 2

In that intended Remonstrance, the Commons set forth, the Court's unjust Opposition to the former Parliament, the Dissolution of it, when they were about to redress Grievances brought on by the Duke's evil Counsel, and his Intrigue for keeping some of the noted Commons from being elected as Members of the present Parliament, by making them *Sheriffs*. In this present Parliament they observe the many Interruptions they met with by messages from his Majesty, which hindered them from Prosecuting the Duke according to Law: the *infringing of their Privileges* in the Imprisonment of their Members: the Duke's Arrogance in procuring a factious Party to elect him Chancellor of the University of Oxford, while he stood impeached of the above Crimes; his Majesty's Message, that if he had not a timely Supply, he would betake himself to new Counsels, which they feared would be bad; because from the beginning of his Reign, he levied the Subsidies of *Tunnage and Poundage* without Authority of Parliament, which they declare to be against the Constant use of former Times, the known Right and Liberty of the Subject, and the settled Laws of the Kingdom; And that any who shall give such new Counsels, as to levy any Tax contrary to law, are *Pests and Capital Enemies to the King & Commonwealth, to be rewarded with the highest Punishment the Laws inflict on any Offenders*. They conclude, complaining that their humble and hearty Endeavors were misinterpreted, hindered and now at last almost frustrate utterly, by the interposition of the Excessive & Abusive Power of one Man, expressing their infinite Grief, that he should have so great a Power and Interest in his Princely Affections, praying, that his Majesty would not ballance this one man with all these things, and with the Affairs of the Christian World, which do all suffer so far as they have Relation to this Kingdom, chiefly by his Means.

Let the Reader judge whether *Coke* had not reason to say (x), so much easier is it in such a Reign for a Favorite to ruine a Nation, than for a Nation to have Justice against a Favorite. The King publish'd a Dec.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 398. (x) *Detest.* Part 1. p. 237.

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Declaration of his Reasons for Dissolving the Parliament, wherein he throws all the possible Odium he cou'd against that *Honorable house of Commons*, who had with so much *bravery* and *honesty* asserted the Liberties of their Country. Soon after, he falls upon the *Loan* and other illegal Taxes remonstrated against : (y) publishing a Declaration, and instructing Commissioners for levying them (z). gives a Commission for trying soldiers and others according to the *Martial Law*, in time of Peace ; (*Ibid.*) and some time after, having entred into War with *France*, heaps new favors on *Buckingham*, making him Admiral and General of all the Fleet and Forces for that Expedition : and (a) Imprisons many worthy Gentlemen for refusing the *Loan* (b)

A new Parliament met *March 17th*, 1627. of whom *Coke* gives this Character. ' Neither *Rome* nor *Athens* cou'd ever glory in such an Assembly as the Commons of this Parliament were, for their virtue and Learning : nor *any Age* produce such a number of men of the like Integrity to their Country, and humble Obedience to their Prince'. They begin with the Grievances of *billeting Soldiers*, *loans* by *Benevolence* and *Privy Seal*, Imprisonment of the Refusers; whereupon there were such Speeches made as will ever be admir'd by all those who are not fond of Absolute Slavery. (c). They present to the King their Petition against his illegal way of *billeting Soldiers*, which Practice they complain of as contrary ' to the *fundamental Laws* of the Realm & an apparent *violation* of the *antient & undoub.ed Right* of all his Majesty's-- loyal Subjects to the exceeding great *Disservice* of his Majesty, the general Terror of all, and utter undoing of many of his people (d).

The Celebrated *Petition of Right*, another *Magna Charta* of *England*, was fram'd by the Commons, concluded by both Houses of this Noble Parliament, and confirm'd by the King himself in common Form, *soit droit fait comme il est desire*, in which Petition there is a Narrative of the BREACH OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS of the Kingdom, and *Invasions of Liberty, and Property* which occasion'd it. It runs thus (e)

To

(y) *Id. Ibid.* p. 415. (z) p. 418, 419. (a) *Id. Ibid.* p. 425. (b) *Ibid.* p. 428.
(c) *Id. Ibid.* p. 499, &c. (d) *Id.* p. 542. (e) *Id. Ibid.* p. 588.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty. Part 2.



H Umblly shew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords
 Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament as-
 sembled, That whereas it is declar'd and enacted by a Statute
 made in the time of the Reign of King *Edward* the first, commonly
 called, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no Tallage or Aid
 shall be laid or levied by the King or his Heirs in this Realm, with-
 out the good will and assent of the *Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earls,*
Barons, Knights, Burgeesses, and other the Freemen and Common-
 ality of this Realm: And by Authority of Parliament holden in the
 25th Year of the Reign of King *Edward* 3. it is declar'd and en-
 acted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compell'd to make
 any Loans to the King against his Will, because such Loans were
 against Reason, & the Franchise of the Land; & by other Laws of this
 Realm it is provided, That none shou'd be charg'd by any Charge
 or Imposition, call'd a *Benevolence*, nor by such like Charge, by
 which Statutes before mention'd, and other the good Laws and
 Statutes of this Realm, your Subjects have inherited this Freedom,
 That they shou'd not be compell'd to contribute to any Tax, Tal-
 lage, Aid, or other like Charge, not set by common Consent in
 Parliament.

Yet *Nevertheless, of late*, divers Commissions directed to sun-
 dry Commissioners in several Counties with Instructions have issu'd,
 by means whereof your People have been in divers places assem-
 bled, and *required to lend certain Sums of Money* unto your Majesty,
 and many of them upon their *Refusal so to do*, have had an Oath ad-
 ministr'd unto them, *not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this*
Realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make Ap-
 pearance and give Attendance before your Privy-Council, and in
 other places, and others of them have been therefore imprison'd
 confin'd, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: And
 divers other Charges have been laid and levied upon your People
 in several Counties, by Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants,
 Commissioners for Musters, Justices of Peace, and others by com-
 mand or Direction from your Majesty or your Privy-Council, a-
 gainst the Laws and Free Customs of this Realm.

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‘ And where also by the Statute call’d *The great Charter of the Liberties of England*. it is declar’d and enacted, That no Freeman may be taken or imprison’d or be Disseiz’d of his Freeholds or Liberties, or his free Customs, or be Out-law’d or Exil’d; or in any manner destroy’d, but by the *lawful Judgment of his Peers*, or by the *Law of the Land*.

‘ And in the 28th Year of the Reign of King *Edward the third*, it was declar’d and enacted by Authority of Parliament, That no Man of what State or Condition that he be, shou’d be put out of his Lands or Tenements, nor taken, nor imprison’d, nor Disherited, nor put to Death, without being brought to answer by due Process of Law.

‘ Nevertheless, against the Tenor of the said Statutes, and other the good Laws and Statutes of your Realm, to that end provided, divers of your Subjects have been of late imprison’d without any Cause shew’d, and when for their Deliverance they were brought before your Justices, by your Majesty’s Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the Court shou’d Order, and their Keepers commanded to Certify the Causes of their Detainer; *no cause was certify’d, but that they were detain’d by your Majesty’s special Command*, signify’d by the Lords of your Privy-Council, and yet were return’d back to several Prisons, without being charg’d with any thing to which they might make Answer according to the Law.

‘ And whereas of late great Companies of Soldiers and Mariners, have been dispers’d into divers Counties of the Realm, and the Inhabitants against their Wills have been *compell’d to receive them into their Houses*, and there to suffer them to sojourn against the Laws and Customs of this Realm, and to the *great Grievance and vexation of the People*.

‘ And whereas also by Authority of Parliament, in the 25th year of the Reign of King *Edward 3*. It is declar’d and enacted, That *no man shall be for-judg’d of Life or Limb against the Form of the great Charter, and the Law of the Land*: And by the said great Charter and other the Laws and Statutes of this your Realm, *no man ought to be adjug’d to Death, but by the Laws establish’d in this your Realm*, either by the Customs of the same Realm, or by Acts of Parliament: And whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the Proceedings to be us’d, and Punishments to be inflicted by the Laws and Statutes of this your Realm; Nevertheless of late *divers Commissions under your Majesty’s Great Seal have issued forth, by*

‘ which

‘ which certain Persons have been assign’d and appointed Commissioners
 ‘ with Power and Authority to proceed within the Land, according
 ‘ to the justice of Martial Law against such Soldiers and Mariners, or
 ‘ other Dissolute Persons joining with them, as shou’d commit any
 ‘ Murder, Robbery, Felony, Mutiny or other Outrage or Misdemeanor
 ‘ whatsoever, and by such Summary Course and Order, as is agreeable
 ‘ to Martial Laws, and is us’d in Armies in time of War to proceed
 ‘ to the Tryal and Condemnation of such Offenders, and them to cause
 ‘ to be executed and put to Death, according to the Law Martial.

‘ By Pretext whereof, some of your Majesty’s Subjects have been
 ‘ by some of the said Commissioners put to Death, *when and where*,
 ‘ if by the Laws and Statutes of the Land they had deserv’d Death,
 ‘ by the same Laws and Statutes also they might, and by NO OTHER
 ‘ OUGHT TO HAVE been, ADJUDG’D and EXECUTED.

‘ And also sundry grievous Offenders by colour thereof, claiming
 ‘ an Exemption have escap’d the Punishments due to them by the
 ‘ Laws and Statutes of this your Realm, by reason that divers of your
 ‘ Officers & Ministers of Justice have unjustly refus’d, or forborn to
 ‘ proceed against such Offenders according to the same Laws and Statutes,
 ‘ upon pretence that the said Offenders were punishable only by
 ‘ Martial Law, and by Authority of such Commissions as aforesaid,
 ‘ which Commissions, and all other of the like nature, are wholly and
 ‘ directly contrary to the said Laws and Statutes of this your Realm.

‘ They do therefore humbly Pray your most Excellent Majesty, That
 ‘ no Man hereafter be *compell’d* to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence,
 ‘ Tax, or such like Charge, without common Consent by Act of Parliament;
 ‘ and that none be call’d to make Answer, or take such Oath, or to give
 ‘ Attendance, or be confin’d, or otherwise molested or disquieted
 ‘ concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: And that no Freeman,
 ‘ in any such manner as is before mention’d be imprison’d or detain’d:
 ‘ And that Your Majesty will be pleas’d to remove the said Soldiers
 ‘ and Mariners, and that your People may not be so burthen’d in
 ‘ time to come: And that the foresaid Commissions for proceeding
 ‘ by Martial Law, may be revok’d and annull’d; and that hereafter
 ‘ no Commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or
 ‘ persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour
 ‘ of them any of your Majesty’s Subjects be destroy’d or put to
 ‘ Death, contrary the Laws and Franchise of the Land.

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‘ All which they most humbly Pray of your most Excellent Majesty, as their RIGHTS and LIBERTIES ACCORDING TO THE LAWS and Statutes of this Realm ; And that your Majesty wou’d also vouchsafe to declare, That the Awards, Doings and Proceedings to the Prejudice of your People, in any of the Premisses, shall not be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example : And that your Majesty wou’d be also Graciously pleas’d for the further Comfort and Safety of your People, to declare your Royal Will and Pleasure, That in the things aforesaid all your Officers and Ministers shall serve you, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as they Tender the Honor of your Majesty, and the Prosperity of this Kingdom.

Before the above Petition pass’d the *House of Lords*, the *Duke* and his Party who did all they cou’d to stop it, or make it ineffectual, prevail’d upon them to move the Addition of a Clause call’d a *Saving* in those Words, ‘ We humbly present this Petition to your Majesty, not only with a care for Preservation of our Liberties, but with a due regard to leave entire that Sovereign Power wherewith your Majesty is Trusted, for the Protection, Safety, and Happiness of your People’. Which Clause the Commons wou’d by no means consent to have inserted, and having in their Conference with the Lords, given such Arguments against it from Law and Reason, as intirely satisfy’d their Lordships, ’twas in the above Form concluded, and made the joint Deed and *Act* of King, Lords and Commons. And therefore ’tis most plain that the FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES of the Subject were, to the imminent danger of the People’s ruin, violated under this King’s Administration. Who wou’d have thought that ever this Prince, after such a Petition assented to by him in so solemn a manner, wou’d have suffer’d his evil Counsellors to prevail upon him to continue those Invasions he had made upon the *Real Liberties* of the Nation, and far less to encrease the same.

The Commons supposing the King’s Judgment to be set straight by the Petition of Right, fell next upon the *Unhappy Instruments* that had abus’d his Royal Power, that the like might be prevented for the future ; for the best Laws in the World are but a *Paper-Security* without the *Exemplary* Punishment of those *Ministers of State*, and Incendiaries who trample upon them. The King acquaints them, he

was

was soon to put an end to that Session; whereupon they impeach Dr. *Manwaring* for his Sermon he preach'd for the *loan*, and for all the other illegal Practices of the Court, against the Fundamental Constitution of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Nation: the Lords find him guilty, and pronounce a smart Sentence against him; (f) another proof of the Nations sense of their Grievances under that Government.

While the Commons are proceeding in their Enquiries (or lest they shou'd do so) into the other Causes of their Miery, the King in his accustomed manner in such Cases, sends them a Message 'requiring them that they enter not into, or proceed with any new business, which may spend greater time, or which may by any scandal or Asperision upon the State-Government or Ministers thereof.' This unexpected Treatment, after the *Petition of Right*, surpriz'd 'em; upon which after long Reasoning, they agreed on a full *Remonstrance* of the State of the Kingdom, and the Causes of its Miseries both in *Religion* (of which before) and *Liberty*; Wherein they express their fears of Innovation and Change of Government as well as Religion, and tho' comforted with the *Petition of Right*, yet repeat many things contain'd in it, reinforcing it with new Arguments: they take notice of his Order under the *Privy-Seal* for keeping *German Horse*, and the great Sums of Mony paid for that end, and his Commission under the *Great-Seal*, for raising of Mony by Impositions; the dangerous Consequences and Tendencies thereof they fully represent; They further observe the *often Breaches of Parliaments*, whereby he has been depriv'd of the faithful Counsel and free aids of his People; his taking of *Tunnage and Poundage* without act of Parliament, ever since the beginning of this Reign to that Present, the *standing Commission to Buckingham* to be General of an Army in time of Peace, *discharging of faithful and sufficient Officers*, the ill Success of all his late *Designs and Actions*, particularly at *Cales*, the *Isle of Rhee*, & *Rochel* to the extreme waste of the honor, blood and Treasure of the Nation, the *Weakness of the Forts at home*, being ill provided in *ammunition*, the *Decay of Trade*, loss of *Shipping and Mariners*, and growing *Poverty of the Kingdom*; all which Miseries and Mischiefs they fix upon the

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the evil Council of the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Party, and therefore pray he may be laid aside (*g*). Soon after, the King sent an Order to the *Star-Chamber*, that the Information Exhibited to that court against the *Duke* for divers great Offences, (for that his Majesty was fully satisfy'd of the Innocency of the Duke) *be taken off the file, that no Memory thereof remain on record against him, which may tend to his Disgrace* [*Id. Ib.*]

The Commons proceed upon the Bill for *Tunnage and Poundage*, & resolving to draw it accurately, they cou'd not do it in the time allow'd by the King for their sitting, and therefore drew up a Petition to him, shewing him the Causes of their Delay; and lest he shou'd claim it without their Consent, as he had done all along, they remonstrate in these Words, ' That there ought not any Imposition to be laid upon the Goods of Merchants, exported or imported, without common Consent by Act of Parliament, which is the Right & Inheritance of your Subjects founded not only upon the MOST ANCIENT and ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION of this Kingdom, but often Confirm'd and declar'd in divers Statute Laws; that the Receiving of *Tunnage and Poundage*, and other Impositions not granted by Parliament, is a Breach of the Fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom, and contrary to your Majesty's Royal answer to the said Petition of Right (*h*).

The King understanding this Remonstrance was a coming to him, sends for the *Commons* to the *House of Lords* and ends this Session of Parliament, with a famous Speech, respecting their former Remonstrance, which he said *no wise man cou'd justify*, takes notice of their new-intended Remonstrance, and openly declar'd in these words, ' Those things which have been done, whereby many have had some cause to expect the Liberties of the Subjects to be trench'd upon, which indeed was the first and true ground of the Petition (*i. e.* the *Petition of Right*) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your Prejudice, and from time to time, in the Word of a King, ye shall not have the like Cause to complain. But as for *Tunnage and Poundage*, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure to grant (*i*) ' Whether he

he kept his Royal Word given here, will appear from what follows. And whether his claiming *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, was not against the *Petition of Right*, and Fundamental Liberties of the Subject, will appear by comparing it with that Clause. ' That no man hereafter be compeli'd to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, *Tax*, or such like Charge, without common Consent by Act of Parliament ' But *Tunnage* and *Poundage* was a Tax and Charge impos'd without Act of Parliament ; and therefore was against the *Petition of Right*.

Between this and the next Session of Parliament which met *Jan: 20th*, The Duke is kill'd, and *Land* brought into the Highest favor. *Manwaring*, declar'd by sentence of the Lords in the last Session incapable of future Ecclesiastical Preferments in the Church of *England*, for his Preaching up Arbitrary Government and Slavery, is pardon'd and preferr'd, and *Montague*, (question'd on the same account) made a Bishop, and the Merchants Goods seiz'd for *Tunnage* and *Poundage*.

When the Parliament met, they consider'd the ' violation of the ' Liberties of the People, since the end of the last Session, even contrary to the *Petition of Right*, some having been since that time committed, and a Command sent to the Sheriff, not to execute a *Replevin*, when Mens goods and Merchandizes have been taken away, and it was instanc'd in the Case of Mr *Rolls* a Merchant, and known to be a Member of the House, to whom it was said, by some of the Officers of the Custom House, *if all the Parliament were in you, we wou'd take your Goods (k)*. For clearing the Customers and hindring men from being brought to censure in Parliament, the King makes an Order in Council *Febr. 22.* wherein he declares that what was formerly done by his Farmers and Officers of the Customs, was done by his own Direction and Commandment———; and therefore cou'd not in this sever the Act of his Officers from his own Act, neither cou'd his Officers suffer for it, without *High Dishonor to his Majesty*; the Substance of which Declaration he sends in a Message to the Commons (l), who after debate thereupon, being ready for a vote mov'd the speaker to put the

(k) *Id.* p. 643. (l) *Id.* p. 658, 659.

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the Question; but he refus'd to do it, and said he was otherwise commanded from the King, whereupon they adjourn to *Febr. 25*, & from thence by the King's Command to *March 2d*; at which time they urge the Speaker again, to put the Question; & he reply'd, *I have a command from the King to adjourn till March 10th & put no Question*. It was no great wonder that the House was disoblig'd by such a palpable invasion of the fundamental Constitution of Parliament; and therefore the Commons (foreseeing a Dissolution) made a Protestation, the first part whereof concerning Religion is already cited p. 184. and the other two Conclusions are *viz.* ' 2. whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and Levying of the Subsidies of *Tunnage and Poundage* not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an Innovator in the Government and a *Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth*.

' 3. If any Merchant or Person whatsoever shall Voluntarily yield or pay the said Subsidies of *Tunnage and Poundage*, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the Liberties of *England* and an Enemy to the same (m). Next Day Warrants were directed from the Council to *Denzil Holles Esq*; *Sr. Miles Hobert*, *Sir John Elliot*, *Sir Peter Hayman*, *John Selden Esq*; *Will. Coriton*, *Walt. Long*, *Will. Stroud*, and *Benj Valentine*, commanding their Personal Appearance on the Morrow. At which time *Mr. Holles*, *Sir John Elliot*, *Mr. Coriton*, *Mr. Valentine* appearing, and refusing to Answer out of Parliament what was said and done in Parliament, were committed close Prisoners to the Tower; and Warrants were given, the Parliament being still in being, for the Sealing up of the Studies of *Mr. Holles*, *Mr. Selden*, and *Sir John Elliot*, *Mr. Long* and *Mr. Stroud* not then, nor of some time after appearing, a Proclamation issu'd out for the Apprehending of them (n).

March 10th, The King dissolves the Parliament, the Cause whereof he says in his Speech was *merely the Undutiful and Seditious Carriage in the Lower-House*, asserting that there were *some Vipers among them, that did cast this Mist of Undutifulness over most of their Eyes*, whom he

he threatneth with *Punishment*. (o) And accordingly those worthy Patriots and Asserters of the violated Liberties of their County. (*Vipers in the King's Eyes*) after an illegal Imprisonment are miserably harass'd and unjustly Sencenc'd, fin'd in Exorbitant Sums, and imprison'd till they shou'd make submission and acknowledge their Offence (p)

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When such *illegal and Arbitrary* Courses destructive of the *Foundations of Liberty and Property* were taken, during the Sitting of Parliaments, and in their short intervals, what must we expect to hear of in the long interval between the Parliament Dissolv'd *March 10th, 1628*, and that call'd *Apr. 13th 1640*: During which time, there were no Powers to controul his Judges, challenge his evil Counsellors, supply the King with faithful Counsel, or to correct the growing Disorders of his Reign. Among the many Additions to former Grievances, that of *Ship-Money* became one of the chief, not only for its being so evidently against *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and Fundamental Liberties of the Subject, but because of its being so positively and universally enjoyn'd by the King's Writs often repeated, Confirm'd by the Opinions of his *Corrupted Judges*, enforc'd with the *severest Penalties* of Imprisonment and Prosecution against the Refusers, and particularly in the noted Case of *Mr. Hambden*; the whole Arguments us'd in his Case, which touch the Merits of the whole Cause *Pro and Con*, the Reader may Peruse at large in *Rushworth's Appendix* to his *Second Part*.

The hearts of all good Subjects and Free-Men were rais'd with joyful expectations from this Parliament, hoping their Grievances wou'd be redress'd; and the Speaker of the House of Commons (*Serjeant Glanville*) in his first Speech to the King upon his Approbation of him, boldly acquaints him, ' That if by the *Subtily of Misinformers*, by the ' *specious false pretences of public Good*, by cunning and close *Contrivance* of their ways to *seduce*, the sacred Royal Person shall at any ' time be *circumvented* or *surpriz'd*, or overwrought or drawn to com- ' mand things contrary to Law, and that the same be done according- ' ly: *These Commands will be void*, and the King innocent in his very ' Person, being defended by the Prerogative: Nevertheless the Au- ' thors

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' thors in such Misinformations, and Actors in these abuses will stand
 ' liable, and expos'd to *strict Examination* and *just Censure*; having no-
 ' thing to defend themselves but the color of a void Command, *made*
 ' void by *just Prerogative*, and by the *Fundamental and true Reasons* of
 ' *State and Monarchy*: And what *Difference* is there, or can be in Law,
 ' between a *void Command* and *no Command* at all." (q) The House
 proceeds upon this Principle, Orders the Proceedings against Sir *John*
Elliot, Mr. *Hollis*, and the other Imprison'd Members of the Parliam-
 ent (3 and 4 *Caroli*) to be sent for, the Carriage of Sir *John Finch*
 Speaker of that Parliament to be examin'd, all the Grievances men-
 tion'd in many Petitions from Counties and Boroughs to be Stated,
 and the Records in the Case of Ship-Money concerning Mr. *Hamb-*
den, to be brought into the House, (r) Upon Report, the House Vot-
 ed *Finch's* Carriage in not obeying the House, and his adjourning the
 House by the King's Command, to be a Breach of Privilege. The
 Grand Committee for Grievances, presents Ship-Money as a *Grievance*
 (*Ibid.*) And afterwards the Commons resolv'd on these particu-
 lars following, as Heads for a Conference to be had with the Lords,
 ' 1. Concerning Innovations in Matters of Religion, 2. Liberty and
 ' Property. 3. Privilege of Parliament'. The first Head I omit here,
 having taken some Notice of it before, the other two are as follows. '2.
 ' As to Property of Goods. Resolv'd, that one Head of this Confe-
 ' rence, shall be the Complaints which have been made by the Petiti-
 ' ons from the several Counties, touching the Multitude of *Monopo-*
 ' lies and Restraint of Trade, also the Complaints which have been
 ' made by several Petitions from the Counties, touching the Grievan-
 ' ces of Ship-Money.

The Complaints which have been made by several Petitions from
 the Counties, of enlarging the *Bounds of Forests* beyond what they
 have been for some hundreds of Years last past, — concerning
 Military Charges. *viz.* Coat & Conduct money, *Wages* and *Arms*,
 taken from the owners, *forcing* the Country to buy and provide at
 their Charges, horses and Carts by way of Tax — concerning
 the *denial of Justice* in the Courts of *Westminster*, to the Subjects
 ' Prejudice in Point of the Property of their Goods. The frequent *Im-*
prison-

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‘ *prisonments* and Vexation for Non-payment of *Unwarrantable Taxes*, and for not submitting to *unlawful Monopolies*. Thirdly, as to the Liberties and Privilege of Parliament, resolv’d, that one head shall be the Complaints that have been made touching the *punishing* of men *out of Parliament*, for things done *in Parliament*, in breach of the *Privileges* of Parliament (f).

While the House is a Canvassing those Grievances, the King interrupts them with Messages about the present urgent Necessity of Supplies, and that it must be preferr’d to Grievances, which was the *old Cant* of his Ministry in every Parliament; but such was their feeling sense of the distracted and Miserable Condition of the Nation, that they wou’d not enter upon Supplies, till their Grievances shou’d be first consider’d, and thereby sufficiently express’d their belief of what one of their Members (t) said in to the house:

The Commonwealth (*says he*) hath been MISERABLY TORN AND MASSACRED, and all Property and Liberty shaken, the CHURCH DISTRACTED, the Gospel and Professors of it persecuted, and the whole Nation overrun with swarms of *projecting Canker-Worms*, and Caterpillars, the *worst of all the Egyptian Plagues*—all that I shall say to it are but the Words that *Esra* us’d to King *Artaxerxes* of the Settlement of that State—*that which cur’d theirs I hope will cure ours: his Words are these, who-soever hath not done the Laws of God, and the King, let Judgment be speedily executed upon him, whether it be unto Banishment, or to Confiscation of Goods, or to Imprisonment,*—we can’t complain we want good Laws—there want only *some Examples* that such as have been the Authors and Causes of all our Miseries and Distractions in Church and Commonwealth contrary to these good Laws might be *Treacle to expel the poison of Mischief out of others* (u) The King rather than let the Grievances be redress’d in a Parliamentary way; dissolves the Parliament, imprisons some of the Members, pursues the *Ship-mony*, renews the *Loan*, and gets Subsidies from the Convocation, when the Parliament had refus’d ’em.

While affairs stood thus, Divers Noble Lords, and likewise the whole City of *London* petition’d the King for calling a new Parliam-

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ment,

(f) *Id.*, p. 1148. (t) *Mr. Grimstone.* (u) *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p. 1129.

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ment, setting forth in those Petitions their great Grievances, on the account of Innovations in Matters of Religion; the *Oath, Canons*, and *Benevolence* impos'd by the late *Convocation*, the increase of *Popery*, and employing *Papists* in *Places of Trust Civil and Military*, contrary to Law; their fears of bringing in *Irish* forces upon 'em, the illegality of *Ship-Money* and other Taxes then impos'd; and the *Intermission* and *Dissolution* of *Parliaments* without the Redress of Grievances (w). And on *November 3. 1640.* the *Long Parliament* met.

Before the King's leaving of his Parliament and the Commencement of the Civil War, there was an *unexampled Harmony and Unanimity* in the Judgment of the 2 Houses concerning the *Main Grievances* complain'd of by the Nation, as appears by the following Votes.

By the House of Commons

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

‘ That the Charge Impos'd upon all the Subjects for the providing and furnishing of Ships and the Assessments for raising of Money, for that purpose called the *Ship-Money*, were against the *Laws of the Realm*, the *Subjects Right of Property*, and contrary to former *Resolutions* in Parliament, and to the *Petition of right*.

‘ 2. That the Extrajudicial Opinions of the Judges publish'd in the *Star-Chamber* and inroll'd in the Courts at *Westminster* in *hac verba* &c. in the whole and in every part of them, are against the *Laws of the Realm*, the *Right of Property* and the *Liberty of the Subjects*, and contrary to former *Resolutions* in Parliament, and to the *Petition of Right*.

‘ 3. That the Writ following in *hac verba* &c. and the other Writs commonly called the *Ship-writs* are against the *Laws of the Realm*, the *Right of Property*, and the *Liberty of the Subjects*, and contrary to former *Resolutions* in Parliament, and to the *Petition of Right*. In their 4th Resolution they condemn'd the Judgment against *Mr. Hambden* as illegal.

The Lords reduc'd the whole Substance of these 4 Votes into three and agreed with the Judgment of the Commons *nemine Contradicente*; and accordingly order'd ‘ *Vacates and Concellations* to be made of the

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Resolutions of the Judges touching the Shipping-Mony, and of the Emoluments thereof in the severall Courts, and of the Warrants for Ship-Writs, and Proceedings therein; and the Judgment given against Mr. *Hampden*, and Proceedings thereupon; and that Entries be made of these *Vacates* upon the severall Rolls, according to the Form read in the House (x).

Now is it not strange, nay morally Impossible to be true, that if the Court had been wrong'd by these Votes in matters that concern'd the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, the King being present, and at a time, when there was *no Hostility* between him and his People, there shou'd not be *one Member* in either House to give a *single Negative* to these Votes, for a Testimony to the *Pretended Prerogative* of the Prince; but on the contrary, that those Members who stuck closest to the King's side in the War, did with as much life and Convincing Reason as any others in the Parliament represent the dreadful and dangerous Condition of the Nation in their Speeches, made sometimes in the House of Commons, and at other times to the Lords, in Conferences with them, or Impeachments made at their Bar: of which I have (for the Reader's satisfaction) transcrib'd the following Passages.

Mr. *Edward Hyde* afterwards Earl of *Clarendon* (y) ' My Lords I am commanded by the Commons to present to your Lordships a great and crying Grievance—— by the Consequence of it, the Grievance of the whole Kingdom. The Court of the President of the North, or as it is more usually call'd, the Courts of York—— hath so prodigiously broken down the Banks of the first Channel in which it ran, as it hath almost overwhelm'd that Country under the Sea of Arbitrary Power, and involv'd the People in a Labyrinth of Distemper, Oppression and Poverty. My Lord of *Strafford* came to that Government in December 4 *Caroli*; & since, the Commission hath been three severall times receiv'd. But unto that Commission of the 8 and 13 Years of the King's Reign, a new Clause was inserted for the Granting, Sequestering and establishing Possessions according to Instructions, which crowded, in a Mass of new Exorbitant and Intolerable

(x) *Id. Ibid.* Appen. from p. 212. to p. 218. (y) p. 1336.

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terable Power; our Complaint is against this Commission it self, and against the whole Body of these Instructions. The Ninth Instruction requires an Obedience to such Ordinances and Determinations as be or shall be made by the Council-Table, or High-Commission-Court. A Grievance of so Transcendent a Nature, That your Lordships noble Justice will provide a Remedy for it, with no less care than you wou'd RESCUE THE LIFE AND BLOOD OF THE COMMON-WEALTH. There are among them in the whole 38 Instructions, scarce one that is not against or besides the Law.

(2) Mr Speaker, the County of Dorset have entrusted their Complaints—in a short Memorial of the Heads of them, which was read in the hearing of the Freeholders then present, who all with one voice signify'd upon each particular---their desire, that we shou'd represent them,——and these they are. 1. The great and Intolerable Burthen of Ship money——2. The many great Abuses in pressing Soldiers and raising Monies——3. The multitude of Monopolies. 4. The new Canon, and the Oath to be taken by Lawyers, Divines &c. 5. The Oath requir'd to be taken by Church-Officers to present according to Articles new and unusual: Besides this, there was presented to us by a very considerable part of the Clergy of that County, a Note containing two particulars. 1. The Imposition of a new Oath——which they conceive to be illegal, and such as they cannot take with a good Conscience. 2. The requiring of a Pretended Benevolence, but in Effect a Subsidy, under the Penalty of Suspension, Excommunication and Deprivation, ALL BENEFIT OF APPEAL EXCLUDED.

(a) Mr. Speaker, I have in Charge to present the Grievances of Kent. 1. The great Increase of Papists, by the remiss Execution of the Laws——2. The introducing and countenancing of divers new Ceremonies in Religion- -3. A great Grievance by the Military Charges. 1. Of Cost and Conduct-Money. 2. The enhancing the Price of Gunpowder ——3.—— A thousand of our best Arms were taken from the owners and sent into Scotland: the Compulsory way was this, if you will not send your Arms you shall go your selves. The

(2) Lord Digby with the King at Oxford. p. 1337. (a) Sir John Culpeper afterwards with the King at Oxford. p. 1338.

The next Grievance is the *Canons*—— the oath *et cætera*, made
 by a Convocation that ended with the Parliament, yet afterwards
 the same men without any new Election were *Shuffled into a Sa-
 cred Synod*, and without Parliament *assum'd to themselves Power* to
 make Laws, to *grant Benevolence* and to *meddle with our trechold*
 [b]. The next is *Shipmony*, it cries aloud, it strikes the *first-born*
 of every Family, I mean *our Inheritance*. If the Laws give the
 King Power in any danger of the Kingdom whereof he is Judge,
 to impose what and when he please, we owe all that is left to
 the Goodness of the King. There is one Grievance more, but
 it Comprizech many, it is a Nest of Wasps or Swarm of Ver-
 mine, which have overcrept the Lind. I mean the *Monopolies &
 Pollers* of the People: These like the *Frogs of Egypt* have gotten
 Possession of our Dwellings; they *sup in our Cup*, they *dip in our
 Dish*, they *sit by our fire*, we find them in the *Wash-house*, and
 powdering- Tub, they share with the Buttlér in his Box; they
 have *mark'd and seal'd us from Head to foot*, they will not abate
 us a Pin; These are the Leeches that have *suck'd the Commonwealth,*
so hard, that it is almost become Hætical.

(c) My Lords, the Articles against Judge Crauley you have
 heard,—— how these *Sons of the Law* have torn out the Bowels
 of their *Mother*. This Imposition of *Shipmony* springing from a
 pretended necessity—— they entail upon the State for ever,
 at once making *Necessity inherent to the Crown*, and *Slavery to the
 Subject*—— certainly there is no Privilege more properly be-
 longs to a Parliament than to open the Purse of a Subject, and yet
 these Judges—— have not only assum'd this Privilege of Parlia-
 ment, but presum'd at once to make a present to the Crown of all
 that either your Lordships or the Commons of *England do or shall
 hereafter Possess.*

(d) Mr. Speaker, The Constitution of this Commonwealth hath es-
 tablish'd, or rather endeavor'd to establish to us the Security of
 our Goods, and the Security of these Laws which wou'd secure us,
 and

[b] I'm persuaded that neither Puritan nor Presbyterian Assembly ever did the
 like of this. [c] Mr. Waller afterwards sentenc'd to death for adhering to
 K. Char. 1. p. 1339. (d) Lord Faulkland afterwards with the King at Oxford.
 Printed Collection of Speeches &c. p. 337; &c.

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and our Goods; by appointing for us Judges, so settled, so Sworn, that there can be no Oppression, but they of necessity must be Accessory: since if they neither deny nor delay us Justice, which neither for the Great nor the little Seal, they ought to do, the greatest Person in this Kingdom cannot continue the least Violence upon the Meanest. But this Security, Mr. Speaker, hath been almost our Ruine; for it hath been turn'd, or rather turned it self into a Battery against us: And those Persons who shou'd have been as *Dogs to defend the Sheep*, have been as *Wolves to worry them* — The Cause of all our Miseries we have suffer'd, and the Cause of all our Jealousies we have had, that we shou'd yet suffer, is, that a most Excellent Prince hath been most infinitely abus'd by his Judges, telling him that by Policy he might do what he pleas'd. — And since in procuring of those Laws, upon which those Men have trampled, our Ancestors have shewn their utmost Care and Wisdom, for our unaffected Security, Words having done nothing, and yet having done all that Words can do, we must now be forc'd to think of Abolishing our Grievances, and of taking away this Judgment, and these Judges together, and of regulating their Successors by their *Exemplary Punishment* — Among these there is one that I must not loose in the Croud — who not only gave away with his breath what our Ancestors had Purchas'd for us by so large an Expence of their time, their Care, their Treasure, and their Blood — but strove to root up those Liberties — And to make our Grievances Immortal, and our Slavery Irreparable, lest any Part of our Posterity might want occasion to curse him — It is my Lord-Keeper — for my part, I think no Man secure, whilst all our Estates are in his Breast, who hath sacrific'd his Country to his Ambition; whilst he who hath prostrated his own Conscience, hath the keeping of the King's, and he who hath undone us already by Wholesale, hath a Power left in him by Retail.

(e) Mr. Speaker, when I look upon the Body of this good and flourishing Kingdom in matters of Religion and of our Laws (for like *Hippocrates Twins* they Live and Die together) I say when I behold these in that State and Flight, as they have been represented

to

to us, *scire magis libet quam dicere*. But this is our Comfort, that we are all met together, for the Welfare and Happiness of Prince and People. And who knows whether this may not be the appointed time, wherein God will restore our Religion as at the first, and our Laws as at the beginning — To make People rich they must have Ease and Justice; *Ease* in their Consciences from the *Bane* of Superstition, from the *intolerable Burthen* of *Innovation* in Religion, and from the Racks & Tortures of *Strange* and *New-fangled* Oaths. They must be eas'd in their Persons — in their Lands — in their Goods — yet if they have not Justice they cannot subsist. — The King is Styl'd *Fons Justitia*, and he commits it to his Judges — but not without an Oath requir'd of them 18 *Eliz.* 3 1. — The effect of the Oath is, that they shou'd do equal Law and Execution of Right to all the King's Subjects — That they shou'd not deny to do common Right to any Man for the King's Letters, or for any other Cause; & in case such Letters do, that they proceed to do the Law notwithstanding such Letters, — how this Oath hath been perform'd, we have seen and felt; I wou'd say no more; but when I cast my Eycs upon the inferior Courts of Justice, wherein no such Oath is requir'd: I mean the *High-Commission*, and other *Ecclesiastical Courts*, my Soul hath Bled for the *MANY PRESSURES I have observ'd* — in these Courts against the King's good People; especially for the most *MONSTROUS ABUSE* of the Oath *ex Officio*, which, as it is now us'd, I can call no other than *Carnificina Conscientia* — These Worthies that spoke before me, have told you of our Miseries; but I cannot tell you of the Remedies: For things are come to that Height, that I may say, as *Livy* said of the Roman State in his time, *nec Vicia nostra scire possumus, nec Remedia*: for no Laws will now do us good; better Laws cou'd not have been made than the State of Monopolies, against Projectors, and the *Petition of Right* against the Infringers of Liberties; and yet, as if the Law had been the Author of them; There hath been *within these few Years* more Monopolies and *Infringement of Liberties*, *THAN HATH BEEN IN ANY AGE SINCE THE CONQUEST*. And if all these vile Harlots, as *Q. Eliz.* call'd 'em, that have been the Authors of those evils, and the Troublers of our *Israel* do go unpunish'd, it will never be better with us; for now during Parliament like frozen Snakes

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' their Poyſon dries up, but let the Parliament diſſolve, and then
 ' their Poyſon melts and ſcatters abroad, and doth mote hurt than
 ' ever. — My concluſion, Mr. *Speaker* is this — let them be
 ' made Examples of Punishment who have been the Authors of all
 ' theſe Miſeries, according to the Counſel of *Solomon*, *Take away the*
 ' *Wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd &c.*
 ' (f) ' My Lords, there can't be a greater Inſtance of a ſick and
 ' *languiſhing Common wealth* than the buſineſs of this day. Good
 ' God! How have the guilty theſe late Years been puniſh'd, when
 ' the Judges themſelves have been Delinquents.' 'Tis no ſuch Marvel,
 ' that an IRREGULAR, EXTRAVAGANT, ARBITRARY
 ' POWER, like a Torrent, hath broke in upon us, when our
 ' Banks and our Bulwarks, the Laws were in the Cuſtody of ſuch
 ' Perſons. Men who had *loſt* their *Innocence* could not *preſerve* their
 ' *Courage*. Nor could we look that they who had ſo viſibly undone
 ' us themſelves ſhould have the vertue or Credit, to reſcue us from
 ' the Oppreſſion of other men. — Had not *this bleſſed day* come, all
 ' men would have had that quarrel to the Law it ſeit, which *Marius*
 ' had to the *Greek Tongue*, who thought it a Mockery, for a Man
 ' to learn that Language, the Maſters whereof liv'd in Bondage
 ' under others. — It is in your Lordſhips Power --- to reſtore the
 ' dejected broken People of this Iſland to their former Joy and Se-
 ' curity, the Succeſſors of thoſe men to their Old Privilege and Ve-
 ' neration, and SEPULTAS PROPE LEGES REVOCARE.
 ' (g) ' It is moſt certain that there hath not been in all that De-
 ' duction of Ages (*i. e. ſince the Conqueſt*) ſuch a Conſpiracy — of
 ' all the Elements of Miſchief to bring a flouriſhing Kingdom (if it
 ' were poſſible) to ſwift Ruin and Deſolation. I will be bold to ſay
 ' (and I thank God we have ſo good a King under whom we may
 ' ſpeak boldly of the abuſe by ill Miniſters, without Reflection up-
 ' on his Perſon) that an *Accumulation of all the Public Grievances*
 ' ſince *Magna Charta*, put one upon another unto that hour in which
 ' the *Petition of Right* paſt into an Act of Parliament, would not
 ' amount to ſo Oppreſſive, I am ſure not to ſo Deſtructive a Height
 and

(f) Mr. Edw. Hyde Ruſh. Collect. Part 2. p. 1360, &c. (g) Lord Dight
 Id. Ibid. p. 1342.

and Magnitude, to the Rights and Property of the Subject, AS
 ONE BRANCH of our beslaving, since the *Petition of Right*. The
 branch I mean is the Judgment concerning *Ship-Money*, as for un-
 matcht Oppression and Enthralling of free Subjects in a time of
 the best King's Reign, and in Memory of the best Laws enacted in
 favor of the Subject's Liberty, let any man find a truer Cause than
 the *Ruptures* and *Intermission* of Parliaments. 'Tis true, Sir, wicked
 Ministers have been the Proximate Causes of our Miseries; but
 the want of Parliaments the Primary and the Efficient Cause. Ill
 Ministers have made ill Times, but that, Sir, hath made ill Mini-
 sters.

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From these and many such Speeches, of great Royalists, and the
 Unanimity of the above mention'd Votes of both Houses, the Nations
 just and deep sense of the Universal Encroachments that were made
 upon their Fundamental Liberties and Properties by Arbitrary Power
 is abundantly manifested; and the same doth further appear from
 divers Acts of this Parliament, to which the King himself gave the
 Royal Assent, viz. *An Act for the preventing inconveniencies happening
 by the long Intermission of Parliaments. An Act to prevent the Incon-
 veniencies by the untimely adjourning of this Parliament. An Act for the
 Regulating of the Privy Council, and for taking away the Court common-
 ly call'd the Stare-Chamber. Repeal of the branch of a Statute 1. Eliz.
 concerning Commissioners, or Causes Ecclesiastical. An Act for the de-
 claring unlawful and void the late Proceedings touching Ship-mony, and
 for the vocating all Records and Processes concerning the same. An Act
 against divers encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannery Courts. An
 Act for the Certainty of Forests, and of the Meets, Meers, Limits and
 Bounds of the Forests. An Act for preventing of vexatious Proceedings
 touching the Order of Knight-hood. An Act about Tunnage and Poun-
 dage.*

Seeing the Experience of all the former Parliaments of this Reign
 had made it evident that the best Laws they did or cou'd make, or
 which had been made for them by their Ancestors cou'd do them no
 Service, without the *Exemplary Punishment* of those who had trampled
 upon them; This Parliament then falls to Work, and resolves to
 Purge the Court of such Time-serving Flatterers and Oppressors, as
 by their Counsel had abus'd the King's Honor and endanger'd the Peo-
 ple's safety. My Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank fled for

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the same. *Strafford* is beheaded, but much against the King's Will. *Land* and the unjust Judges are impeach'd. While the King is in *Scotland*, the horrid and bloody *Irish* Massacre breaks out, which alarm'd all the Protestants of the three Kingdoms, and convinc'd the *Long Parliament* of the Absolute necessity of Proceeding in their intended Method of bringing all the Instruments of their Miseries to a deserv'd Punishment. Accordingly the Commons prepare a Remonstrance (upon the King's return to *London* which was in *November 1641*) wherein they set forth all the *illegal* and *oppressive* Practices of his evil Counsellors and *Ministers of State*, with their ill Consequences happen'd already, and to be justly fear'd, if the Actors shou'd go unpunish'd. And while they are prosecuting this Design, the King in *January* following comes in *Person* with a *Company of Arm'd Men* into the House then sitting, and demands five of their Members to be deliver'd to him, to be Try'd for High-Treason. This unaccountable breach of their *Priviledge* fill'd them and the Kingdom with such *Consternation*, as they no longer thought their Lives Safe, and therefore were guarded by such as had a respect for 'em and their Priviledges. 'Tis true, the King promises not to do the like again, but while his *evil Counsellors* were about him, who for 15 Years had in so many noted Instances made him break his *Royal Word*, they durst not trust him; and hence arose the Debate between him and them concerning the Militia; they urging that the Power and Trust of it might be put into such hands as both Houses of Parliament might confide in, as absolutely necessary for the Nations safety; (for which as also for their Demands, about other places of Public Trust, they give a *vast number* of known Precedents in their Declaration upon the breaking up of the Treaty between him and them, *Anno 1643. (b)*) which he refus'd to do; He leaves his Parliament, goes to *York*, and from thence to *Hull*, where Sir *John Hotham* refus'd him Entrance, and at *Notingham* in *August* following, set up his Standard, Proclaims the Parliament *Rebels*, and gathers an Army against them.

From all the Public Acts, Records, Petitions, Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Commissions, Impeachments and other Actions,
and

(b) vide the Proceedings of the late Treaty of Peace &c. Printed by Order of both Houses p. 82.

and well Attested Historical Observations mention'd in the Premises, from the 195^b page of this Discourse, let the impartial Reader judge, whether the *fundamental* and *Vital Liberties* and most *essential* Properties of the People of *England* were not Manifestly overturn'd by the Misd-administrations of this Reign. If none but the long Parliament had complain'd of this, one might have had some ground at least to suspect, that all might have been but the noise and *Clamor* of a *Faction*, combin'd against the *honest* Designs of the *Court*: but from what hath been said, 'tis clear that *Grievances, Oppression & Infringement of Liberties*, was the CONSTANT CRY of all his Parliaments whatsoever. Is it not strange, that all the Marks of Disgrace he put upon his Parliaments, by his Messiges to them, imprisoning their Members, and publishing such bitter invectives against them in his Declarations after their Dissolution, and all the means that cou'd be us'd by the Court for new Elections; that all this, I say, cou'd never procure him one Parliament in 15 years time, that cou'd either please him or be pleas'd with him?

Can any man of Judgment offer so much Violence to his Reason, as to believe, that the *English Nation* (whose *Gallant* and *Loyal* Genius stands Celebrated in the Records of *Immortal Fame*) shou'd so universally and Constantly, in so many different Parliaments, conspire to load the Methods of their Prince's Government with such Dishonorable Aspersions and Scandalous Libels, as their Proceedings might have been truly accounted, if they had not been justify'd by an Unparallell'd *Series* of Oppression from the *Court*? For what supposable Reason did the King intermit Parliaments for above Eleven Years, but for this, because he was *hopeless* of getting any that wou'd approve of his *Measures*? For certainly the most Arbitrary Prince in the World wou'd rather have his People on *his Side* than against him.

If any reason be sufficient to justify *Resistance*, it must be when *Religion, Liberty* and *Property* are *undermin'd*; which appears to have been the Cause of the Parliaments War against this Prince. And I wou'd gladly know, *what Degree* of Violation and *Invasion* of a People's *Rights* Religious and Civil will justify this Resistance, if *those* made by the then-Court were not sufficient to do it? And whether, supposing the Encroachments made on each of them separately were not sufficient ground for Resistance, yet the Encroachments made

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on them all compar'd and duly weigh'd not by some *single Acts*, but by almost an *uninterrupted Progress*, still encreasing in spite of the most *clear, Indisputable, and Fundamental Laws*, and *Unanimous* sense of the Nation, be not an *unanswerable Reason* to acquit the Subjects first taking up *Defensive Arms* from the scandal and Crime of Rebellion?

As the Evils the People groan'd under were intolerable; so their Patience before they took up Arms, was surprizing; and exceeded all the Instances, wherein the *English Nation* ever resisted by Arms the Exorbitant and illegal Will of their Princes, for reducing it to just Bounds. For tho' the Grievances of the Nation were more in one Year of this King's Reign than in both the Reigns of *Edward 2d* and *Richard 2.* (i.) (as the Reader may be fully satisfied by comparing their several Histories) whom their Subjects resisted, yet in this Case they waited 16 years till things grew daily worse; and after all, the Subject drew not the Sword untill of *three branches* of the Supreme Legislature they were *directed and headed* by two of them to rescue the Nation from utter Confusion and Ruin; and until the greatest if not the only Barrier of their Liberties, viz. *That all Subjects whatsoever, even the greatest Ministers of State are accountable to and Punishable in Parliament*, was flavy, frequently, and without hopes of Recovery any other way deny'd 'em; and until he refus'd to put the Executive Power into such hands as the Parliament durst *confide* in for the *safety* of their *Lives* to *Sit* and do *business*. And that their fears and jealousies were not groundless, appears by the King's Letters to the Queen intercepted by the Parliament, and publish'd in their Account of the breaking up of the Treaty with him (p. 74.) ; wherein he discovers his Designs of filling these Places with Persons recommended by her Councils, and imparts to her his other Projects; and therefore 'twas no great wonder, that several of those who follow'd the King shou'd say (as *Coke* observes) (k) *They as much dreaded the King's overcoming the Parliament-Party, as they fear'd to be overcome by them.* That Author farther says of him, (l) 'The first fifteen years of his Reign were perfectly *French*, and such as never before were seen or heard of in the *English Nation*. This brought on a miserable War in all the three

King-

(i) as *Coke* assures us Det. c. 8. Part 1. p. 397. (k) *Ibid.* p. 396, (l) *Ibid.* p. 205.

* Kingdoms of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and Destruction upon
 * the King, when as it was not in the Power of those who first rais'd
 * the War against him to save his Life, which they wou'd have done.
 * ----- And let any Man read the short Passages of his Reign (*says he*)
 * (*m*) and judge if the Imminent Ruin of the Nation were not from
 * himself within, as well as without. No human profi est (*says he*) (*n*)
 * cou'd have foreseen where the Tyranny of *K. Charles 1's* Reign
 * wou'd have enac'd, if the long Parliament in 1640. had not put a full
 * step to it.

The true end of a lawful War is, that an injur'd Party may pre-
 serve or recover by the Sword some Right which he can't recover or
 preserve any other way; and therefore a War shou'd still be the last
 Remedy. To apply this to the Case in hand: The points in Debate
 and in danger of imminent Ruine, namely, *Religion, Liberty and*
Property are valuable Rights, worthy of all Endeavors for their Pre-
 servation and Restitution; but these cou'd not be preserv'd or restor'd
 by any other Method, than the subjects defensive Arms. No Laws,
 no Petitions, no Remonstrances, no Essay us'd, no Patience exercis'd
 did prevail upon the Court; and therefore what cou'd the Parliament
 and other Subjects do, but either resist by Arms or tamely sit still,
 and see the good and Happiness of Society intirely ruin'd and sacrifi-
 c'd, which Mr *Hoadly* thinks a greater Contradiction to the Will of God
 than any opposition can be, as being a tacit Consent to the Ruine and
 Misery of Mankind, whose public Peace and Happiness is the end of Go-
 vernment.

What other reasons can be given for resisting the late King *James*,
 than those which justify'd the Resisting of his Father? 'Tis true,
 King *James* was a Profest Papist: But seeing the *Bill of Exclusion* was
 rejected; his being a Papist, as it cou'd not keep him out, so it
 cou'd not legally turn him out, nor justify Resistance merely on that
 score: and therefore it must be his illegal attempts upon Religion,
 Liberty and property, that justify'd the Revolution: and the very
 same do equally justify the Commencement of the War against his
 Father. And yet the People of *England* waited 16 Years before
 they resisted the Father; who' their Patience was quite tir'd out, be-
 fore

Part 2: fore they had waited 5 Years under the Son. They resisted not the Father till *both Houses of Parliament declar'd for it*, and press'd 'em to it. They resisted the Son without looking upon themselves oblig'd to *wait for any such Formality*. After they had resisted the Father, they *petition'd him as their lawful Prince*, treated with him, begg'd him to return to his Parliament, and Govern according to Law; and after they had quite subdu'd and rooted all his Forces, and so had Power to do what they pleas'd, yet they *voted his Concessions satisfactory*, and to be sufficient Ground for a Treaty; all which shew'd that they carry'd on a War with *no design to Dethrone him*, or declare him to have *abdicated*; But they had *no sooner resisted the Son*, but they declare his Throne vacant; Entertain not the least thoughts of repossessing him of it, but take *all Methods possible* to put it out of his Power to come at it. Were all those *Glorious Steps of Resistance* to K. James built upon the *Impregnable Foundation of Equity, Justice and the public Good*; and to be espous'd and cordially maintain'd as the *Essential and Honorable Principles of the late HAPPY REVOLUTION*? And shall a *lesser and MORE LIMITED Resistance* to K. Charles I. tho' supported by the same Reasons, which warranted a greater and more Absolute one to his Son, be justly tax'd with Rebellion?

Upon the whole, I leave it to the Reader, to form a Judgment for himself, whether the Presbyterians were Guilty of Rebellion, in taking part with the Parliament in their War; and tho' I won't give my own Judgment as to the Merits of the Cause, yet I shall adventure to say, that they had a *great deal to say* for themselves; especially considering, that in the Parliament (at the beginning of that War) there were not *ten Members*, who were profess'd Presbyterians, as my Lord Clarendon confesseth, and therefore if the Presbyterians were Rebels, they were INVITED and COMMANDED to be such by their BRETHREN OF THE ESTABLISH'D CHURCH, and by those who were sitting in a Legal Parliament, and acting for the rescuing of the *violated Sinking Liberties* of the Nation: And the Act of *Oblivion* hath laid a just Foundation for removing all Grounds of Reproach upon that Account. The King's Party as well as the Parliament's needed such an Act.

Before I come to the second Crime objected against Presbyterians during this Reign, I must take notice of our Author's Objections against *three Petitions of the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland*

to the *General Assembly*. While he is answering the Challenge of the Author of the *Parallel*, which is to shew the *Rebellions, the Associations, Factions &c.* which the *Dissenters of Ireland* ever rais'd against their Prince, tho' they shou'd go back to the Year 41, 48. and 60. He refers to the Acts of the *General Assembly* for ' Three Petitions from the ' *Dissenters of the North of Ireland* to the *General Assembly* of ' *Scotland*: The first in *July 1642.* sent by *James Gordon* and *Hugh Campbel*: The second was dated *August 5. 1643.* The 3d in *May 1645.* from *Belfast*, deliver'd by *William Mc Hennah* Merchant. In all which Petitions you will plainly discover (*says he*) what their *Temper* and *Disposition* then was both to the *King* and *Royal Party* (p. 15.).

In all these three Petitions (which I have carefully perus'd) I don't find the least Syllable relating to the *King*, or his Name so much as mention'd except once ; and 'tis in the last of them, in these Words ; *We are nothing shaken in our minds, with the odious Aspersions of Sedition, Combination against the King &c.* And seeing they disown any Combination against the *King*, by giving it the Name of an *Odious Asperision*, I think 'twill be pretty hard from thence to conclude any thing against their *Loyalty*. I confess I am at loss to find out the *least Consequence* from any of these three Petitions, to prove what our Author *Alledge*h from 'em ; & until he shall think fit to form an Argument from 'em (which I don't find he has once attempted) I shan't think my self much concern'd with them.

The Prayer of those Petitions being for a *Mission* of *Ministers* of their own Persuasion to supply the poor distress'd Remnant of *Presbyterians* in *Ulster*, who had surviv'd the *Bloody Massacre* of 41 ; they mention in their several Narratives the Severities formerly us'd against them by the Prelates in *Wentworth's* Government ; but where the *Sedition*, the *Rebellion*, or any other Fault of this was, our Author proves not. Because they speak against the Tyranny of some of the then-Prelates, must they therefore be disloyal ? What's very observable is, That as our Author quotes these Petitions for a purpose which they no way tend to advance viz. *Disloyalty* against the Government, so he intirely passeth the Sufferings and Oppression of *Presbyterians* mention'd in them, without any Remark. And indeed he had great reason to do so, considering the *Illegal* and *Arbitrary* Imposition of the Oath commonly call'd the *Black-Oath* in *Ireland* upon all Per-

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sons of the *Scottish* Nation of the Age of 16 years and upwards, who were then Inhabitants in *Ireland*, upon severe Penalties. The want of *Parliamentary Authority* and *Sanction* to the said Oath was a sufficient Reason (even tho' the matter of it had been unexceptionable) to justify any one's refusing it. But the *Presbyterians* refus'd it not only for its being illegally impos'd, but because of the *Pernicious Tendency* of the matter of the Oath it self to destroy *Liberty* and *Property*: For it oblig'd 'em to Swear in the following Words, 'I will not bear Arms, or do any *Rebellious* or *Hostile Act* against ANY OF HIS (*i. e.* the Kings) *ROYAL COMMANDS*, but submit my self in all due *Obedience* thereunto; and that I will not enter into any *Covenant* or *Bind* of *Mutual Defence* or *Assistance* against any *Person whatsoever* by *Forces*, without his Majesty's *Sovereign* and *Regal Authority*. And I do *Renounce* and *Abjure* all *Oaths*, *Covenants*, and *Bands whatsoever*, contrary to what I have herein Sworn, profess'd and promis'd. So help me *God* in *Jesus Christ*. They look'd upon this to be a *dangerous Insuring Oath*; because it might be interpreted as an *Approbation* and *Assenting* to the *swiss Doctrine* of the *Unlawfulness* of *Resistance* upon any *Pretence whatsoever*. The *Royal Commands* are to be *limited* by the *Constitution* and *Laws* of the *Kingdom*; and if the *King* shou'd *Command* the *Subject* to join in the *Deftruction* of *Religion*, *Liberty*, and *Property*, and in the *Overthrow* of the *Municipal* and *Fundamental Laws*, and *Essential Privileges* of *Free born Subjects*, they cou'd not consent to *divest* 'emselves, upon *Oath*, of their *Right* of *Self-Defence*, without a *manifest* *betraying* of the *Liberties* of the *Nation* which they durst not *Swear* to do, having always testify'd an *Inviolable* *Regard* for them. The *Principles* of *Stafford* and his *Party* (the *Contrivers* and *Imposers* of this *Oath*) leading to *Arbitrary Government*, were, according to the *Rules* of all *Casuits* in such *Cases*, consider'd in order to the *Understanding* of the *Oath* fram'd by them for *erving* the *Court-Designs* of that *Reign*.

This *Oath*, tho' *illegal* not only for its matter as tending to *subvert* the *Civil Constitution*, but also for want of a *due Authority* to impose it, was violently urg'd by a *High-flown Party* in *Ireland*, headed by *Wentworth* in *Conjunction* with the *Laudensian Faction* in *England*. For refusing it, *Multitudes* of *sincere Protestants* were *banish'd*, and *miserably persecuted*: By *which means* the *remaining part* of the *Protestants*

testants of *Ireland* became a more *easy* Prey to the Bloody Papists, who soon improv'd the Advantage given to their Cause, by so remarkable a Blow as the *Protestant* Interest had got by these violent Courses. Part 2.

And 'tis very observable, that as the Moderation of the Government towards Presbyterians was the great Means of Planting *Ulster*, so Persecution weakned the *British* and *Protestant* Interest, and was the direful Forerunner of the Bloody Rebellion in 1641. Yet Divine Providence by removing the Presbyterian Ministers out of the Kingdom before the Rebellion (being driven away by *Wentworth's* Persecution and the Black- Oath) kept them alive, and *reserv'd* them for farther Service to their Flocks, who receiv'd them again with great joy and Comfort, when their Persecutors had either perish'd, or been driven away by the Common Calamity. And thereby a door was open'd for the replanting of the Gospel in these Presbyterian Congregations, whose Ministers had been banish'd by the *High-Church-Faction*. Why may not this be told, without any ground for that Censure which our Author places upon the Presbyterians (p. 19.)

' Is not this (*says he*) a wondrous mark of their Tendernefs & Protection of the Loyal Episcopal Party at that time, when their Banishment by the *Papists* was reckon'd by these Charitable Brethren the *Opening a Door* (as they say there) for the planting of the Gospel, as if they reputed them *Infidels*, ' the Presbyterians never call'd their Brethren of the Episcopal Church *Infidels*, nor ever gave any just Occasion to believe that they *reputed them* to be such. Nay they believe (and always did) that there are of that Communion many worthy Protestants and good Christians, tho' they conform'd to divers things in the Ecclesiastical Establishment, which were *against* the Consciences of Presbyterians. And therefore the widening of the Breach among Protestants to that unaccountable Degree, as to persuade the World (as our Author does) that one part of them reputes the other to be *Infidels*, is Disserviceable to our Common Christianity: Especially, when there is nothing in the Expression he quotes, to support the Charge founded upon it.

But I come next to consider the second Crime charg'd upon Presbyterians during this Reign *viz.* That the *Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland* oppos'd Duke *Hamilton's* Undertaking in 1648; who went into *England* with an Army to fight for the King; That

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they did so, is very true : But our Author falsifieth the History of it in divers Material Circumstances and Insinuations. ‘ This Declaration of the Assembly (*says he* p. 6.) was made to the Estates, who had by an Act of Parliament, rais’d an Army to go into *England*, to rescue the King out of the hands of the Sectaries; which Expedition the Assembly of the Kirk Oppos’d, Declam’d against, and afterwards did excommunicate the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the whole Army for engaging in that Expedition against the Consent of the Assembly’ He falsely insinuates, That the Assembly had no mind to have *had the King rescu’d out of the hands of the Sectaries*, as if their Opposition to Duke *Hamilton* had flow’d from that Spring; Whereas *no Persons* were greater Enemies to the *Sectaries* than they, and less fond of their Usurped Power, and by all Methods proper for them resentted the ill usage of his Majesty’s *Royal Person* at that very time, ‘ We cannot but ABHOR (*says they*) (o) the Purposes of any who mind the Subversion of *Monarchical Government*, which we heartily wish to be preserv’d and continu’d in his Majesty’s Person and Posterity; and we do no less dislike the Practices of those who deal so hardly with his Majesty’s *Person*, earnestly desiring that he were in the Condition he was in by the Advice of both Kingdoms before he was taken away by a Party of *Sir Thomas Fairfax’s* Army.

The Commission of the General Assembly in their humble Advice and Petition to the Honorable Estates of Parliament *June 10. 1648*, do clear themselves from any *Disloyal Design* or Principle in opposing the *Duke’s* Engagement, while they assure their Lordships with an awful Solemnity in these Words, (p. 18.) ‘ We call to Record the *Searcher of all hearts*, the *Judge of the World*, that our not concurring with your Lordships Proceedings hitherto, hath not flow’d from want of Zeal against Sectaries, for the Suppression of whom, and for the Advancement of a *Work of Reformation*, we are ready to hazard all in a lawful way; Nor from any *Remissness* in that which concerns his Majesty’s *true Honor and Happiness*, and the *Preservation of Monarchical Government* in him and his Posterity,

‘ nor

(o) vide a Declaration and Exhortation of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, to their Brethren in *England*, Acts Assemb. p. 409.

nor from any want of tenderness of the Privileges of Parliament; nor from want of Sympathy with our afflicted and oppress'd Brethren in *England*; nor from Partial or Sinistrous respect to any Party or Person whatsoever within the Kingdom; but from meer Tenderness in the Point of Security of Religion, and the Union between the Kingdoms, and from the Unsatisfactoriness of the Grounds of your Lordships Declaration, as hath been express'd more at length in our Representation.

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The true Reasons why the Church of *Scotland* look'd upon that undertaking to be unlawful are represented at large in the Papers of the Assembly and their Commissioners, of which our Author has not taken any Notice, tho' they are all in Print. It wou'd be too tedious to recite them all; but what I am to mention shall be under three Heads. That Expedition was unlawful. 1. Because the Parliament of *Scotland* neglected to treat with *England*, when they might have done it, for preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood. 2. As *matters then stood*, 'twas dangerous to the Interest of Religion. 3. It was carried on by *unlawful means*.

As to the first, the Assembly give us their Sense in the following words, (p) ' We are commanded if it be possible and as much as lyeth in us to have Peace with all Men, Rom. 12. 18. to seek Peace and pursue it, Psal. 34. 14. War and Blood-shed is the last Remedy after all the Ways and Means of Peace have been us'd in vain. The intended War of the nine Tribes and a half against the two Tribes and half was prevented by a M. s. s. age and Treaty of Peace, Josh. 22. The like means was us'd by *Jephthah* (tho' not with the like Success) for preventing of War with the King of *Ammon*. Judg. 11. The very light of Nature hath taught Heathens not to make War, till first all Amicable ways of preventing Bloodshed were tried; yet this War hath been driven on without observing any such Method of Proceeding, except by a Message wherein not so much as one breach was represented. Yea, tho' these Two Kingdoms are straitly united in Covenant, yet these who have carried on this War did not only neglect to desire a Treaty

(p) *Wt. July 1648.* A Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the present Dangers of Religion, and especially the Unlawful Engagement in War, &c. In the Acts of the General Assembly p. 388.

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ty; but also slight an offer of a Treaty made from the Parliament of England, upon the Propositions of both Kingdoms.

The Committee of Estates of Parliament made and publish'd some few observations upon the Declaration of the General Assembly, and they reply to what has been offer'd from that Declaration, in these Words, (p. 5.)⁶ To the third, because *there hath been no Treaty*, That is denied, because our Commissioners did for a long time represent Wrongs, and seek Reparation, as is mention'd in their Papers given unto the Parliament of *England*, and approv'd in this Parliament; also a Messenger with our just and necessary Demands, was sent to their Houses in *April* last; yet, by the Prevalency of *Secularies*, no Satisfaction is return'd thereunto.

The Commissioners of the General Assembly *August* 15. 1648. publish'd their answer to the *Observations of the Committee of Estates*, wherein they defend the Assembly's Declaration against the *Engagement*; and in answer to that exception of the Committee of Estates which I have recited, they say (p. 12, 13.)

The Argument in the Assembly's Declaration was to this sense: Whatsoever Engagement in War is undertaken without first essaying the lawful, possible and ordinary Means of preventing Bloodshed, is unlawful and sinful: But the present Engagement is such; Therefore, &c. 'Tis to be observ'd that their Lordships do not deny the Proposition, but only the Assumption of this Argument; The Reasons of their Denial are two, 1. Because the Commissioners at *London* did represent Wrongs and seek Reparation. 2. Because a Messenger was sent with the Demands of the Parliament of this Kingdom to the Kingdom of *England*. But here 'tis not to be forgotten, that neither the Commissioners at *London*, nor the Messenger here meant or did make known to the Parliament of *England* the breaches found & declar'd by the Parliament of this Kingdom in their Declaration to the Kingdom concerning the Grounds and Causes of the present Engagement. How could it then be suppos'd that all the Means of preventing Bloodshed were sufficiently essay'd, seeing the very Grounds and Causes of the War found by the Parliament of this kingdom, were not so much as made known to the Parliament of *England*, that their answer thereunto might be heard; and whether there is some other Mystery in the not making known those Breaches to the Parliament of *England*, time may peradventure discover

cover. 2. Their Lordships are pleas'd here to pass in silence that which seem'd most strange to the General Assembly, that the offer of a Treaty upon the Propositions of both Kingdoms being made by the Parliament of *England*, was YET SLIGHTED and not embrac'd by the Parliament of this Kingdom. 3. Was not the Town of *Berwick* seized upon (which Act now their Lordships own in this Paper of their *Observations*) before the Messenger was sent with the demands to the *Houses of Parliament*? from all which laid together, it will quickly appear that *this Engagement* was undertaken *without first Essay'ing these Amicable and Peaceable ways, which might and ought to have been used for preventing of Blood-shed.*

The SECOND head of reasons I propos'd to insist upon for showing the unlawfulness of that *Engagement*, is taken from this; because, *as matters then stood*, it was dangerous to the Interest of Religion; which the Assembly in the above-mentioned Declaration express thus
p. 386, 387.

The Wars of God's People, are called the *Wars of the Lord*, *Numb. 21, 14 2 Chron. 20. 15.* And if our Eating and Drinking, much more our engaging in War, must be for God and his *Glorry*; *1 Cor. 10. 31. Whatsoever we do in Word or Deed, we are commanded to do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus*, and so for his *Glory*, *Col. 3. 17. The Kingdom of God and the Righteousness thereof is to be sought in the first place, and before all other things, Matth. 6. 33.* It was the best Flower and Garland in the former Expeditions of this Nation, that they were for God and for Religion Principally and Mainly. But if the Principal end of this present Engagement were for the Glory of God, how comes it to pass that *not so much as one* of the desires of the *Kirk*, for the Safety and Security of Religion in the said Engagement, is to this day satisfied or granted? but on the contrary, such Courses taken as are destructive to Religion. And if God's Glory be intended, what meancth the *employing* and *protecting* in this Army so many *Blasphemers, Persecutors of Piety, disturbers of Divine Worship, and others Guilty of Notorious and crying Sins*? Again how can it be pretended that the Good of Religion is principally aimed at, when it is propos'd and declared that the King's Majesty shall be brought to some of his Houses in or near *London*, with Honour, Freedom and Safety, *before ever there be any Security had from him, or so much as any Application made*

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‘ made to him for the Good of Religion? What is this but to Postpone
 ‘ the Honour of God, the Liberties of the Gospel, the Safety of God’s
 ‘ People to an Human Interest, and to leave Religion in a condition
 ‘ of uncertainty, unsetledness & hazard, while it is strongly endeavor’d
 ‘ to settle and make sure some what else?’

The Committee of Estates of Parliament in *their Observations &c.* reply
 to the above reasons in the following words p. 2, 3. ‘ We Answer, by
 ‘ acknowledging & believing that all the Wars of the People of God,
 ‘ shou’d be the Wars of God undertaken at the Command of these who
 ‘ have lawful Authority under God, as were the Wars by the Command
 ‘ of *Moses, Joshua, the Judges and Kings of Judah,* And as undertak-
 ‘ en by Warrant from Gods Vicegerents, so for an honest Cause,
 ‘ for the Glory of God: But whereas it is assumed that this En-
 ‘ gagement is not such, we deny it, because it hath the Warrant of
 ‘ Lawful Authority, The Estates of Parliament; and the Cause be-
 ‘ ing honest to do a duty Commanded of God to our Prince, *God is*
 ‘ *Glorified by doing that duty,* The relieving of our King out of Pri-
 ‘ son is a duty, *John 18. 36. If my Kingdom,* says our Lord, *were*
 ‘ *of this world, then wou’d my servants fight that I shou’d not be deliver-*
 ‘ *ed to the Jews,* Our Lord suppones it was a common duty, that
 ‘ Subjects shou’d fight to prevent the Captivity of their King, And if
 ‘ a war be lawful to prevent Captivity, is it not Lawful to deliver
 ‘ him from that base Captivity; are we less obliged in duty to our
 ‘ Native Prince, than *Abraham* to his kinsman *Lot*? who engaged
 ‘ in a war for rescuing him, notwithstanding *Lot* had associated
 ‘ himself in war with Wicked Men, the *Sodomites.* Gen. 14. Are
 ‘ we less obliged than *David* and his Associates to their Captive
 ‘ wives, who engaged in war for their freedom, *1 Sam. 30.?*

‘ As for the Duty of honor, for performance whereof we have en-
 ‘ gaged our selves, We believe it is a duty commanded by God
 ‘ himself in the *fifth* Commandment, *Prov. 24. 22. 1 Pet. 2. 16, 17.*
 ‘ We are forbidden to use our Christian Liberty as a Cloak of Malici-
 ‘ ousness, for withholding or withdrawing duty. Yea *Pagans* by the
 ‘ light of Nature, reading the Law of Nature, which is from the
 ‘ God of Nature, do use all honor to their Kings. Yea, holy *Sa-*
 ‘ *muel* undoubtedly Zealous of Gods Honor notwithstanding he knew
 ‘ certainly by Divine Revelation, that God had rejected *Saul,* yet
 ‘ honored him before the People. *1 Sam. 15, 30, 31.*

But let us hear the Defences made against the above Exception by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, August 15th. 1648, Wherein they say p. 3, &c.

‘ The substance of the Argument used by the Assembly was this, ‘ In all Lawful Wars of the People of God, the end principally intended and driven at, is that wherein the Glory of God is chiefly concerned : But in *this present War*, the end principally intended and driven at, is not that wherein the Glory of God is chiefly concern’d ; Therefore ’tis not a Lawful War of the People of God. Their Lordships do not deny the proposition of the Argument : ——— ‘ As to that which their Lordships say concerning the Assumption of the Assemblys Argument, we *Answer* 1st, Their Lordships say nothing to it as it stands in the Assemblys Declaration with the Proofs thereof, but passing all this they form another Assumption which they deny, and bring some reason for their denial of it. The Assembly did clearly prove in their Declaration, that the end principally intended and driven at in this Engagement is not that wherein the Glory of God is chiefly concern’d ; and this was proved by the Parliament’s not satisfying of the desires of the Kirk concerning the safety and security of Religion. ——— But all this their Lordships are pleas’d to *pass in silence* ; And, *as if* the Assembly had *denied* all duty to the King, they go about to prove, that ’tis a duty incumbent on Subjects to undertake a War for his Majesties freedom and honour (we know not why their Lordships omit his safety.) And several Texts of Scripture are cited by their Lordships to this end ; Whereas they touch not the point in Controversy, *viz.* ‘ Whether *Religion being in so great danger by his Majesties Opposition thereunto*, it be the Subjects duty to make War for his Majesties Freedom and Honour, *before Security sought and had from him for Religion.*

‘ 2. Their Lordships instead of weakning the Assemblys first Argument, do indeed add no small strength to it ; For while they are answering that very Argument which Challengeth the neglect of the Glory of God, and of Religion in this Engagement, they mention *nothing of Religion*, but only the King’s Freedom and Honour as the Cause of undertaking the present War.

‘ 3. ‘ The Kirk of Scotland hath *ever been*, and is most willing to *resent any Injuries* done to his Majesty, and to perform every duty

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for his Majesties Freedom and Honour in the Right Way and Order; that is, giving to God in the *first Place* what is God's: But it hath not been the mind of *Kirk or State* in this Land to make War for his Majesty in an *Absolute Way*, and without *any Qualification*, or to the Detriment and Hurt of Religion. For in the Year 1643, this Kingdom was Solicited with his Majesty to undertake War for him, but because he was engaged in a course against Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, therefore all giving of Assistance to him was Declin'd, although at that time the Kingdoms were not joined in Covenant: How much less is it the Subjects Duty, after such a Covenant and after so much Bloodshed by the means of his Majesties opposing the Covenant and Reformation, and his Majesties adhering still to his former Principles, yet notwithstanding of all this, to engage in a War for him, and to espouse his Quarrel *before Security desired and had from him for Religion.*

4. The three Scriptures alledged by their Lordships *John 18. 36. Gen. 14. and 1. Sam. 30.* do in no wise help their Cause, or Militate against the *Assemblies Argument*; For there are four great differences which will Marr the Application of those Scriptures to the present Engagement in War. 1st, *Christ's* cause against the *Jews*, *Lot's* Cause against the 4 Kings, who had taken away him and his goods; *David* and his Men, their Cause against the *Amalekites* who had taken their Wives Captive, was without Controversy a good and honest Cause, and no wise to the prejudice of Religion. 2. The Instruments and Managers were without Exception. 3. The Parties to be relieved were also without exception, so far as can be known from Scripture, 4. None of the three Texts cited by their Lordships doth hold forth a War undertaken for a human Interest, with *neglecting and postponing* the Glory of God, and therefore come not home to the point of the *Assemblies Argument*. When their Lordships shall prove *their Cause to be as good*, the Managers and Parties to be *as much without exception*, the Glory of God to be *as little neglected* in this Engagement, as in the example Cited; then may their Lordships apply those Scriptures in reference to this Engagement, but not otherwise. 5. Whatsoever be the Duty of Subjects towards the relief of their King, which in the *due order* and *Subordination* to the Glory of God and Security of Religion, is *not denied*, we cannot see how the Text *John 18. 36.* proveth it: seeing that Scripture holdeth forth a common Custom of the World, rather

rather than a duty of Subjects, and sheweth what Men us'd to do, rather than what they ought to do. And this Sense may be plainly drawn from the Text it self, *If my Kingdom were of this World, that is, as the Kingdoms of this World are, and use to be, then would my Servants fight for me*: Least of all was it our Lord's meaning to allow fighting, and making War in a Cause prejudicial and hurtful to Religion. And whereas their Lordships say in their next Citation, that *Lot had Associate himself in War with wicked Men the Sodomites*: As hereby they Tacitly intimate the Lawfulness of Association in War with Men as wicked as the *Sodomites*, so we shall humbly beseech their Lordships to observe here how necessary it is for their Lordships to search more accurately into these Scripture-Arguments, for there is *no such thing* in the Scripture as is cited in their Observations. We read indeed of *Abraham's* (not *Lot's*) Confederacy with *Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre*; but that these three were either Idolaters, or wicked Men is more than can be prov'd. 6. The following Paragraph is as wide from the point, proving what no body denies, *viz.* the duty of Honoring Kings. We wish their Lordships may seriously ponder two things join'd with this duty in the first Text cited by themselves, one is *fear God* and this is put in the first place, another is, *meddle not with them that are given to Change*: whereby we are warned that under colour of doing for the Honour of Kings, we may not join with those who fall off from the Cause and Ways of God.

To press any duty concerning the King's Honour, with the neglect or prejudice of the Honour of God, is indeed to *use Liberty as a Cloak of Maliciousness*; so that this falleth back upon them who charge it without Cause upon others. The Text *1 Sam. 15. 30, 31*. Is no better applyed, For when *Samuel* yielded to Honour *Saul* before the People, and to turn again with him, It was upon his Confession and acknowledgment of his sin, and withal, *Saul* was so honored before the people that *Agag* was cut in pieces.

To illustrate this Argument, all the Circumstances hinted by the Assembly and their Commissioners must be taken into the Account. The Kings Aversion to their Constitution, his former practices against it and against the Liberties of their Country, the effects of his evil Counsellors upon his Royal Judgment, the Oppression they had groan'd under formerly by the *Scots* Bishops, of which *Clarendon* and *Burnet* give a clear account, which the Reader will find in the fol-

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lowing Chapter of this Book ; his refusing to give them *any sufficient Security* against the like evils for the future ; all the Countenance he gave and confirm'd to give to *profest Papists*, of which I have given a short Narrative in this Chapter, his countenancing and designing to employ so many thousands of Papists out of all the three Kingdoms for carrying on *this very Engagement* ; besides the barbarous Highlanders and those of the *Scots Nation* who had but lately before this carried on a Civil War in *Scotland*, to the ruin and destruction of many good people, and who were *all to be employ'd* in this Engagement. Compare all these things duly, and they strengthen the Assemblies Argument, for proving that as *matters then stood*, that *Engagement* was dangerous to the Interest of Religion.

For if we consider the Temper and Disposition of *these Engagers*, we may argue thus : we must suppose that either they would overcome the Forces of the Parliament of *England*, or be overcome by them : If the first, then what must the three Kingdoms have expected, but the repeating of all these Miseries and Grievances, they had lain under during this whole Reign. The King was not then come to any Terms with his Parliament in *England*, and had he in *these Circumstances* entirely routed their Forces, what cou'd all the Assertors of the Liberty of their Country have expected, but that both Religion and Liberty wou'd have been in a worse Condition, than they were in at the Commencement of the Civil War ? and all the struggles of the Church of *Scotland* for her just Rights & Constitution must have ended in the utter ruin and subversion of the whole. On the other hand, shou'd these Engagers be overcome by the *English Forces* (as eventually they were) then the *Power* of the *Seſtaries* must be advanced, *disorders* both in Church and State must be multiply'd every day, Monarchy must be exchange'd for *Usurpation* and *Anarchy* ; and *Religion* be succeeded by *Enthusiasm* and all the wild Errors of *Seſtarian Frenzie*. We know that all this happen'd accordingly, and that the Engagers instead of doing service to the King, hastened his ruin (though not designed by them) and brought a flood of Calamities upon their Country ; whereas had they first treated with the Parliament of *England*, and insisted on farther Security for their Religion from the King, *all true Friends* of Religion, Monarchy, and Liberty, would have united upon that foot against the *Seſtaries* ; that Scheme (by the Blessing of God) might have afforded them some Rational Pro-

spect of serving both their King and Country, and the Church of Scotland would have most cheerfully and cordially concurr'd with it.

The third Head of Reasons I propos'd to insist upon for shewing the unlawfulness of *this Engagement*, was because 'twas carry'd on by *unlawful Means*. What these unlawful Means were, the Assembly discovers to us in these Words (q) ' The Engagement is carry'd on by such Means and Ways, as *tend to the destroying of Religion*, by enflaming and forcing the Consciences of the People of God with *unlawful Bands and Oaths*, and oppressing the Persons and Estates of such as have been *most active and Zealous for Religion* and the Covenant. All which is strengthen'd and Authoriz'd by Acts of Parliament, appointing that all that do not obey, or persuade others not to obey the Resolutions of Parliament and Committee aient this Engagement, or who shall not subscribe the Act and Declaration of the 10. June, 1648. impos'd upon all the Subjects, shall be holden as Enemies to the Cause and to Religion, and have their Persons secur'd, and their Estates intromitted with.

The General Assembly enlarge farther upon this Head (r) in these Words, ——— ' Which Subscription the Assembly cannot otherwise look upon, than as a snare for the People of God to involve them in Guiltiness, ——— For that Subscription were an *approving of some Acts of Parliament*, which they have *never yet seen nor known*, they not being all publish'd. ——— were an acknowledging of this present Engagement in War, in all the Means and Ways for promoting the same, to be the most fit and necessary Remedies of the by-gone and present Evils; whereas so many Petitions to the Parliament, from Committees of War, Synods, Presbyteries and Parishes have made it appear, that they are no way satisfy'd therewith in point of Conscience; ——— were an approving of an Act made for the *restraining the Liberty of Printing* from the Kirk, yea and of all the Acts of the Committee of Estates, to be made in time coming, till March 1650; which by Act of Parliament are ordain'd to be obey'd; were an allowing of acts for securing of the Persons

(q) *vide* the Assembly's Answer to the Paper sent from the Committee of Estates of the 24th of July 1648. in the Acts of the General Assembly p. 375. (r) *Ibid.* p. 376. &c.

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sons, and introuetting with the Estates, of such as themselves shall not obey, or persuade others not to obey Resolutions concerning *this Engagement*, and for *protecting Persons* under Kirk-Censures, & so an *infringing and violating of the Liberties and Discipline of the Kirk* Establish'd by the Laws of the Land, and sworn to in the National Covenant to be defended, under the pains contain'd in the Law of God. And in all these, such as do subscribe, do bind themselves not only to active Obedience in their own Persons, but to the urging of Active Obedience upon all others, and so draw upon *themselves all the Guiltiness and sad Consequences* of the present Engagement;

I don't find that the *Committee of Estates* have taken any Notice of this Objection in *their Observations*, nor can I imagine what can be answer'd to it. Upon the whole, I wou'd humbly recommend it to the Reader to compare the *three Heads* of Reasons against this Engagement, which I have extracted from the Papers of the Assembly and their Commissioners, and by which he'll perceive the Opposition made to it by the Church of *Scotland* was not founded upon the *least Disloyalty* to their Prince, but upon the *Sinfulness* of the Engagement it self.

The Assembly did not actually excommunicate Duke *Hamilton* and his whole Army, for engaging in this Expedition, as our Author alleges p. 7. But what they did was this; first the Commissioners of the Assembly of 1648. did by their Acts of the 6th of *October* and 4th of *December* that Year, appoint Church Censures to be inflicted on those who had been concern'd in that Engagement, in order to bring them to Repentance. And the following Assembly of *July 26. 1649.* approv'd what these Commissioners had done, and farther appointed such of the Engagers as remain'd Obstinate and Impenitent, after due Process in the Ecclesiastical Judicatories, to be *excommunicated*. But this differs much from the Account our Author gives of that Affair. And tho' it shou'd be granted that the Assembly carry'd the matter of their Censure *too high*, that wou'd infer nothing against their Loyalty. I won't take it upon me to determine whether the Extravagancies, Rapine, Oppression, and many Outrages committed by many of the rude Soldiers that went on that Engagement, did not justify *the highest Censure*; or whether the Assembly being highly provok'd, did not make their Act a little too general, without making all the necessary Distinctions, and taking all suitable Precaution to pre-

vent the Excommunication of some who might be concern'd in this Engagement from Principles of Conscience tho' misinform'd, and tho' they might persist in that Error of their Judgment.

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Shou'd it be granted, that their *Act* had some unguarded Expressions in it, and which if not Moderated a little in the Execution might bear too hard upon some Men otherwise Sober and Inoffensive, which is the most that can be made of it; all this amounts to no more, than that it was *somewhat of the Rigor* or Discipline; which is very much extenuated from the Intolerable Oppression and Miseries, which were brought on their Country, by that sinful *ill advis'd Expedition*.

But the THIRD and GREAT Crime objected against *Presbyterians* under this Reign, is the Murther of K. *Charles I.* They acknowledge this to be one of the blackest and foulest Pieces of Villany, but on good grounds deny themselves to be in the least guilty of that barbarous Regicide. Our Author says (p. 11) 'I think it needless for me to mention any of the Words of K. *Charles I.* his Injuries and Blood cry louder than the noise of Thunder' The greater the Crime any Person or Party stands charg'd with, the fuller ought the Proof to be: but our Author is so far from observing this Rule, that tho' this be the most heinous and odious Crime he impeaches *Presbyterians* of in all his Pamphlet, and which they all deny to a Man; he has not thought fit to oblige his Reader with one single Evidence of their Guilt, unless *Salmasius's* fable (mention'd by him p. 17) may deserve that name.

'If a Robber (*says he i. e. Salmasius*) surprizing a Traveller in a Wood shou'd disarm him, rob him, strip him, & tye him to a Tree, & a wild Beast of the Forest, coming upon him thus bound shou'd fall upon him, tear him in Pieces, and devour him, which of these properly speaking, wou'd be the cause of this Man's Death?' Our Author applies this fable thus. 'Tis most certain (*says he*) that the *Independents* were actually the Murderers of King *Charles I.* but 'tis as certain, that the *Presbyterians* first murdered him in his Political Capacity, as a Prelude to the Murder of his Person; they compell'd him to give up all his Power to them, and then did, as *Dugdale* observes, worse than Murder him in the manner and Circumstances of his confinement, before the *Independents* pull'd them out of the Saddle, and forc'd the King out of their hands. And were the actual Executioners of that *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Presbyterians* had in effect condemn'd.

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Hence let the Reader observe that our Author has fairly acquitted the *Presbyterians* from being the Actual Murderers of *K. Charles 1.* The *Seſtaries* who all ſhelter'd themſelves under the name of *Independents* (tho of quite different Principles from the ſober Party of that Denomination) were the true Criminals. He likewiſe confeſſeth that *theſe* pull'd the *Presbyterians* out of the Saddle, and forc'd the King out of their hands; which plainly ſhows that they cou'd not have compaſs'd the King's Ruine and the Subverſion of Monarchy, but upon the Ruines of the *Presbyterian* Intereſt; and that the *Presbyterians* did not deliver the King into the hands of the *Seſtaries*, but he was forc'd out of their hands, and themſelves pull'd out of the Saddle to make way for that fatal Violence upon his Royal Perſon.

How the *Long Parliament* was by Military force turn'd into the *Rump*, and reduc'd to a ſmall Party of Factious Members, who in Concert with the Army hatch'd that barbarous Tragedy, is ſo univerſally atteſted by Hiſtorians of all ſides, that he muſt be altogether unacquainted with thoſe times who do's not know it. For the Parliament, who propos'd no other end in their War than to keep the Prerogative within it's juſt Limits, and preſerve the Nations from the unjuſt Invaſions had been made upon them by evil Counſellors, under Color of Royal Authority, having upon a Treaty obtain'd ſuch Conceſſions from the King as they voted ſatisfactory for the ground of a Treaty, were proceeding to accompliſh that great and Noble work, until the Sectarian Party in the Army (that then had conquer'd the Commanding part of it) ſubverted and overturn'd all: The Members (ſays *Coke* (f)) met upon the fiſt of *December* (viz. 1648) and vote the King's Conceſſions to be a ſufficient ground for Peace. And then adjourn for a Week, but when the Members were to meet again, they found all the Avenues to the *House* beſet with *Soldiers*; who exclude all, which were not of their Faction, from entering the *House*; which were not one fourth part, and make the Reſidue Priſoners. So FAREWEL PRESBYTERY &c.

My Lord *Clarendon* not only recites the ſame Story at great length, bus tells us how barbarouſly this *Military Rump* treated the Members they

(f) Detect. part 1. p. 413.

they excluded by the Army (*t*), and yet after all they met with a brisk Opposition by some who had got in notwithstanding of the Guards; and therefore they were resolv'd to prevent the like again, and suffer none of the excluded Members to sit until the Vote they had pass'd in their Absence (*viz.* for Declaring the King's Concessions unsatisfactory, contrary to their former Resolution) were subscrib'd by them: ' And that they might find no more such Contradiction hereafter (*says he Ibid.*) They committed to several Prisons ' Major-General *Brown* (tho' he was then Sheriff of *London*) Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massej*, and Com- ' m. Army-General *Copley*, who were the *MOST ACTIVE Members in* ' *the House of the PRESBYTERIAN PARTY.*

Let any Man of Common sense Judge from hence, whether the Presbyterians were the Constituent Members of the *Rump*: for if they had, why shou'd Presbytery have been oppos'd by them? Why shou'd they have imprison'd the *most Active of the Presbyterian Members*? And why shou'd Presbyterians give always so much Opposition to the *Rump*, and all their Proceedings? And yet 'twas this very *Rump*, that erected the pretended High-Court of Justice for trying the King. The Excluded Members Print a Protestation against the Proceedings of the *Rump* as void and null in themselves, for which they were persecuted by 'em.

And the Reader may judge whether a *Rump* from which the Presbyterians were excluded, wou'd appoint Presbyterians Judges to try the King; or whether Presbyterians were fit Tools for executing that Voluntary which they had with so much danger and Prejudice to themselves oppos'd; let the Characters of all the King's Judges be try'd, many of whom were the chief Sectarian Officers of the Army, who had given Birth to the whole, and then let us see whether they were Presbyterians or no.

While they are proceeding to the King's Tryal, the Presbyterians protest against it. *Bates* giving an Account of that Tryal says

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(u) 'In

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(u) ' In the mean time Opposition is given to it by almost all the
 ' *Presbyterian Ministers* of the City of London, and by many more out
 ' of many Provinces, and even by some of the Independents, in their
 ' Sermons from the Pulpit, *Confessions, Letters of Admonition, Sup-*
 ' *plications, Protestations, and Remonstrances* publish'd to the World.
 ' They obtest 'em, that they wou'd not embrew their Hands and
 ' involve the Kingdom in the Guilt of the Royal Blood, against the
 ' tremendous Obligations of so many Oaths, against the Public and Pri-
 ' vate Faith confirm'd with Declarations and Promises, against the
 ' Laws of Nations, and the Sacred Dictates of the Holy Scripture and
 ' Religion; and against the profit of the Common-wealth.

I shall here insert some Parts of three of those *Remonstrances* or
Declarations of the Presbyterians, adducing one out of each Kingdom,
 from which the Reader may judge of the rest. For *England*, let the
 following part of a *Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and a-*
bout LONDON, from the unjust *Aspersions* cast upon their former *Actings*
 for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to *Ca-*
pital Punishment &c. be duly consider'd.

When we first did engage with the Parliament, (which
 we did not till call'd thereunto) we did it with *Loyal Hearts* and
 Affection towards the King and his Posterity; not intending the least
 hurt to his Person, but to stop his Party from doing farther hurt to
 the Kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to Justice (as some now
 speak) but to put him into a better Capacity to do Justice: To remove
 the Wicked from before him, that his Throne might be establish'd in
 Righteousness; not to Dethrone and Destroy him, which (we much
 fear) is the ready way to the destruction of all his Kingdoms.

That which put any of us on at first to appear for the Parlia-
 ment was, The Propositions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in
 Parliament (June 10. 1642.) for bringing in of Mony and Plate
 &c. Wherein they assure us, that whatsoever shou'd be brought
 in

(u) vide Elench. p. 11. ' Reclamant interea Ministri Præbyteriani, Londinenses
 fere omnes, et ex plurimis Provinciis plures, imo ex Independencium partibus
 nonnulli, Concionibus e suggestis, Colloquiis. Literis Monitionis, Libellis Suppli-
 cibus, Protestationibus et Remonstrantibus publice divulgatis. Obtestantur, ne
 contra

in thereupon, shou'd not at all be employ'd upon any other Occasion than to maintain *The Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, his Person and his Royal Dignity, the free Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any force which shall oppose them.*

And in this we were daily confirm'd and encourag'd more and more, by their many subsequent Declarations and Protestations, which we held our selves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and Conscientious Men, of Public Spirits, zealously promoting the Common Good, and laboring to free this Kingdom from *Tyranny and Slavery*, which some *evil Instruments* about the King *endeavor'd* to bring upon the Nation.

As for the present Actings at *Westminster*, since the time that so many of the Members were, by force, secluded, divers imprison'd and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons, (& there not being that Conjunction of the two Houses as heretofore) we are **WHOLLY UNSATISFY'D** therein, because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient Authority, as that, in our Apprehensions, they tend to an Actual Alteration (if not Subversion) of that which the Honorable *House of Commons*, in their Declaration of April 17. 1646. have taught us to call *the fundamentall Constitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which they therein assure us, (if we understand them) they wou'd never alter.

Yea, we held our selves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, that we verily believe that which is now so much fear'd to be in Agitation, *the taking away the Life of the King*, in the present way of Tryal, is not only, *not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, (never as yet stain'd with THE LEAST DROP OF THE BLOOD OF A KING)* or the **FUN-**

I i 2

DAMEN-

contra tot juramentorum horrendas Obligaciones, contra fidem publicam, privatam, Declarationibus, Pellicitationibus Communitariam, contra leges Civitatis, contra Sacra scripturae & Religionis sanctiora Decretalia, imo contra Republicae Utilitatem manus suas & Regnum Cruore Regio commaculant, Secuti per Delegatos facta Protestatione contra nituntur.

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‘ *FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTION* of this Kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the *Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of May 5. 1641. and the Solemn League and Covenant*; From all which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth, able to absolve us or others. —————

‘ Therefore, according to that our Covenant, we do in the name of the Great God, (to whom all must give a strict Account) WARN and EXHORT ALL who either more immediately belong to our respective Charges, or any way depend on our Ministry, or to whom we have administr’d the said Covenant (that we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly provoking sin of Perjury) to keep close to the Ways of God, and Rules of Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their constant maintaining the true Reform’d Religion, the Fundamental Constitution, and Government of this Kingdom, (not suffering themselves to be seduc’d from it, by being drawn into subscribe the late *Models, or Agreement of the People*; Declar’d by both Houses (for the Substance of it) to be *destructive to the being of Parliaments and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, in December 1647. yea condemn’d heretofore by the General, and his Council of War*) ————— And to pray, ——— that God wou’d restrain the Violence of Men, that they *MAY NOT DARE to draw up on themselves and the Kingdom the BLOOD OF THEIR SOVEREIGN.*

The Commissioners of *Scotland* entred their Protestation against the King’s Tryal and Murder, the following part whereof I shall here insert, ——— ‘ We understand, that after many Members of the House of Commons have been imprison’d and secluded; and also without, and against the Consent of the house of Peers, by a single Act of yours alone; Power is given to certain Persons of your own Number of the Army, and some others to proceed against his Majesty’s Person; in order thereunto, he was brought upon *Saturday* last in the afternoon, before this *new Extraordinary Court*; Wherefore we do in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their Vindication from false *Aspersions and Calumnies*; Declare, that tho’ they are not satisfy’d with his Majesty’s Concessions in the late Treaty at *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in the Matters of Religion, and are resolv’d not to crave his Restitution

to his Government, before Satisfaction be given by him to his Kingdoms, yet they do all UNANIMOUSLY WITH ONE VOICE (*not one Member excepted*) disclaim the least knowledge of, or accession to the late Proceedings of the army now against his Majesty; and sincerely protest, that 'twould be a great Grief to their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see their trusting of his Majesty's Person, to the Honorable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to be made use of to his Ruine so far contrary to the Declar'd Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the Kingdom of *England*, and to the end it may be manifest to the World, how much they abominate and detest so horrid a Design against his Majesty's Person; We do in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, hereby declare *THEIR DISSENT* from the said Proceedings, and *THE TAKING AWAY HIS MAJESTY'S LIFE*: and Protest, that as they are altogether free from the same, so they may be free from all Evils, Miseries, Confusions, and Calamities that may follow thereupon to these distracted Kingdoms.

January 22. 1649.

Lothian.

Fo. Chiefly.

Will am Glendonrig

Besides the above Protestation in Name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, the General Assembly of that Church, in their Letter to King *Charles 2*, dated August 6. 1649. fully and feelingly express'd their Detestation of the barbarous Murder of his Royal Father; The Letter it self will be inserted at large in the next Chapter; to which the Reader is refer'd.

As for *Ireland*, the Presbytery of *Belfast* read in their several Pulpits a Paper which they had fram'd Feb. 15. 1649. Intitul'd, *a necessary Representation of the present Evils and Imminent Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, arising from the late and present Practices of the Sectarian Party in ENGLAND and their Abettors*; the following part whereof I shall here transcribe, — 'Again it's more than manifest, that they seek not the *Vindication*, but *Extirpation* of Laws and Liberties; as appears by their *seizing* upon the *Person* of the King; and at their Pleasure *removing* him from place to place, not only without the

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Consent (if we mistake not) but against a direct Ordinance of Parliament; Their violent surprizing, imprisoning and secluding many of the most Worthy Members of the Honorable House of Commons; directly against the declar'd Privilege of Parliament; an Action certainly without a Parallel in any age, and their Purposes of Abolishing all Parliamentary Power for the future, and establishing a *Representative*, as they call it, instead thereof.

Neither hath their fury stopt here, but *without all Rule or Example*, being but private Men, have proceeded to the Tryal of the King; against both the Interest and Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the former public Declarations of both Kingdoms; and (besides their violent haste, rejecting any Defences) with *Cruel Hands they put him to Death*: An Act so HORRIBLE, as no HIS TORY DIVINE or HUMAN, ever had a PRECEDENT of the like.

These and other Detestable Insolencies may abundantly convince every unbiass'd Judgment, that the present Practices of the Sectaries and their Abettors do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; root out all Lawful and Supreme Magistracy (the just Privileges whereof we have Sworn to maintain) and introduce a fearful Confusion and Lawless Anarchy.

When we seriously consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our Dislike and Detestation of such *Unwarrantable Practices* directly subverting our Covenant, Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and as Watchmen seriously to warn all the Lovers of Truth, and the well affected to the Covenant, carefully to avoid Compliance with, or not bearing Witness against such horrid Insolencies; lest partaking with them in their Sins, they be also Partaker with them in their Plagues.

The Representation of the Presbytery of *Belfast* had been adduc'd by the Author of the *Parallel* to prove the Innocence of the Dissenters in *Ireland*; to which our Author makes a very singular Reply, such as I believe, few but himself wou'd have thought of; 'There were also says he p. 17) in the very same Year several more made in *England* and *Scotland*, by the Presbyterians to the very same purpose, and with as great Virulency against the *Sectaries* in *England* for their Proceedings, and particularly for their Murdering the King. But I can by no means conclude with that Author, that the *Presbytery of Belfast's* Disclaiming that Fact and Railing at the *Sectaries*, is

any Argument at all for their not being concern'd in the Councils of those Times. Because the same Argument is full as strong for the Presbyterians of Scotland and England, who in the very same Year made their Representation to King Charles II. to the very same purpose; ——— Thus it is evident, That the Presbyterians thro' the three Kingdoms did with one voice loudly Declaim against the Sectaries, as Authors of the King's Murder.

If by the Councils of those times our Author means the Councils for Murdering the King and the Subversion of Monarchy; the Argument fully proves that neither the Presbyterians of England, Scotland, nor Ireland were concerned in them; but that they all oppos'd 'em to the utmost of their Power. But if he means the Councils us'd in the Parliament's defensive war against the King, that's nothing to the Purpose; for it was never pretended that the Presbyterians were not concern'd in these Councils, for they own it, and look'd upon their concern in those Councils to be lawful and Justifiable for the Reasons above mentioned; indeed the Presbyterians in Ireland had other work to do, than to embroil themselves in the Debates between the King and Parliament; for while the greatest heat arose and was a carrying on in England between the Royalists and Parliamentarians; the Presbyterians in Ireland had the Bloody Irish Rebels to fight against: and were willing to take assistance from either the King's or Parliament's Forces against the Common Enemy; and this is the Reason of that assertion of the author of the Parallel which our author do's so much mistake and quarrel with, viz. that the Dissenters in Ireland were left as a Sanctuary, to which the Duke of Ormond and the Royal Party retreated &c. Against this assertion he produceth the Declaration of the Presbytery of Bngor, anno 1649 Remonstrating against the Duke of Ormond and my Lord of Airds their taking Commission from King Charles 2d (of which afterwards) which is quite another case and does not in the least disprove what the Author of the Parallel intended; for he speaks of the Assistance given by the Presbyterians in Ireland to Ormond and the Royal Party against the Irish, in the time of King Charles 1.

The Author of the Parallel had alledged Milton's abusing the Presbytery of Belfast for their Representation, as a farther confirmation of their Innocence, and our Author gives the same Reply to it as to the former, viz. that Milton abus'd the Scots Assembly as much as he

did

Part 2.

did them (p. 118); and is not that still a good Proof of his looking on the *Assembly* and *them* too to be Enemies to the *Rump* and their Proceedings against the *King*?

Our Author, with a design probably to invalidate these Arguments, seems to please himself with a Quotation of *Dugdale*, whom he introduceth speaking thus, (p. 17.) ‘ I cannot deny but as soon as this hellish Murder was committed, many of the *Presbyterians* did loudly ‘ D. F. him against it, seeming as much to wash their hands of the guilt ‘ as *Pilate* did, from the Death of our Saviour.’ ’Tis plain from the above Accounts that the *Presbyterians* oppos’d the first Projects of this hellish Murder, and therefore ’tis base in any to offer to insinuate the contrary; and seeing they did not Sentence the King to Death, as *Pilate* did our Saviour, but with *all their might* oppos’d his being brought to Tryal, the Comparison is too odious to be made or countenanc’d by any Christian, or Man of knowledge. If then the *Presbyterians* must be *excluded* the Parliament, before the King’s Judges cou’d be appointed, if the King’s Judges were not *Presbyterians*, and if the *Presbyterians* had *no hand* in the Sentence against the King nor its Execution; but did openly and *boldly remonstrate* against every step that was taken to effect that horrid Murder, when Prisons, Reproaches, and ruine were all the Reward they cou’d expect from the furious Army and Party that Govern’d those hellish Councils: can any thing but either the height of Malice, or the greatest of Ignorance, persist in such scandalous and unchristian Libels to arraign their untainted Innocence?

But, says our Author, (p. 18) ‘ The *Presbyterians* first murdered ‘ him in his political Capacity, as a prelude to the murder of his ‘ Person.’ Our Author after his usual manner thinks it wou’d affront the self-evidence of his *Magisterial* assertions, to vouchsafe the least additional Proof in this case. The Kings *Political Capacity* is his Capacity of ruling his Subjects, and protecting them in their Religion, Liberty, and Property, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, which do at once limit his *Prerogative* and provide for their *Security*. Now if his evil Counsellors persuaded him to encroach upon Religion and the Liberty of the subject, contrary to the Fundamental Laws, and to stretch his *Prerogative* beyond the Laws (as I have fully proved they did) then it was THEY and not the PRESBYTERIANS, who Murdered him in his political Capacity. If the

the *Papists* and *High-flyers* under *Buckingham*, *Laud* and the Heads of that Faction, put the King out of capacity of ruling in the hearts of his Subjects, and protecting them in what the Laws gave them a right to, by advancing Arbitrary Government, and making way through all the Barriers of the Public safety and good of the Subject; they, and their Successors who abett their principles must account for that Murder, which none but themselves Committed, and which all sober Protestants of both Communions; *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian*, always oppos'd. As to the Kings Imprisonment, the General Assembly in their Declaration in *July 28th 1648*, express'd their Dissatisfaction with it: Let the Reader peruse their own words which I have transcrib'd. (p. 228) The Presbytery of *Belfast*, in their Representation (which I have inserted p. 245, 246.) did likewise declare against it, & it was known to have been the Act and Deed only of the *Sectarian Party*, and therefore it is very unfairly charg'd by our Author upon the Presbyterians.

Part 2.



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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King CHARLES II.

I Shall consider this Reign. 1. From its beginning *Anno 1648*, to the *Restoration, Anno 1660.* and 2dly from thence to its Conclusion.

During the first Period, the Presbyterians are charg'd by our Author with great Disloyalty in their opposing the King's Authority; Commission and Restoration: to support the charge, he adduceth a Declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor in Ireland, July 7th 1649.* Of all the Accusations and Arguments used against Dissenters in either of his Letters, this of the *Bangor-Declaration* is set off with the *greatest Noise, hardest Words and loudest Triumph.* He has not thought fit to insert it with his Marginal Observations upon it in that place of his first Letter, where according to the Order of time it came naturally to be consider'd *viz.* in the beginning of this Reign; but Subjoins it to the whole Letter, that the Reader may take his leave of him, full of this rare discovery; for which he must be prepared by the *distinguishing* manner wherein 'tis introduc'd in the Title-Page, and some quotations from it and reflections upon 'em with which that Letter is stuff'd For of 22 Pages (which are the whole) 5 *viz.* the 12th, 15th, 16th, 19th, and 20th refer to it, with such abusive Language as is scarce *Justifiable* even when one Speaks
Truth

Truth, but far less when one do's so unluckily stumble into bold mistakes.

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He thinks this Declaration such an uncontested evidence of Disloyalty, as effectually relates that part of the Address of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland to the Queen Anno 1708, which Asserts *their Untainted Loyalty in all turns of Government to have been the natural consequence of their known Principles*, for which he represents them to be Men that will stick at nothing to gain a point, amusing the World with Gross and Palpable misrepresentations; calls it *a refin'd piece of Assurance, and a gross Imposition upon the Queen and all Mankind*, p. 16. Shou'd our Author think fit to give us the Definition of a notorious Knave or Villain, cou'd he give it in more severe and harsh Terms than those he has bestowed so Liberally upon the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland? What Knave can be greater than he that will stick at nothing to gain a point? In his second Letter he Repeats his Invectives against this Declaration and the Presbytery who made it, in divers places, they are no less than *Insidious Tongues and Pens* in his Account, p. 7.

He is so very fond of Magnifying the crime of this Declaration and three Petitions from the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland to the General Assembly of Scotland before the year 1648 (which have been already considered) that to gain that point he has destroyed the greater part of both his Letters, and by his own Confession fully acquitted the Presbyterians of any other Disloyalty than what may be infer'd from the aforesaid Declaration and Petition: his words are these, p. 2. ' And the truth is, had it not been for those ' declarations, and for what records the Kirk of Scotland hath pre- ' served of the Kirk of Ireland, her younger Sister that hath no breasts, ' she might have pass'd with us now for that *Virgo intacta*, that Un- ' tainted Virgin in her Loyalty which they represent her ' Now these Declarations he mentions are that of *Dango*, and that of my Lord of *Airds*; as appears evidently by the Preceding Paragraph, and these records (as his Marginal Notes shew) of the Kirk of Ireland preserv'd by the Kirk of Scotland, are the aforesaid 3 Petitions. Hereupon one wou'd think that our Author might and shou'd have spared his pains in drawing up a Libel against Presbyterian Loyalty in a great many particulars that have not the least relation to these Declarations and Petitions; for if the Kirk of Ireland (as he's pleas'd to

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term Presbyterians there) might have pass'd for an untainted Virgin in her Loyalty, had it not been for the Declarations and Petitions, for what reason could she pass for such unless it be for this, because their can be nothing else said against her Loyalty but what is grounded upon these Declarations and Petitions? if she can be justly taxed with any Disloyalty in other points, then what our Author has Advanced here is not true; and if she cannot, then we must lay aside the rest of his Lites as groundless and calumnious.

But to come to the Declaration it self, I shall endeavor to set the whole matter in a clear light by enquiring into 4 things, *1st*, The occasion and scope of this Declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor*, that we may see against what and against whom it was level'd. *2ly*, The Reasons which are offer'd in the Declaration it self to justify it. *3ly*, The Demonstrative evidences we have of the Loyalty of the Presbytery who fram'd it, and of all the other Presbyterians, from the Murder of King *Charles* the first to the Reibauration of his Son & the Royal Family, *4ly*, The Objections of our Author against it.

As to the first, viz. The occasion and scope of this Declaration, that we may see against what and against whom it was level'd; we must look back into the latter part of the former unhappy Reign, wherein we'll find the Posture of Affairs in *Ireland* to have been thus. Upon the breaking out of the *Irish* Rebellion *October* 23^d, 1641. the then Lord justices of *Ireland*, finding that the Protestant Forces in that Kingdom were unable to make head against the Enemy, wrote Importunately to *England* for a speedy supply of Men, Money, and Arms, to oppose the Rebels, and particularly propos'd that in regard the *Scots* cou'd be more easily transported over to the North of *Ireland* than the *English*, Methods might be taken to bring forces from *Scotland* to their Assistance; whereupon, Articles and Propositions were assented to by King *Charles* 1st and the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, for transporting 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland*, to fight against the bloody *Irish*. By the third of these Articles it is provided 'that they have the command and keeping of the Town and Castle of *Carrickfergus*, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their Quarters, and to go abroad in the Country upon such occasions, as their officers in their discretion shall think Expedient for

‘ for the good of that Kingdom. And if it shall be thought fit, that any Regiments or Troops in that province shall join with them, that they receive orders from the Commanders of their Forces. ’ see *Husband's Collections* p. 57. Part 2.

In pursuance of which Articles, 10000 of the *Seats* went into *Ireland* and were possess'd of *Carrickfergus* as their Head Quarters; the several Regiments brought over their Ministers alongst with them, who being of the Presbyterian Persuasion did associate for the exercise of Discipline; and such ministers of the same Persuasion as then remain'd in the Kingdom join'd with them and founded a Presbytery which met at *Carrickfergus*, July 10th in the Year 1642. And this was that very Presbytery which fram'd the Representation at *Belfast*, Feb. 15th, 1648 against the Murder of King *Charles I.*, and the *Scottish* counties, and who also fram'd the Declaration at *Bangor*, now under consideration. This Presbytery received Applications from such places of the Country as were of their Persuasion, and Planted Ministers in divers Congregations, and many of the Gentlemen of the Country fell in with them, of whom the Lord Viscount of *Airds* was one, and the Lord Viscount *Claneboy*, another. Both these noble Lords show'd an early Zeal for the Interest of the Presbytery. For on the 19th day of July 1642 (which was but nine Days after their first meeting) My Lord of *Airds* sent Captain *Mc Gill* to the Presbytery then met at *Carrickfergus* with a Message to them, promising that HE WOULD JOYN WITH THEM IN DISCIPLINE; and my Lord *Claneboy* writ 'em a Letter, deliver'd the very same day, and giving the same assurance for himself as my Lord of *Airds* had done by his Message.

After the Civil War broke out in *England* between the King and Parliament, the *British* Protestants then in *Ireland*, as well Inhabitants as Auxiliaries who came to defend them, begun to consider which side they would take Part with: And here it must be own'd, the Presbyterians were generally in the Interest of the Parliament, and those of the *Episcopal* Communion were as generally on the King's side: But for divers Years, these Parties in *Ireland* did not engage against one another; but were employed against the common Enemy, the *Irish* Rebels. But tho' those in *Ireland* who took part with the King (the Head of whom was the Noble Marquis of *Ormond*) did not for divers Years commit any Open Acts of Hostility against the *Parliamentarians* there, yet they did several things that were very disgusting and

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and prejudicial to them: the chief whereof was their *repeated Attempt* of a coalition with the *Irish*; which produc'd a *Cessation* concluded with them in 1643, and a peace in 1646, and another in 1648. The Design of the Marquiss was to have carried over into *England* a good number of the *Irish*, to strengthen the King's Forces against the Parliament. The Parliament of *England* taking the Alarm from this intended *Irish* Invasion, began to put their Party in *Ireland* upon Methods to prevent it. Their Commissioners were Active against *Ormond's* Party; and the *Irish* proving treacherous to him in breaking the Articles of the Cessation and Peace in 1646, he was not able to make a stand against the *Parliamentarian* Forces, and so had no choice left him, but one of two *viz*: whether he would submit to the *Irish* or to the *Parliamentarians*; and he, like a wise and an honest Man, prefer'd the latter, who gave him honourable Terms: upon which he left 'em in possession of *Dublin*, and went for *England*, Anno 1647. After he had been in *France*, and taken the best advice he cou'd for retrieving the King's Affairs, he returns into *England*, enters into a concert with some of the *Scots* Commissioners that they should raise Forces in *Scotland* and he in *Ireland*, and that both should meet in *England* and joyn the King there: According to which Plan, the *Scots* went into *England* under Duke *Hamilton's* Command, the fate whereof is known, and the Marquiss Lands in *Ireland* in September 1648, presently sets on Foot a New Treaty with the *Irish*, but cou'd not bring it to a conclusion before the 17th of *January*, and then it was too late for his purpose; for the King was Murder'd the 30th of the same Month. Altho' as the fatal News of the King's Death came to *Ireland*, every Party began to exert themselves according to their several Principles.

The Marquiss of *Ormond* makes an Essay to bring his *New Confederates* into the Interest of the young King; but *Owen Ro O'Neill* having refused to submit to the Peace, exceedingly *embarrass'd* his Affairs and perplexed all his Measures. The Party that Commanded for the *Rump* in *England* adhered to their *Measures*, and would by no means incorporate with him and the *Irish*; the *Scots* Forces refus'd to joyn with him too, tho' they were *strenuous Assertors* of Monarchy. The *Presbytery* emits their Representation of the 15th of *February*, and endeavor to bring sir *Charles Coote* into their Measures, but in vain, as appears by his Answer to the *Presbytery* dated *March 7th*, publish'd in *Burles's* History, p. 207.

They Treat with Collore! *Monk* in *April*, but with small Satisfaction, the Treaty with him was Managed by a Meeting, which consisted of three Sorts of constituent Members, viz. the chief Officers of the Army, call'd, the *Council of War*: Some Gentlemen in Name of the Country, call'd, the *Committee of the Country*, and a *Committee of the Presbytery*. These 3 join'd their Councils and conferr'd together about the Demands to be insisted on, and the Answers to be given to Collore! *Monk*. The Propositions of this Joint Meeting, and *Monk's* Answers can all be produc'd, with which I shan't trouble the Reader any farther than as they relate to the Affair in hand. He refus'd to quit the Interest of the *Kump*, upon which the Treaty broke off.

Having seriously consider'd what they were oblig'd in conscience and Interest to do, they concluded IO A MAN to adhere to *Monarchy*, and particularly to assert the Title of *King Charles II.*, as their lawful Sovereign and natural Prince; and were deliberating about the Choice of a Commissioner to be sent to him: but in the mean time, they considered that he had all alongst asserted his Fathers cause in the Civil War, seem'd yet to pursue the same measures, & therefore they look'd upon him as being *Materially in a State of war* with his Subjects. And they were for waiting for the issue of the *Scots* treating with him, before they wou'd put themselves entirely in his hands; especially considering that all who declar'd for his coming to the immediate and full exercise of his Regal power in *Ireland*, had submitted to a *dishonorable* and *dangerous peace* with the *Irish* destructive of Religion and property, and that they must fall in with that peace, if they declar'd for the *immediate* and *full exercise* of his Regal power. In all which conclusions the Lord of *Airas* joined with them in Letters to their friends in the *Lagan* and other parts of the Kingdom, to persuade 'em to adhere to the said declaration; notwithstanding whereof the said Lord took a commission from the King to be Chief Commander of the Forces in *Ulster*, to obey the Marquis of *Ormond*, and incorporate his forces with the *Irish* Rebels.

The Presbytery being surpriz'd at this sudden and unexpected change, fram'd their Declaration at *Bangor*, for preventing the Mischievous consequences which they apprehended might ensue, to the destruction of Religion and Liberty, from the execution of that Commission which My Lord of *Airds* had taken from King *Charles 2^d*, and from the peoples submitting to the peace in 1648, and incorpo-

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rating with the *Irish* Rebels. In the Declaration it self you have the Narrative and occasion which is short, and gives a general hint of these things I have mention'd, sufficiently intelligible to these who were then alive, and who knew the History of their own times ; but I thought it necessary to explain it, by the above-account, to those who live at *such a Distance* from the times when these affairs were transacted.

After they had represented the evil tendency of that Commission and of the Marquis of *Ormond's* Peace with the *Irish*, they declare themselves in these words ' All these things make clear as the beams of the Sun, the unlawfulness of his Authority by such a Commission &c. For this cause as the *Ambassadors of Christ*, we beseech our people in his stead not to join hands with *such a Cause*, or to Meddle with them who are given to change, and particularly we charge all who have renewed the Covenant, and have entred into a Declaration of the Army and Country, not to join in executing such a Commission, by taking charge in the Army under the present command, or *-serving* them either as *Officers* or *Soldiers* &c. We do also in the Name of Jesus Christ warn the people of our charge to keep themselves free from all compliance with their ungodly courts, either by speaking favorably of them, acknowledging the Authority of the present command under the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Lord of *Ards*, by imposing of Cess upon others for maintaining their unlawful power, or by constant obeying their orders, in paying Cess unto their Army &c.

2dly, I shall consider the Reasons offer'd in the Declaration it self to justify it. And these are reducible to two heads ; 1st, The Equity and Justice of the long Parliament's Defensive War against King *Charles 1.* 2dly, the Illegality and Pernicious Consequences of the *Articles of peace* with the *Irish* Rebels in 1648.

As to the *first*, I must remit the Reader to the reasons formerly given from p. 169 to p. 224, for justifying the Parliament and those who sided with them in that war ; which I there represented, together with the reasons on the other hand ; leaving the Reader to form a judgment without giving my own opinion in that matter : All I have to do here, is to shew that the same Reasons were of equal force to justify the *Rangor-Declaration*, and that the *Declarations* went upon the same foundation, upon which the *Long Parliam-*

men justified their *defensive Arms*, which will appear by considering the following paragraph in the Declaration. ' For the first difference (*say they*) between the King and his people was touching his *Absolute and unlimited power in Civil things*, and his Adherence to Precedence and Maintaining their power, for which both our late Sovereign and his Majesty who now is did raise arms against their Subjects, & to this day that same quarrel is avouched & owned by his Majesty, and all his Commissions tend to the bringing him to that power, which was justly denied to his Royal Father. Part 2.

If it was just to oppose the *illegal and Arbitrary Methods* of the preceding Reign, can any body blame those who demanded some *reasonable Security* from the young King, against their being drawn into a *Precedent* in his Reign; especially, considering that he himself had acted a part in those things, which (they apprehended) did justify their resisting his Father by force of Arms. The *Long Parliament* was carrying on a Treaty with his Father in the Isle of *Wight*, and had brought Matters to a bearing, so as to afford them a prospect of a lasting and honourable Peace, until the *Seſtarian Party* over-turned all, and destroyed both King and Parliament. Now, it was the Sense of the Presbytery and of those who adhered to them, that the New King ought in all Reason to have given his Subjects that Satisfaction as to have assur'd them, he wou'd make good at least the substance of his Father's Concessions, which if he refused to do, they cou'd not but look upon themselves and the rest of the subjects to be just under the *same Pressures and Difficulties* under him as under his Royal Father; and consequently, that as they thought the Commissions granted by his Father, while in a State of War with his People, for subduing them and their Liberties, were *void* and not *Obligatory*, so they concluded that the Commissions granted by the Son, while in the same Circumstances and for the same ends, were also void, and might be lawfully disobey'd. And such were the Commissions granted to the Marquis of *Oxford* and Lord of *Airds*: Which is plain from what my Lord of *Airds* says in his Declaration; *viz.* That the King's Commission did ever procure *reſiſt and obediēce* until the worst of Times; by which he meant those who disobey'd the Commissions of King *Charles I.* during the Civil War: And this makes it plain, that he accepted this Commission from King *Charles II.* on the same Terms and Principles with those who accepted Commissions

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from his Royal Father while at War with his People; and therefore the former might be as lawfully Disregarded as the latter, seeing the Commissions of *R. Charles 2.* were founded upon the *same Principles* and promoted the *same designs* with those granted by his Father during the War, which proves the young King to be Materially in a State of War against all those with whom his Father had been at War.

What exceedingly strengthens the Argument is, that King *Charles 2d* being a young Prince under the Influence of evil Counsellors who had ruin'd his Father, might (if he had come to the *immediate and full exercise* of his Regal Power, without any *previous Articles* with his People) have carried his Resentments so far against those who Manag'd the War against his Father and Himself, as to have destroyed a Multitude of his *best Subjects*, enslaved *all the rest*, and exceeded his Father in Arbitrary Power, instead of Correcting and Amending the Errors of his Reign. When the fear of all this was so well grounded, and his Commissions went upon a Foot that tended to bring it to pass, the great Law of Self-preservation will go very far to justify the Presbtery's Declaring against such Commissions, which were so full of Danger to the public safety.

Let the second period of this Reign, *viz.* from his Restauration to his Death (of which afterwards) be a witness for Presbyterians, from whence all wise men who love Religion and Liberty may be judges, whether the Presbyterians had not good reason to insist upon the King's providing reasonably for both, before he shou'd have *all thrown at his Mercy*. Let the *Popish Plot*, *Popish Councils*, *Popish Succession*, and *Encroachments* on Liberty, which were all supported by the Court, Declare whether it had not been better for *Britain & Ireland* that they had Insisted (as Presbyterians wou'd have had 'em) upon such terms with the young King, as wou'd have secur'd them against all those Mischiefs.

The *second* reason offer'd in the Declaration, to justify it, is founded upon the *Illegality and pernicious tendency* of the Articles of the Peace made with the *Irish Rebels* in 1648: for speaking of the Lord of *Air's* Commissions, they say 'it is to receive commands from the Marquis of *Ormonde* &c. who hath made a peace with the Rebels distinctively to Religion; unto which peace the Lord of *Air's* contrary to his many professions and subscriptions has now join'd himself.

Now.

Now if this Peace was illegal, destructive to Religion, Liberty, and Property; then *all Commissions* to support this Peace, and incorporate with the *Irish Rebels* according to the Articles thereof were of themselves null and void; and therefore might lawfully without the least infringement of Loyalty and Duty be oppos'd and resist'd: but such were the Commissions granted to the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord of *Airds*. Part 2.

To illustrate this Argument, 'twill be necessary to lay before the Reader all the Articles of this peace, they are to be found at large in *Cox's History appendix 43*; and abridg'd in *Burlace, page 205*. and because there are divers things in the Articles at large which are not so much as hinted at, or but darkly express'd in *Burlace's* abridgment, I have transcrib'd such of 'em at large out of *Cox*, as are most Material for enlightning the present debate; and as to the rest, have contented my self with *Burlace's* abridgment. Those transcrib'd out of *Cox* have this mark † prefix'd to them.

The Articles of the Peace. 1648.

1. **T**hat the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* have free exercise of Religion, all penalties taken off, not oblig'd to the Oath of Supremacy, to ENJOY ALL CHURCHES AND CHURCH-LIVINGS THEY HAVE IN PRESENT POSSESSION, and the exercise of Jurisdiction therein.

† 2. *Item.* 'tis concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said Kings, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, that a free Parliament shall be held in this Kingdom within six months after the date of these Articles of Peace, or as soon after as *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costalough* Lord President of *Connaught*, *Donnogh Lord viscount Muskery*, *Francis Lord Baron of Athenry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell Esq.* *Sir Lucas Dillon* Knight, *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Knight, *Sir Richard Barmenall* Baronet, *Jerry Browne*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neale*, *Ailes Reily*, and *Gerrald Fennel* Esquires, or the Major part of them will desire the same, so that by possibility it may be held, and that in the meantime, and until the Articles of these presents, agreed to be pass'd in Parliament, be accordingly pass'd, the same SHALL BE INVOL-

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' LABLY OBSERV'D as to the matters therein contain'd, as if they
 ' were ensted in Parliament; And that in case a Parliament be not
 ' call'd and held in this Kingdom within two years next after the
 ' date of these Articles of Peace, then his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant,
 ' or other his Majesty's chief Governor or Governors of this King-
 ' dom for the time being, will, at the request of the said *Thomas*
 ' Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or the major part of them, call a Ge-
 ' neral Assembly of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom,
 ' to attend upon the said Lord Lieutenant, or other his Majesty's
 ' chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, in
 ' some convenient place for the better settling of the affairs of the
 ' Kingdom; and his further concluded, accorded and agreed by and
 ' between the said Parties, that all matters that by these Articles
 ' are agreed upon to be pass'd in Parliament, shall be transmitted
 ' into *England*, according to the usual form, to be pass'd in the
 ' said Parliament, and that the said Acts so agreed upon, and so to
 ' be pass'd, shall receive no disjunction or alteration here, or in *England*;
 ' Provided that nothing shall be concluded by both, or either of the
 ' said Houses of Parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of
 ' his Majesty's Protestant Party, or their Adherents, or to his Ma-
 ' jesty's *Roman-Catholic* Subjects, or their adherents, other than such
 ' things as upon this treaty are concluded to be done, or such things
 ' as may be proper for the Committee of Privileges of either or both
 ' Houses to take Cognizance of, as in such cases heretofore hath been
 ' accustomed, and other than such matters as his Majesty will be gra-
 ' ciously pleas'd to declare his further pleasure in, to be pass'd in
 ' Parliament for the satisfaction of his Subjects, and other than such
 ' things as shall be propounded to either or both Houses by his Ma-
 ' jesty's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of
 ' this Kingdom for the time being, during the said Parliament,
 ' for the advancement of his Majesty's Services, and the peace of the
 ' Kingdom; which clause is to admit no construction which may trench
 ' up on the Articles of Peace, or any of 'em; and that both Houses of
 ' Parliament may consider what they shall think convenient touching
 ' the Repeal or Suspension of the Statute commonly call'd *Poyning's*
 ' Act, Entail'd, *And that no Parliament be holden in that land un-
 ' til the Acts be certified into England.*

3. That ALL LAWS made in the Parliament of *England* since

‘ since 1641. in blemish of the Catholicks, are at the next Parliament
 ‘ to be VACATED. Part 2.

4. ‘ ALL INDICTMENTS against any Catholicks since 1641.
 ‘ be VACATED. LW

† 5. ‘ *Item*, It is likewise concluded, accorded & agreed, and his Ma-
 ‘ jesty is graciously pleas’d, that as soon as possible may be, ALL
 ‘ IMPEDIMENTS which may hinder the said Roman Catholicks
 ‘ to SIT OR VOTE IN THE NEXT INTENDED PARLIA-
 ‘ MENT, or to choose, or to be chosen Knights, and Bargeffs,
 ‘ to sit or vote there, shall be REMOVED, and that BEFORE
 ‘ the said Parliament.

6. ‘ All Debts to remain as they were February 8. 1641, Not-
 ‘ withstanding any Attainder.

7. ‘ The Estates of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of
 ‘ Connaght, Clare, Thomond, Limerick, and Tipperary, be secur’d by
 ‘ an Act.

† 8. ‘ *Item*, It is further concluded &c that ALL INCAPA-
 ‘ CITIES impos’d upon the natives of this Kingdom or any of them,
 ‘ as Natives, by any act of Parliament, Provisos in Patents or o-
 ‘ therwise, be TAKEN AWAY by act to be passed in the said Par-
 ‘ liament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more Inns
 ‘ of Court in or near the City of Dublin or elsewhere, as shall be
 ‘ thought fit by his Majesty’s Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Govern-
 ‘ nor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being-----

----- And that his Majesty’s Roman-Catholick Subjects
 ‘ may erect and keep Free-schools for Education of Youths in this
 ‘ Kingdom, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and
 ‘ that all the matters assented unto in this Article be passed as Acts
 ‘ of Parliament in the said next Parliament.

† 9. ‘ *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That places of command,
 ‘ honor, profit and trust in his Majesty’s Armies in this Kingdom
 ‘ shall be UPON PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES actual-
 ‘ ly and by particular Instances conferr’d upon his Roman-Catholick
 ‘ Subjects of this Kingdom, and that upon the Distribution confer-
 ‘ ring and disposing of the places of Command, honor, profit, and
 ‘ trust in his Majesty’s Army in this Kingdom, for the future no
 ‘ DIFFERENCE shall be made between the said Roman-Catholicks,
 ‘ and other his Majesty’s Subjects. But that such Distribution shall be
 ‘ be

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be made with *equal indifferency* according to their respective merits and abilities; and that all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom, as well Roman Catholicks as others, may for his Majesties service, and their own security, *arm themselves the best they may*, wherein they shall have all *fitting Encouragement*; and 'tis further concluded &c. That *places of Command, honour, profit, and trust in the Civil Government* in this Kingdom, shall be upon passing of the bills in these Articles mention'd in the next Parliament, actually and by particular instances *conferr'd upon his Majesties Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom*, and that in the Distribution, conferring and disposing of the places of Command, honour, profit and trust, in the Civil Government; for the future, **NO DIFFERENCE SHALL BE MADE** between the said Roman-Catholicks, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such Distribution shall be made with *equal indifferencies*, according to their respective merits and abilities, and that in the Distribution of Ministerial offices or places which now are, or hereafter shall be void in this Kingdom, *equality shall be us'd* to the Roman-Catholick Natives of this Kingdom, as to other his Majesties Subjects; and that the *Command of Forts, Castles, Garrisons, Towns, and other places of Importance in this Kingdom*, shall be coⁿferr'd upon his Majesties Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom **UPON PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES** actually and by particular instances, and that in the distribution conferring and disposing of the Forts, Garrisons, Towns, and other places of importance in this Kingdom, **NO DIFFERENCE** shall be made between his Majesties Roman-Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with *equal indifferencies*, according to their respective merits and abilities: And that until full settlement in Parliament, *fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand and five hundred horse of the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom* shall be of the **STANDING ARMY** of this Kingdom: and that until full settlement in Parliament as aforesaid, the Lord Lieutenant or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon, &c.* or any seven or more of them, shall **DISMISS OR ADD** unto the said number, as they shall see cause from time to time.

15^c That the King take 12000 pound per Annum in lieu of the Court of Wards. Part. 2.

11^c No Noblemen to have more Proxies than two in parliament, and all blanks to be null.

12^c That the depending of the Parliament of Ireland upon England, shall be as both shall agree and stand with the Laws of Ireland.

13^c That the Council-Table meddle only with Matters of State.

14^c That all Acts forbidding the Transport of Wool, be null'd by the next Parliament.

15^c That if any have been wrong'd by Grants from King JAMES, or since, they may Petition, and have relief in Parliament.

16^c That divers particular Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who have been (as they conceive) wrong'd, shall now be righted.

17^c That all who had their Estates taken from them in *Cork, Troughal & Dungarvan*, have Restoration or Rent.

† 18. *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That an Act of Oblivion be pass in the next Parliament, to extend to all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom, and their adherents, of ALL TREASONS and Offences, CAPITAL, CRIMINAL and PERSONAL, and other Offences of what Nature, kind or quality soever, in such manner as if those Treasons or Offences had never been committed, perpetrated or done; That the said Act do extend to the Heirs, Children, Kindred, Executors, Administrators, Wives, Widows, Dowagers, or Assigns of such of the said Subjects and their Adherents, who Died on, before, or since the 23^d of October 1641. That the said Act do relate to the first day of the next Parliament, that the said Act do extend to all Bodies Politick and CORPORATE, and their RESPECTIVE SUCCESSORS, & unto all Cities, Boroughs, Counties, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Tithings, and every of them w^{it}h in this Kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the said Offences, or any other Offence or Offences, in them, or any of them committed, or done by his Majesties said Subjects or their Adherents, or any of them, before, in or since the 23^d of Octob. 1641.----

19. That no Officer of Eminency in Ireland farm the Customs.

20. An Act to pass against Monopolists.

21. That the Court of *Castle-Chamber* be regulated.

22. That the Acts for prohibiting Plowing with Horses by the Tails, and Burning Oats in the Straw, be null.

23. An Act for taking off the Grievances of the Kingdom.

† 24. *Item*, It is further concluded &c. That Maritime Causes may

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may be determin'd in this Kingdom, without driving of Merchants or others to *Appeal and seek Justice elsewhere*; and if it shall fall out that there be Cause of an Appeal, the Party griev'd is to Appeal to his Majesty in the Chancery of *Ireland*, and the Sentence thereupon to be given by the Delegates, to be Definitive and not to be questioned upon any further Appeal except it be in the Parliament of this Kingdom, if the Parliament shall then be sitting, *otherwise not*; this to be by Act of Parliament, and until the said Parliament, the Admiralty and Maritime Causes shall be Order'd, and settled by the said Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor, or Governors of this Kingdom for the Time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them.

25. That no Rents be rais'd upon the Subjects, under pretence of defective Titles.

26. That Interest-Money be forgiven from 1641.

27. *Item* It is further concluded &c. That IMMEDIATELY UPON PERFECTION OF THESE ARTICLES, the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. shall be Authoriz'd by the said Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, Hear, Determine, and Execute, in and throughout this Kingdom, the *ensuing particulars*, and all the *matters thereupon depending*, and that such Authority, and other the Authorities hereafter mention'd shall remain of Force without *revocation, alteration, or diminution*, UNTIL ACTS OF PARLIAMENT BE PASSED, according to the purpose and intent of these Articles, and that in case of Death, Misfortune, Disability to serve, by reason of sickness or otherwise of any the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor, or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, shall Name and Authorize another in the place of such as shall be so Dead, or shall misfortune himself, or be so Disabled, and that the same shall be such Person, as SHALL BE ALLOW'D OF by the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them then living.

And that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall have POWER TO APPOINT, Raise, and Levy means, with indifferency and equality by way of excise or otherwise, upon *all his Majesty's Subjects within the said Kingdom*, their persons, Estates & Goods, towards the maintenance of such Army

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or armies, as shall be thought fit to continue, and be in pay for his Majesty's Service, the defence of the Kingdom, and other the necessary public charges thereof, and towards the maintenance of the Forts, Castles, Garrisons and towns of both, or either party, other than such of the said Forts, Garrisons, and Castles, as from time to time, until there shall be a Settlement in Parliament, shall be thought fit, by his Majesty's chief Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, BY AND WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, not to be maintain'd at the charge of the public, provided that his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, be first made acquainted with such Taxes, Levies and Excises as shall be made, and the manner of Levying thereof, and that he approve the same; and to the end that such of the Protestant Party, as shall submit to the Peace may in the several Counties where any of their Estates lyeth, have equality and indifferency in the Assessments and Levies that shall concern their Estates in the said several Counties.

It is concluded &c. That in the Directions which shall issue to any such County, for the applotting, subdividing, and levying of the said public Assessments, some of the said Protestant Party shall be joyn'd with others of the Roman-Catholic Party to that purpose, and for effecting that Service; and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall have power to levy the Arrears of all Excises and other public Taxes impos'd by the Confederate Roman-Catholics and yet unpaid, and to CALL RECEIVERS and OTHER ACCOMPTANTS OF ALL FORMER TAXES, and ALL PUBLIC DUES, to a Just and Strict Account either by themselves, or by such as they or any seven or more of them shall name or appoint; and the said Lord Lieutenant or any other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, shall from time to time issue Commissions to such Person & Persons as shall be nam'd and appointed by the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them, for listing, setting and improving the Estates of all such Person or Persons, as shall adhere to any Party opposing his Majesty's Authority and not submitting to the Peace, and that the Profits of such Estates shall be converted by the said Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor,

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or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, to the Maintenance of the King's Army, and other necessary charges, until settlement by Parliament.

And that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall have Power to *APPLOT, RAISE and LEVY MEANS WITH INDIFFERENCY & EQUALITY* for the buying of Arms and Ammunition, and for the entertaining of Frigots in such Proportion as shall be thought fit by his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, *by and with the advice and consent* of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, the said Arms and Ammunition to be laid up in such Magazines and under the Charge of such Persons as shall be *agreed on*, by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them, and to be dispos'd of, and the said Frigots to be employ'd for his Majesties Service, and the public use and benefit of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have Power to *APPLOT, RAISE and LEVY MEANS* with Indifferency and Equality, by *way of excise or otherwise*, in the several Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of the Counties, now within the Quarters, and only upon the Estates of the said Confederate Roman-Catholics, *ALL SUCH SUM and SUMS OF MONEY AS SHALL APPEAR* to the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of 'em to be *really due for and in the discharge of the public Engagements of the said Confederate Catholics, INCURR'D OR GROWN DUE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THESE ARTICLES*; and that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall be *authoriz'd* to appoint *receivers, Collectors*, and all other Officers, for such Monies as shall be Asses'd, Taxed or Applotted, in pursuance of the *Auuthorities mention'd in this Article*; and for the *ARREARS OF ALL FORMER APPLOTMENTS, TAXES and other PUBLIC DUES YET UNPAID*; and that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c. or any seven or more of them, in case of refractoriness, or delinquency may *distrain by imprisonment*, and Cause such Delinquents to be *Distrain'd and Imprison'd*; and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or more of them, make perfect Books of all such Monies as shall be Applotted, Rais'd or Levied, out of which

‘ which Books they are to make severall and respective Abstracts to be
 ‘ deliver’d under their Hands, or the Hands of any seven or more of
 ‘ them to the severall and respective Collectors which shall be appointed
 ‘ to Levy and Receive the same. And that a Duplicate of the said
 ‘ Books under the Hands of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon* &c.
 ‘ or any seven or more of them, be deliver’d unto his Majesty’s Lord
 ‘ Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this King-
 ‘ dom for the time being, whereby a perfect Account may be given,
 ‘ and that the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon*, &c. or any seven or
 ‘ more of them, shall have POWER TO CALL the COUNCIL and
 ‘ CONGREGATION, and the RESPECTIVE SUPREME COUN-
 ‘ CILS, and Commissioners General, APPOINTED HITHERTO
 ‘ from time to time by the said Confederate Roman-Catholicks, to
 ‘ manage their public Affairs, and all other Persons accountable, to
 ‘ an Account for all their Receipts and Disbursements since the be-
 ‘ ginning of their Respective employments under the Confederate
 ‘ Roman-Catholicks.

28. ‘ The Commissioners for the Catholicks that treated, agree
 ‘ upon such as shall be Commissioners of the Peace, and hear all
 ‘ Causes under ten Pound.

29. ‘ That all Governors of Towns, Castles and Places, made by
 ‘ the King, be with the *Approbation of the Catholick Commissioners*.

30. ‘ That none of his Majesties Rents be paid, until a full settle-
 ‘ ment in Parliament.

31. That the Commissioners of *Oyer and Terminer* do try Murthers,
 ‘ Stealing, and all inferior Treispases of that Nature.

32. ‘ That hereafter such differences as shall arise between Subjects,
 ‘ be Determin’d by a Court in *Ireland*, not Transferr’d to *England*.

33. ‘ That the *Roman Clergy*, that behave themselves according to
 ‘ the Agreement, be not molested.

‘ Lastly, That his majesty please to Grant *WHATEVER ELSE*
 ‘ *IS NECESSARY FOR THE ROMAN-CATHOLICKS*.

The Impartial Protestant reader will need little more than the
 serious perusal of these Articles to convince him, of their being
Illegal and destructive to *Religion* and *Liberty*. For what law Di-
 vine or humane can justify the putting of *so much power* into the hands
 of those who had *Messacred* 200000 Protestants? shall so much in-
 nocent blood be shed, and *no Inquisition* made for it? was it no injury

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to the protestant Clergy nor illegal to grant the popish rebels *all Churches and Church-livings* they had then in possession (which were very considerable) and the *exercise of Jurisdiction* therein? must all acts of Parliament pass'd in *England* against the Roman-Catholics since 1641. be *repeal'd* in the next Parliament. and all indictments against them since 1641. be vacated, must all *Incapacities* impos'd upon the Natives by any act of Parliament, provisos in patents or otherwise be *taken off*, popish *Inns of Court* and popish *Free schools* erected? must 15000 foot and 2500 horse, *all papists*, be of the standing Army in *Ireland*, and all *Military Employments* be given with *Indifference* to Papists as well as Protestants *immediately upon perfecting these Articles*? Must the King be oblig'd to *ask and obtain* the consent of the popish Commissioners to *his Commissions* for the command of Forts, Castles, Garrisons, Towns, and other places of Importance and for *making* Justices of the peace? must the Papists (I say) have all these privileges granted them by a treaty and yet the protestant Religion be safe in *Ireland*? I confess, I think that he who can digest this Scheme so as to make it consistent with Religion, which it directly overthrows, must have a *peculiar skill in solving Contradictions*; an Art, which wise men in all ages have thought it reasonable to despair of.

It is observable, that these Articles are of 2 kinds. 1st, Such as promise the *Irish* Rebels great privileges, which they were to be possess'd of upon the passing of Acts of Parliament for that purpose. 2^dy, Such as grant 'em immunities and privileges to be enjoy'd by 'em *immediately upon the perfecting* of the said Articles.

In the first, the freedom and Privileges of Parliament are violated; while their power is so limited by the *second Article*, that there shall be *no disjunction or alteration* in *England* or *Ireland* with respect to what was concluded in this Treaty. To assume a power of obliging Parliaments, to pass acts for ratifying articles without the *least disjunction or alteration* is (to say no worse) a very large stretch of the Pre-rogative. If the Parliament themselves had been a party to the Articles, no doubt they had a power of promising to pass such Acts, but I don't find that our Constitution allows any person or persons a power of *binding* the Legislature without *their own consent*; and more especially to approve of Articles in their own *nature* destructive of Religion and Liberty.

But least the Rebels should be baulk'd in their expectations by a Pro-

Protestant Parliament in *Ireland*, that might refuse to enact these articles into a Law, the 5th Article provides that ‘ all Impediments which may hinder the said Roman-Catholics to sit or vote in the next intended Parliament or to choose, or to be chosen Knights and Burgesses to sit or vote there shall be removed, and that before the said Parliament.’ This gave them a moral assurance that the Majority in both Houses would be *popish* or *popishly affected*, and consequently that they must carry their point. For the Crown was oblig’d by the articles to give the Royal Assent, and now they are made sure of carrying it in the 2 Houses.

The *exorbitant* and *extraordinary* power to be put into the hands of the Rebels upon the passing of the articles, their vast superiority in numbers to the Protestants, being at least 8 to one, their having so great a *standing Army* of their own, and the Count on their side, cou’d not but give ’em a vast Interest in the Election of Members of Parliament; and all this was owing to these Articles of Peace, which for that reason must have had a pernicious tendency to corrupt the whole Legislature.

Among other powers granted to the Commissioners of the *Irish* Rebels, these contain’d in the 27th Article are very extraordinary being *no less than Parliamentary*, and to be justly reckon’d a high Invasion of the Liberty of the Subject. For the *Popish Commissioners* viz. ‘ The Lord Viscount Dillon &c or any seven or more of ’em have power to applot, raise and levy means with Indifferency and equality by way of Excise or otherwise upon all his Majesties subjects within the said Kingdom, their Persons, Estates and goods towards the Maintenance of such Army or Armies &c. And other the necessary Public charges thereof and towards the maintenance of Forts, Castles, Garrisons and Towns &c and for buying Arms and Ammunition and entertaining of Frigots &c.’ If the power of *granting Subsidies* to the Crown be not a *peculiar Parliamentary Right*, nothing is such: And if Money may be *Levy’d off the subject without his consent* in Parliament, I wou’d fain know what shadow of Liberty is left him. MAGNA CHARTA, the PETITION OF RIGHT, and all the FUNDAMENTAL LAWS of the Nation, are but meer Chimeras, if that practice be not *utterly illegal* and *unwarrantable*; and yet never any Parliament in *England*, or *Ireland* pretended to any more authority for levying Money off the Subject, than what is by this Article granted to the *Popish* Rebels.

And

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Another *Illegal* power, and of *dangerous consequence* is granted 'em by the said Article, viz. ' to levy Money by Excise or otherwise in the several Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of the Counties then in their quarters, and only upon the Estates of the said confederate *Roman-Catholicks*, *all such summ and summs of Money as shall appear* to the said Lord Dillon &c to be really due for and in discharge of the *public Engagements* of the said confederated *Roman-Catholicks*; *incurr'd or grown due before the conclusion of these Articles* &c. And to appoint Receivers, Collectors and all other officers for such Monies &c, and in case of refractoriness or delinquency to distrain and imprison the delinquents &c.'

That the Reader may be fully satisfied of the danger of this part of the Article, let him be pleas'd to consider that the *Irish* having by private and traiterous concerts begun their Massacre, *October 23^d*, 1641, Found themselves considerable enough *October 24th*, 1642. to meet in a *National and General Assembly* at *Kilkenny*; which continued till the *9th* day of *January* following, and substituted a Society with all the supreme powers of Royalty and Legislature, called, *The supreme Council of the Confederated Catholicks of Ireland*: which supreme Council manag'd all their Subsequent Rebellions, Treasons & Traiterous applications and propositions to the Pope and Foreign Popish Princes and States, for the enslaving the Nation, shaking off its dependance on the Crown of *England*, alienating it from the Royal Family, for the *establishment* of Popery, and the utter *Extirpation* of the Reformed Religion; for which purposes they laid on Taxes upon the Subject, to defray the charges of such Enterprizes; all which may be seen at large in the Histories of *Cox* (from p. 123 to p. 127 part 2. and Appendix 14) and *Burlace* (from p. 173 to p. 178) And to make all effectual they impos'd upon all the Roman-Catholic Confederates an Oath of Association, the last clause whereof is in these words (k) ' And for the preservation and strengthening of the association and Union of the Kingdom, that upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederated Catholicks, as aforesaid, I will to the utmost of my power Insist upon and maintain the ensuing Propositions, until a peace as aforesaid be made

(k) *Cox's* History part 2. Appendix 14.

made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of Peace, be ESTABLISHED and SECUR'D BY PARLIAMENT, So help me God.

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The Propositions mentioned in the aforesaid Oath.

1st, That the *Roman Catholics* both Clergy and Laity to their several Capacities, have free and public exercise of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion and Function throughout the Kingdom, in as FULL LUSTRE and SPLENDOR as it was in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7th, or any other Catholic Kings his Predecessors, Kings of *England* and Lords of *Ireland*, either in *Ireland* or *England*

2dly. That the Secular Clergy of *Ireland* (*viz.*) Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars and all other Pastors of the Secular Clergy, and their respective Successors, shall have and enjoy all and all manner of Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Immunities in AS FULL and AMPLE MANNER, as the *Roman-Catholic* Secular Clergy had or enjoyed the same within this Realm at any time, DURING THE REIGN of the late *Henry* 7th sometimes King of *England* and Lord of *Ireland*, any Law, Declaration of Law, statute, Power and Authority whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

3ly. That all Laws and Statutes made since the 20th Year of King *Henry* 8th, whereby any Restraint, Penalty, Mulct, Incapacity or Restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid upon any of the *Roman-Catholics*, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, for such the said free exercise of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion within this Kingdom, and of their several Functions, Jurisdictions, and Priviledges, may be Repealed, Revoked and DECLARED VOID, by one or more Acts of Parliament to be pass'd therein.

4ly. That all Primates, Archbishops; Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Treasurers, Chaunters, Provofts, Wardens of Collegiate Churches, Prebendaries and other Dignitaries, Parsons, Vicars, and other Pastors of the *Roman-Catholic* Secular Clergy and their respective Successors shall have hold and enjoy ALL CHURCHES and CHURCH-LIVINGS, in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant Clergy respectively enjoyed the same, on the first day of *October* in the Year of our Lord 1641. together with all the Profits, Emoluments

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laments, Perquisites, Libertics and the Rights to their respective Sees and Churches, belonging as well in all places, now in the Possession of the Confederate Catholics, as also in all other places that shall be recovered by the said Confederate Catholics from the Adverse Party within this Kingdom, saving to the Roman-Catholic Unity their Rights according to the Laws of the Land.

Upon comparing this piece of History with the Power granted the Rebels of *Raising Money upon the Estates of the Roman-Catholic Consecrates for all Sums due for and in Discharge of the public Engagements of that Supreme Council*, before the conclusion of these Articles, I will venture to make one Observation, which I believe will be allow'd to be very natural. It is this, That they had a Power Granted them to Raise Money become due for SUPPORTING THEIR FORMER REBELLIONS and Treasonable Designs and Practices, which I can't help thinking was a very *DANGEROUS ALLOWANCE*, not only because it gave too much Countenance to their former Bloody Councils; but because under the Notion of Raising Money due upon that Score, it gave them an opportunity of Raising Money to *Prosecute the same* Designs for the future; and 'tis very plain from the Propositions they had Sworn to, that it was no less than the utter ruin of the Reform'd Religion they had in view. They Swore to maintain *these* Propositions to the utmost of their Power, until the *Articles of Peace should be ratified in Parliament*; now, they must consider that either *these* Articles would be Ratify'd or Rejected in Parliament; if *Ratified*, then their raising Money, in the mean time might be of great Service to them to procure farther enlargement of their Privileges; and if their former Rebellion was so well rewarded by the present Articles, they might conclude that a New Attempt might give 'em their *heart's desire*, and finish the Scheme they had laid, and now they have got power of levying Money for it. If the Articles should be *rejected* in Parliament, they had the more need of Money to *Support* their Old Trade of *conspiring* against, and *Misssing* their Enemies: And under the Notion of calling the Supreme Council to an *Account of Disbursements* &c. the Popish Commissioners have really a Power of Calling them together for *consultation*, and for *Hatching new Mischiefs*.

What exceedingly strengthens this Observation is the first Clause of the same 27th Article in these Words, *viz.* That the said Lord Dil-
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lon &c shall be authoriz'd by the said Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, hear, determine and execute; in and throughout this Kingdom, the *ensuing particulars* and *all the matters thereupon depending*, and that *such Authority* and *other the Authorities* hereafter mentioned shall remain of force without *revocation, alteration or diminution*, until Acts of Parliament be pass'd according to the Import and intent of these articles' Now in case the Parliament should meet and reject the articles, here is directly a power by this Article to the popish Rebels to go on as they did before the making of these Articles; for it was an engagement in their National assembly, to maintain the above-propositions sworn to, *not until the articles of a Peace be considered in Parliament*, but **UNTIL THEY BE ENACTED AND RATIFIED** in Parliament. In that case Money becomes due by vertue of the said engagement, and here a power is given to raise it; and all these authorities of Levying Money continued, not only without but against the Authority of Parliament; and an Assembly erected formerly for PROMOTING Popery and Rebellion, now **CONTINUED BY A TREATY WITH THE CROWN.**

That the Rebels had this in View, is beyond Question, if we may rely upon what Cox offers us in his History (1) 'But it must not be forgotten, that the Confederates lay still upon the lurch, and in order to keep up their dominion and power, (notwithstanding the peace) they did on the 12th of January 1648. Make the following Order'

By the General Assembly.

'Whereas the Declaration of the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics, bearing date the 28th day of August 1645 and the explanation of the said General Assembly thereupon dated the 1st of September 1645. Did relate to a Settlement of Peace to be grounded on any Authority, from his Majesty as by the said Declaration and explanation thereupon more at large may appear, It is this day ordered and declared by this Assembly that the said Declaration and explanation shall **CONTINUE AND REMAIN** in full force, and be renewed as of this time, and have relation to **ALL ARTICLES** for a settlement agreed on as well by Authority from his Majesty as

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from

(1) part 2. p. 205.

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‘ from his Highness the Prince of *Wales* or both ; as if the said Declaration & Explanation had been now made to all intents ; Constitutions and purposes.

The Declaration refer'd to was made *August 28. 1645.* Upon the occasion of their treaty with *Glamorgan*, and in *Cox Ibid. p. 152.* in these words ; *The General Assembly order and declare that their Union and oath of association shall remain FIRM and INVIOLEABLE, and in full strength, in ALL POINTS and to all purposes until the articles of the intended Peace SHALL BE RATIFIED IN PARLIAMENT ; notwithstanding of any PROCLAMATION OF THE PEACE &c.* and on the first of *September* (says that Author) they explain this ‘ not to impart any thing inconsistent with the Peace, nor to breed ‘ an Interruption or Impediment of it but to further its performance.

‘ And tho’ this Declaration (notwithstanding any explanation they ‘ cou’d make of it) was *di metrically opp site* to the Nature and Design of a *Peace*, because *this* would reduce them to the Obedience and Condition of Subjects, and *that* wou’d still keep them up in the condition of a *separate state* ; yet there was a deeper *Intrigue* in this matter, *viz.* That if they would not part with their association, it necessarily follow’d that they cou’d not part with their Army which was the *Ligament* and *support* of it ; and therefore, notwithstanding *Glamorgan’s* Concessions, yet that *Earl* must have patience, and wait for the expected succors until the King shall *publickly* ratifie what his Lordship had privately done, and they did ‘ not doubt but the same *necessities continuing*, or rather encreasing, ‘ wou’d *compel his Majesty to comply with their expectations.*

A plain DISPENSING POWER with the Laws is set up in the *second article* ; wherein ’tis agreed that in the mean time ‘ until the ‘ Articles of these presents agreed to be pass’d in Parliament be accordingly pass’d, the same shall be *inviolably observ’d* as to the Matters ‘ therein contain’d, *as if they were enacted in Parliament.*

Upon the whole, if these articles of Peace were destructive of Religion, of the Authority of the Legislature, of the Liberty, and property of the Subject, and the Prerogative of the King (as I have proved they were) then the Commissions granted to the Marquis of *Ormond* and Lord of *Airds* in pursuance and maintenance of them, and to oblige the Protestant Forces to incorporate with the *Irish* Rebels,

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according to the Intent and purport of 'em, were *void* and *Illegal*; and therefore the Presbytery at *Bangor* might Lawfully declare against them.

I am so far from charging the Gallant and Noble Marquis of *Ormond* with any design to compass those unhappy ends, which the Articles of this Peace had a tendency to promote, that I must do him the Justice on the other hand, as to declare that it seems to me from the whole of his Conduct in that *Affair*, that the pressing necessities of the King his Master made him yield contrary to his Inclination to such hard Terms, to enable him to retrieve the King's Affairs, and purciy to do him Service. But then it must be own'd, that a *good end cannot justifie unlawful Means*, and therefore the Presbytery at *Bangor* obviate this Objection, in their Declaration in these words 'Neither can any necessity (*say they*) be an excuse to it, for we ought to choose Affliction rather than sin; to help the ungodly and to strengthen the hands of the wicked, is an evil worse than any suffering.' Both *Cox* and *Burlace* who offer all they can for excusing the Matter, are forced to acknowledge the Marquis's mistake, the first expresseth himself thus, Part 2. page 205. 'Upon this Peace *Ormond* propos'd to get together so good an Army, as might by Force or Treaty prevent the impending Fate of his Royal Master, for the undertaken *Quotas* were as followeth.

	Foot	Horse.
' <i>Munster-Irish</i> ,	4000	800
' <i>Leinster</i>	4000	800
' <i>Insequin</i>	3000	600
' <i>Connaught</i>	4000	800
' <i>Owen Roe</i> , if he wou'd ' come in had	} 5000	500
	<hr/> 20000	<hr/> 3500

' But he depended upon a *broken reed*; for besides that the *Irish* had delayed the Conclusion of the Peace too long to render it serviceable to the King, and had *exacted such Conditions* as wou'd rather *hasten* than prevent his *Majesty's* ruin, the Lord Lieutenant was exceedingly disappointed in his Calculation; for *Owen Roe* did not at all come

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in till it was *too late*, and most of the rest were deficient in their promis'd Proportions of Men and Money, so that he was forced to borrow 800 *l.* upon his own Credit to enable the Army to March.

The other express'd himself thus (*Burlace*, p. 228, 229) ' From the first hour of the Peace, the *English* and *Irish* had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the *Marquiss* much trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and Submission to the Authority and Pleasure of their chief Commander, than united by the same Inclinations and Affections, to any public end. In so much as before the Defeat at *Ratmines*, there were many of the *Irish*, who much fear'd the Swift Success of the Army, and apprehended the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of *Dublin*, would give him such Power and make him more absolute, than they desired to see him, and therefore were not sorry for that Mischiefe. On the other side the *English* were much troubled, to see the Authority and Jurisdiction of the *Marquiss* so *Restrain'd* and *Limited by the Articles*, and that the Army was neither Recruited, Disciplin'd nor provided, as it ought to be. *Solily by his want of Power*; and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Irish*: but now upon this Defection in *Munster* there was a Determination of all Confidence and trust in each other.

If we consider the State of the King's Affairs, we'll find that the first thing that Cool'd the Affections of his Subjects to him was the Influence his evil Counsellors had upon him, to encourage Popery, and by his Arbitrary and Illegal Courses to Levy mony without consent of Parliament, as *Tunnage*, *Poundage*, *Leant*, and *Ship-Money*, and to destroy the Liberty of the Subject and the Fundamental Laws. Now I wou'd fain know, if it was a likely way to Accommodate the unhappy Differences between him and his People, which begun upon these Foundations, to give *greater Counterance* to Popery in *Ireland*, than ever he had done before, and to Authorize Bloody *Papists* there to assume a Parliamentary Power, to the destruction of Liberty and Property as well as Religion, and to do in *Ireland* under cover of his Authority that *which he had no Power to do any where*; and more especially after those *Papists* (who receive such an Illegal Power) had barbarously Murdered 200000 of his Protestant Subjects.

Let the demands of the long Parliament be compar'd with the Articles of Peace with the *Irish*; and let the World judge, whether it had

had not been more Honorable for the King to have granted the former than the latter; and whether he did not, in several particulars in the said Articles, grant more dangerous Powers, and made more ample Concessions to several of the *Irish* Rebels than he was willing to grant to the whole Parliament of *England*. This was indeed the way to hasten his Ruin, as the event prov'd, and *Cox* justly observes; which is further confirm'd by the Parliament's late accepting *Ormond's* Letter to the *supreme Council*, while the Treaty between him and them was in Agitation, and thereupon making a Demar in this Treaty with his Subjects until his Majesty wrote a Letter to the Marquis *not to proceed any further in the Treaty with the IRISH*: notwithstanding whereof the Treaty was carried on, and the Articles sign'd *January 17th, 1648*. *V. de Cox* p. 204. part 2.

Neither can the Marquis or the Lord of *Ard's* adhering to the peace with the *Irish* be defended, upon pretence of serving the Interest of King *Charles 2d*; for the above reasons, which demonstrate to be illegal and sinful in it self, and highl^y, disserviceable to the Interest of King *Charles 1st*, are of equal force to show it's being destructive to the Interest of King *Charles 2d*. Nay, if there be any disparity, it consists in the Argument's being much stronger in the case of the Son, than in that of the Father.

For experience, having confirm'd it's being fatal to the Father, shou'd have prevail'd with those who made it to lay it aside, as very unhappy to the Son: which will yet further appear, if we consider that all those who were in the Interest of the Long Parliament, before they were turn'd into the *Rump*, were to the last degree disgusted by this Peace; and by adhering to it, the young King riveted in them the fears they had conceiv'd of his Resolutions to pursue the Measures of his Father's Reign; and now there was a party got up in *England* who had barbarously murdered his Royal Father, and were poisoning the Minds of the People with undutiful and disloyal Principles against Monarchy in General, and against the whole Royal Family; and nothing cou'd give them a greater handle to work upon, for deluding and misleading their fellow-Subjects, than that the young King and his Favorites shou'd adhere to the peace with the *Irish* Rebels. 'Tis true, it was a bad consequence that for these faults, Monarchy and the whole Royal Family shou'd be extirpated; but then the premisses they made use of for inferring that conclusion, were

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were so evidently true and shocking, that they wrought exceedingly (by the Artifices of bad Men) upon the weakness of Multitudes, who by that means were made enemies to the Royal Family, and might have been gain'd to the King's side, if he and his Counsellors had carry'd otherwise.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* who as an entire United Body adher'd to his Title, and Proclaim'd him King *Ebroy* 15th 1648, were so disoblig'd by the Peace, that he found it convenient to Declare, that the Peace concluded with the *Irish Catholics* in 1643. by Authority of the late King of ever Glorious Memory, and Confirm'd by himself, was Pronounc'd and Judg'd Void, and that his Majesty was Absolv'd from any Observation fir," The Marquis, to prevent the *Irish* from being Scandaliz'd by this Declaration, Writes to them, that (since the Declaration was by undue means obtain'd from his Majesty) he was resolv'd by all the means it shou'd please God to offer unto him and through all hazards in behalf of the Union, to Insist upon and Assert the Lawfulness of the conclusion of the Peace, by vertue of the afore said Authority, and that the said Peace was still valid & of Force & binding unto his Majesty and all his Subjects. (m)

This Declaration of the Marquis, so opposite to that of his Royal Master, produc'd no good Effect upon any Party; for such was the experienc'd Treachery of the *Irish*, in breaking the Cession in 1643, and Peace of 1646, and delaying that of 1648 so long that had it been Lawful, it became useless for the end intended; and they so cramp'd his Power and Embarrass'd all his Measures, that they were not to be Strengthen'd into Loyalty by the Smoothest Language he did or cou'd give 'em, and the Misfortune was that all his farther Attempts to do it Sower'd and Disgust'd the greatest body of these Protestants in the 3 Kingdoms, who might be most depended upon as staunch Friends to Monarchy and the Royal Family.

Cromwel comes to *Ireland*, and carries all before him, to whose Success this *Irish* Peace Contributed not a little, as the Reader will conclude from what *Cox* says (n) ' In the mean time the Towns of the County of *Cork*, being inhabited and Garrison'd with *Englishmen* cou'd not endure the thoughts of joining with the *Irish* against their own

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Country-men; they consider'd how the Lord Lieutenant was not only *Limited in his Authority* by the Commissioners of Trust, and was but *Partially and Precariously* obey'd by the *Irish*: They knew the *Irish* aim'd at their destruction in the end, and continued the War to that purpose. Finally, they remembered the reasons of surrendering *Dublin* to the Parliament two years before; and they thought they had the same Motive to submit now; and therefore by the means of the Lord *Brogbill*, Colonel *Courtney*, Sir *Percy Smith*, and the Colonels *Townsend*, *Jessford* and *Warden*, they revolted all at once; and about 2500 Men were drawn out of those Garrisons, and they met *Cromwel* at *White Church* not far from *Dungarvan*.

This Revolution Dissolved all confidence between the *English* and *Irish*; and as well for that Reason, as in other respects prov'd advantageous to *Cromwel*; for otherwise he must have been forc'd to endure a long and dangerous March to *Dublin*, or to have embark'd his Men on board the Fleet, that Coasted all along as he Marched to attend him; but by this Revolt he got excellent Winter Quarters in *Cork*, *Bandon*, *Kinsale*, and *Youghal*; which last Place was made his Head Quarters:

This matter will be set in a farther Light, by considering the Petition of the Protestants of *Munster* against *Glamorgan's* Peace, and the same Arguments contain'd in it against that Peace being of equal Force against the Peace in 1648, the Grounds upon which the Presbytery at *Rangor* proceeded are very much strengthen'd by them, and therefore I shall here insert it.

(o) *The Petition of the Protestants of Munster against a Peace with the Irish to the Right Honorable the Lord Lieutenant General and Council of Ireland.*

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT whereas after a long and happy enjoyment of the Peace and Prosperity under which (by his Majesties Gracious Government) this Land did lately Flourish; the *Irish* Papists of this King-

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Kingdom, have on or about the three and twentieth of *October* 1641
 entred into a most wicked and treacherous Conspiracy, to surprize
 the then Lords Justices and Council together with the City of
Dublin, and all other her Majesties Forts and Holds within this
 Kingdom, Intending thereby totally and at once to extirpate the
 Protestant Religion, and *English Nation* from amongst them, and
 consequently to alienate this Kingdom from the Crown and Go-
 vernment of *England*. And for those ends, although they were by
 the Divine Providence disappointed in the main point of that Bloo-
 dy and Cruel Design, have pursued the same with Indefatigable
 Malice into acts of open Rebellion and most Inhuman Barbarism,
 robbing and despoiling his Majesties good Subjects of their lives
 and Fortunes: Inasmuch as his Majesty for the Vindication of his
 Protestant Subjects from the Cruel Rapines of the said *Irish* Papi-
 sts, was justly occasioned to denounce and Undertake a war in this
 Kingdom, the managing and support whereof he was graciously
 pleased to recommend to and ENTRUST WITH HIS PAR-
 LIAMENT then sitting in *England*, who having piously begun
 the great work of Suppressing the cruelties of the aforesaid *Irish*,
 were by the unhappy Interposur of sundry fatal differences in *En-
 gland* (fomented, as may be greatly doubted, by the Rebels of this
 Kingdom) diverted from the careful and provident courses requi-
 site in so important an affair, by Means whereof his Majesty who
 had undertaken the War for our Defence was now constrain'd for
 our preservation to treat and conclude of a Cession of Arms for
 twelve Months space; in which time he was MADE BELIEVE the
 aforesaid *Irish* Papi-sts wou'd submit to some safe and honorable
 conditions of Peace. To which purpose, Agents from the afore-
 said *Irish* were admitted to have access to his Royal presence, and
 his Majesty did not only in Manifestation of his Pious and Paternal
 care of his Protestant Subjects, command certain Select Persons,
 well vers'd and Interest'd in the State and affairs of this Kingdom,
 to attend his Royal Person, and give Information and assistance in
 the debate of so weighty a business, but did also give admission to
 such Agents as his Protestant Subjects, were able to employ in re-
 presenting their particular and General Grievances and Sufferings
 by the said *Irish* Papi-sts, who in Negotiation of that whole Matter,
 have endeavor'd to make advantage of his Majesties necessities, and

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by Sinister and Corrupt Means with a lavish expence of that Treasure, and those Estates which your Petitioners have been despoild of by them, to raise a *Factionary Party at the Court*, to SEDUCE and MISGUIDE his Royal Majesty, and to beguile his Judgment, with a *false opinion* of their Inclination to Peace, and feigned forwardness to advance his Service and to discountenance and suppress those whose Attendance his Majesty had required, and those Agents whom your Petitioners had employed; by which *Subtil and Serpentine Courses* the said *Irish Agents* having quash'd and deprest all opposers and Accusers, and removed all Impediments to their Devilish ends of extirpating the *English*, and before any equal Debate of the Cause, procur'd a Transmission of the whole Affair unto your Lordships, with Power and Commission further to Treat and Conclude of such Conditions as by those deceitful Courses they had gain'd too great hope to be confirm'd unto them, which for some Reasons was not thought fit to be done in *England*, they do now with the same Art and Subtily study to trick your Petitioners here before your Lordships, and to compound for all their Mischiefs Multiplied upon the Hearts of your Petitioners at their own Rates. And therefore at a time when neither your Petitioners, nor any from them are present, when the Agents employed to his Sacred Majesty are unreturned to this Kingdom, and whilst most of your Petitioners Evidences of their *Detestable Treasons*, and *horrible barbarisms* are remaining in *England*, they endeavor to strike up the Business with your Lordships, upon such Terms as your Petitioners who were once a considerable Part of this late Flourishing and now unhappy Kingdom, have not the Honor to be made Privy unto, or to be called or admitted to any Debate of the Business of that Main Influence upon themselves and their Posterity.

Wherefore your Petitioners having seen how far some Persons of Honor HAVE BEEN MISGUIDED, and by Secret and Subtil Contrivances drawn to become Abused Properties and Instruments to Accomplish the Wicked Designs of the aforesaid *Irish Rebels*; and finding how they are in all likelihood in danger to be overrun by the Power and Potency of their said Adversaries; do in all Humility BESEECH your Lordships, first to call to mind that his Majesty hath by his *Royal Assent* unto an Act of Parliament, oblig'd himself not to grant any Pardon or Terms of Peace to the aforesaid Re-

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'bels *without the Consent of his Parliament of England*; and according-
 ly that your Lordships would not suffer any part of his Majesty's
 Honor to be betray'd to Calumny in Assenting to such *packed Terms*
 of Peace as they have already contrived to draw your Lordships un-
 to, without consent of the said Parliament of *England*, and with-
 out admitting your Petitioners to a free and full debate of the Cause;
 whereby they may Vindicate his Majesty and themselves from that
 Unnatural Aspersion which the *Irish* would maliciously fasten on
 them, by making the *one* the *Factor*, and the other the *occasion* of
 their Rebellion, and that the matter may not be carried with such
 Indulgency towards them, as that to extenuate their Real Enormi-
 ties, your Petitioners must be made Guilty of Imaginary Crimes,
 and Undergo a heavier Censure for demanding Justice, than they for
 Perpetrating all their Treasons; and that their Lives, Fortunes, and
 Posterities, and which is dearest, *their Religion may not be SOLD*
 or SACRIFICED to the Malice of the *Irish* Papists; or if this Law-
 ful Favour shall be deny'd them, that they may have leave to pro-
 test against any such Fatal and Destructive conclusions as are in hand
 to be made with the aforesaid *Irish* Rebels, without consent of the
 King and Parliament, or your Petitioners Privity; and that their
 Filivius pretences of assisting his Majesty, wherewith they have too
 long already abused himself and his Ministers, on purpose to Protract
 the War in *England*, may not be a sufficient *Wile* to delude your
 Lordships any longer; but that your Petitioners (and not Persons dis-
 affected to their Religion and Nation now to be preserv'd or ruin'd)
 may be heard to Plead in this Cause, before any Judgment be gi-
 ven therein and that the examples of their former and frequent
 Breaches of the Cessation yet unrepair'd, may be accounted a REA-
 SONABLE CAUTION to your Lordships to expect little better ob-
 servation of any Peace that shall Abridge them of their Devilish
 Designs.

And your Petitioners shall Ever Pray for your Lordships in-
 crease of Honor and Happiness.

Sign'd by the Lord Broghill, the Magistrates of *Cork*, *Kin-
 sale*, *Youghall*, and *Bandonbridge*, and above Three Hundred
 other Persons.

I Conclude this Head with the Preamble of the famous *Act of Settlement*, which I shall here insert, because it doth both Illustrate and prove the Justice of those remarks I have been making upon the Peace with the *Irish* 1648 (p)

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An Act 14 Caroli 2di

‘ **W**Hereas an unnatural Insurrection did break forth against your
 ‘ Majesty’s Royal Father, of ever blessed Memory, his
 ‘ Crown & Dignity in this your Majesty’s Kingdom of *Ireland* upon
 ‘ the 23d of *October* in the Year of our Lord God, 1641; and Ma-
 ‘ nifest it self by the Murthers and Destructions of many Thousands
 ‘ of your said Majesty’s good and Loyal Subjects, which afterwards
 ‘ univerally spreading and diffusing it self over the whole Kingdom,
 ‘ settled into and became a form’d and almost National Rebellion of
 ‘ the *Irish* Papists, against your Royal Father of Blessed Memory,
 ‘ his Crown and Dignity, to the Destruction of the *English* and Pro-
 ‘ testants Inhabiting in *Ireland*: The which *Irish* Papists being re-
 ‘ presented in a General Assembly chosen by themselves and acting
 ‘ by a Council call’d by the n, *The Supreme Council of the Confederate*
 ‘ *Roman Catholics of Ireland*, did first Assume, Usurp and exercise
 ‘ the Power of Life and Death, make Peace and War, levy and coin
 ‘ Money, and many other Acts of *Sovereign Authority*, treating with
 ‘ *Foreign Princes* and *Potentates*, for their Government and protection
 ‘ and afterwards acted under a *Foreign Authority*, by the said ways,
 ‘ disowning and rejecting your Royal Father’s, and your Majesty’s
 ‘ Undoubted right to this Kingdom, even while they *Treacherously*
 ‘ *used his*, and your Majesties *Names in the outward Forms of their Pro-*
 ‘ *ceedings*; withal impiously seeming by words and shews to swear
 ‘ unto that, which by the whole series of their deeds, they denied;
 ‘ and moreover presuming to pretend his late Majesty’s Sacred Au-
 ‘ thority even for their worst Actions; all which they did amongst
 ‘ their other designs) to frighten his good Protestant Subj. cts from
 ‘ their Loyalty, to blast his Majesty’s honor, And to widen the breach
 ‘ between his said Majesty and his seduced subjects in *England*; the

O o 2

‘ will,
 ‘ HEM,
 though

Part 2. ' which ends, by their said wicked stratagems, they did too SUCCESSFULLY and MISCHIEVOUSLY EFFECT '

Having enquired 1st, into the occasion and scope of the declaration of the Presbytery at *Bangor*, and 2^{dly}, into the reasons which are offer'd in the Declaration it self to justify it; in pursuance of the Method propos'd, I come next to enquire,

3^{dly}, into the Demonstrative Evidences, we have of the Loyalty of that Presbytery, who fram'd the said Declaration at *Bangor*, and of all the other Presbyterians from the Murder of King *Charles the 1st* to the Restoration of the Royal Family.

The Presbytery met at *Belfast* February 15th 1648, drew a most Loyal Representation against the Murder of King *Charles 1st*, and against the Antimonarchical and detestable principles and practices of the Usurping Powers who were the Authors of the Regicide, a copy whereof I have inserted p. 245. To shew they were in earnest, they wrote with all possible Importunity and strength of reason, to Sir *Charles Cot*, then at *London-derry*, to dissuade him from Complying with these Usurping powers; but he refused to come into their measures, as *Euclace* observes (q)

At the same meeting (viz. February 15th) they wrote a Letter to Colonel *Monk* then at *Dundalk*, to the same purpose, and sent it to him by the Reverend Mr. *Anthony Kennedy* one of their Number, who brought the Colonel's Answer, shewing that he was dissatisfied with their Representation, and that he urg'd them to delay the publication of it in their Churches until he shou'd come to *Lisburn*, which he soon Intended (and accordingly came thither on *March 21st*), but their duty to the King and their Veneration for the insulted Legislature wou'd not allow them to entertain a thought of delaying a matter so Necessary and seasonable for animating their flocks, & cherishing their Loyal Inclinations to make the earliest appearance in favor of the Royal Family and our happy Constitution. Some Letters were afterwards exchange'd between the Colonel and them; but both of 'em resolutely adhering to their different Interests, he to the *Rump* and they to the King, all Correspondence between 'em broke off

On the 25th of *March*, Colonel *Monk*, despairing of success with the

the Presbytery, made an *Essay* at *Lisburn*, how far his Interest cou'd prevail with the *Army* and *Country*, the first being represented in a Council of War, and the second by the most noted Gentlemen, called the Committee of the *Country*. They soon perceived the tendency of his proposals; and to fortifie themselves against 'em, drew up a Declaration call'd, the *Declaration of the Army and the Country*, and presented a draught of some propositions to be offered to him, as a Foundation of a Treaty with him: but before they shou'd him either the Declaration or Propositions they consulted the Committee of the Presbytery, and took their advice and assistance in amending the draughts of both; and then presented them to the Colonel. Before he gave any answer to them, he deliver'd to 'em a Paper Entitul'd, *Queries given in by Colonel MONK to the Council of War at BELFAST April 9th, 1649.* the 3d and 4th Queries were these:

' The 3d, Why do ye declare against the prevalent party in *England*, without order or advice from *England*, or *Scotland*, and thereby do in all appearance perjure the good party opposit, by declaring your selves sooner than *they think* it seasonable &c?

' The 4th, I desire to know in regard of our dependance upon *England*, whom it is we shall serve at this present?

To which Queries they return'd the following Answers in writing.

' 3. To the *Third*, Albeit when lawfull Authority is suppress'd an order be impossible to be obtain'd, yet as we are Christians, our duty to God and lawfull Authority tyeth us to declare against the public Enemies of our Covenant; such as are the now prevalent party in *England*, who have OVERTURN'D AUTHORITY, from which we might have expected orders; and besides the protestations of many Members of both Houses of Parliament, the Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Representation of the Ministers, and *Apologetical Declaration of many Thousand Citizens in and about London*, all against the present courses of the Sectaries, may be to us in place of a *strong advice* to join with them in declaring against them also.

' To the 4th, as we have hitherto in Relation to *England* served the King and Parliament thereof, whose *just Power, Rights and Priviledges* we are deeply Sworn to maintain in our Solemn Covenant, so we resolve *faithfully* to *SERVE* and *ADHERE UNTO THEM*, though

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‘ though now for a time they be *violently bereft of the Exercise of their Lawful Power.*



Of the Propositions they Presented to him the 2d. and 3d. were
Conceived in these Words.

‘ 2d, That he and they do Sign the Declaration to be emitted
‘ by the Meeting of the Army.

‘ 3d. That he *shall not Obey or Execute* any Order that shall be sent
‘ to him from the *now prevalent Power in England.*

The Declaration was Calculated for the same end, it is too long to
be here Inserted, but I shall Transcribe the following Paragraphs of
it.

‘ And whereas the Sectarian Party in *England* hath of late Usurped
‘ an Illegal Power over both King and Parliament, and are Resolving
‘ an Universal Toleration in Religion, and the Subversion of LAW-
‘ FULL GOVERNMENT by KING, LORDS and COMMONS, and
‘ hath taken upon them to Proclaim all the Adherers to the present
‘ Government in the *Person of the Present King*, to be Rebels and
‘ Traitors; all which their Usurping Practices they visibly pretend
‘ to Force upon us in this Kingdom, so soon as they can Transport
‘ hither to be Obeyed and Received by us contrary to our League
‘ and Covenant; for this Cause we do faithfully oblige our selves U-
‘ nanimously with our ESTATE, and Lives to Resist and OPPOSE
‘ ANY SUCH IRREGULAR COMMANDS, which shall proceed
‘ from them, and that we shall maintain the just Power of King and
‘ Parliament against all the Oppressors thereof.

‘ And being confident that these our present Intentions will not
‘ want Bitter and False Aspersions and Calumnies of all sorts, and
‘ particularly that by this Act we intend to shake off our due depen-
‘ dence on the Crown of *England* &c. we do hereby declare, That
‘ we shall really demean our selves as becomes Faithful and Loyal Sub-
‘ jects to the Crown of *England*, and shall at all times give due Obedi-
‘ ence to the KING and FREE PARLIAMENT thereof.

The Committee of the Presbytery prepar’d a Paper, Entit’d, *A Vindication of the Late and Present Proceedings of the Presbytery, especially of the Late Representation* &c. emitted by the Committee of the Presbytery at *Belfast*, April 10th 1649; the following part whereof is recommended to the Readers serious Consideration.

‘ We have not been free from the Malice of the evil affected, whose
chief

chief Principle being to be Time-servers have Reproach'd us for our
 avowing steadfastness, and pressing the same upon our flocks, and
 have fastned upon us such uneven designs as were *farthest from our*
thoughts, that we intend nothing but a Revolt from the Lawful Au-
 thority of *England*, and to decline the Subjection of this Kingdom
 thereunto. For removing all such groundless Calumnies (tho' our
 former Doctrine, Representation and constant Practice might have
 clear'd us abundantly) We do yet Profess before God and the
 World our constant Resolutions to *Subject our selves to the LAWFUL*
AUTHORITY of the RIGH FOU'S KING and free Parliame^t of
England, and to the LAWFUL COMMANDS of such as shall
 have Power from them, and do acknowledge the Interest they have
 in, and the Power they have over the Subjects of this Kingdom of
Ireland; which by the Grace of God, we shall continue to Witness
 in all our Practices, and to Teach the People under our charge to
 do the like: And we conceive there can be no better Testimony
 of the Reality of our Professions than the *Disclaiming* of the Pre-
 sent Usurped Power of Sectaries in *England*, which against both the
 Laws of God and Men and our solemn Covenant, they have assumed
 to themselves whom we are resolved *NEVER TO OBEY* as the
 Lawful Authority of *England*; and do thereby approve our selves
 to be more Loyal Subjects to that Crown, than any who overcome
 with the Temptations of the Times, *Change with every Wind*; and
 for fear of Usurpers, lay aside the Prosecution of their Duty to
 their Lawful Magistrates, contrary to their former Vows and Pro-
 fessions, and are now so inconsiderate as to return their own charge
 upon us." This Paper was Read by all the Members of the Presby-
 tery in their respective Churches, according to an Order of Presby-
 tery, and in a very dangerous Juncture.

This Committee show'd a hearty concern for the King's Interest, in
 reproving those within the Bounds and under the Inspection of the
 Presbytery, who did neglect in their several Stations to Assert it, of
 which take the following Remarkable Instance of an Act of that Com-
 mittee, Faithtully Copied from their Records.

April 10th 1649. Compeared Mr. Forster sovereign of Belsast, and
 was rebuked for fencing (i. e. holding) the Courts without Mentioning
 of the KING'S NAME, contrary to the Covenant, who promised to a-
 mend the same in time coming.

Part 2.

When the *Rump-Party* had got more power, and found that the Presbtery were not to be wheedled out of their Loyal Principles by fair words, they begun to think of dealing with them by the more forcible Arguments of *Sequestrations, Prisons, and Banishment*, to restrain them from (what was their constant practice) praying for the King and preaching up his Title, and declaiming against the Usurpers: And accordingly Collonel *Venables* summon'd the Ministers of the County of *Down* and *Antrim* to appear before him, to answer for their pretended *Sedition* in preaching, praying, and practising against the Commonwealth of *England*, and in favor of the Royal Family.

Whereupon, some of the Presbtery fled, some absconded, and others were taken prisoners. He sent them a proposal under his hand which is an undeniable Testimony of their Loyalty and is as follows, 'Whereas the Ministers of the County of *Down* and *Antrim*, have been summon'd to appear in a fair way before me, & have some jealousies and suspicions (as I conceive) that I intended by that summons, to have entrapp'd them, and to have taken advantage of them had they come; tis is to assure them, that if they come, and give is me under their hands, that they will not for time to come in their sermons and prayers, nor in any other private Conferences with the people move them to *Sedition* or *troub'*, or touch upon an other thing of state matters than what is *allegedly* the *State* of *England* that they shall have free Liberty to depart from me again to their several places of abode, and Charges, and to use their Ministerial Functions. &c. that although at their being with me, they shall not be convinced to give this Engagement, yet if they engage that they will depart this province and repair to *Scotland* within ten days, Wind and Weather serving they shall have free Liberty to do the same and to depart on THESE TERMS, if without Confinement or restraints, all which I promit under my hand this 16th of June 1670.

R. VENABLES

Divers of the Presbtery being brought prisoners to Collonel *Venables*, did with II. daunted Courage and strength of Reason make so brave a stand before him, for their King and Country, as to challenge a peculiar remark in this Book. While they were prisoners, they reduc'd to writing the substance of their Conference with him, which from the Original Manuscript I shall here lay before the Reader;

der; Omitting such passages in it as are not Material to the business in hand, to prevent its being tedious.

Part 2.

The Defences of Mr. John Drysdall Minister at Portaferry, Mr. Bruce, Mr Main, and Mr Alexander, Ministers, Prisoners June 1650.

— ‘ The latter (*i. e.* the *Secularies*) Although they might, yet they did not at the first publicly disturb the Ministers, notwithstanding of their free preaching against their Courses, till once they had the Enemy without sufficiently subdu’d, and these people within taught to carry their Yoke.

‘ After they had found themselves in a tolerable posture, they began most cunningly to loaden the Ministry with reproaches (as their Malice and Purpose of Persecution could not have been well enough convey’d) for say they, *the Ministers are bloody men, they are Seditious, they keep a distance betwixt you and us (meaning the Country) else your Burdens would not lye so heavy upon you, they in their preaching and praying are guilty of Treason against the State; and with many other words, Imitating the Persecutors of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, Luke 23.2.*

‘ Then began they in their Councils to advise what course was fittest to be taken with these men, and it was thought fit that *Summons* should be issi’d for them, commanding them to appear before the Colonel *Venables* at the Army at *Drummore* against such a day. The first summons came to us about four hours before the hour of our appearing: Whereupon, not long after, second summons were sent. These *Peremptory Summons* sent to them before that they had call’d ’em to a Conference, or appointed any, or had desir’d that the question should be disputed for the satisfaction of Conscience, seem’d very strange unto the Ministers; as also the summons gave a *perfect Character* of their Intentions. Beside, understanding of the *threatning Expressions* that had passed from many of them, and the particular carriage of some formerly, who had publicly *drawn in Soldiers in sundry Churches, and oppos’d the Ministers, yea publicly reviled them with base words,*

‘ As also the very day before the summons came they had apprehended Mr. *John Drysdall* Minister of *Portaferry* by a band of near

Part 2.

‘ 80 Dragoons. All those and sundry other Considerations moved the Ministers to write back in answer to these summons, and desire a safe Conduct that so they might without trouble go and return.

‘ Instead of the safe conduct a Party was presently sent to bring every Minister by violence, these of the County of *Antrim* to *Carrickfergus*, and those of the County of *Down* to *Belfast*.

‘ Of the Ministers of the County of *Down* beside Mr. *Drysdull* formerly apprehended, were taken Mr *James Baurie* Minister at *Ballymaister*, and Mr *Fergus Alexander* Minister at *Gray-Abbey*. Of these in the County of *Antrim* were apprehended Mr *Henry Main* Minister at *Istomagee*, and carry’d to the common prison of *Carrickfergus*: Master *Archbald Ferguson*, Mr. *David Butle*, Mr *Anthony Kennedy* also were taken, yet were permitted to stay in their own Houses till Colonel *Venables* came from the Army; at which time we were all to be brought before him: For the rest of the Ministers, they were upon their keeping, fled to the Woods, some to *Scotland*, or hid themselves.

‘ These of the County of *Down* were brought to *Belfast*, and were imprison’d in a lodging where none of the Lord’s people durst come to visit them, nor hear them either preach, or Joyn with them in prayer. The Heathen did not deal so with the Apostle *Paul*. *Acts* 28. 17.

‘ After sixteen days imprisonment of Mr *Drysdall* and ten of the rest: Colonel *Venables* came from the Army in *Carrickfergus*, whether we were sent to observe his further pleasure

‘ By the way it is to be observed that when he had understood of the flight of the Ministers, and their fears of his violence, a little to mitigate the matter he sent this ensuing paper to Mr *Ferguson* and Mr *Kennedy*, upon a letter of their’s desiring their not imprisonment till he himself came alongs to *Carrickferus*, at which time they promised to come to him’ (This is the paper which I have already inserted p. 288 and therefore omit it here).

‘ As ye may perceive by the paper, the Question was propounded to the seven Ministers, *Whether they wou’d forbear preaching or prayer or Conference in public and in private against the present Power and State of England*, except with such limitations as were then propounded, unto which the Ministers return’d this following answer in write subscribed by their hands.

This

(That paper being more fully set forth in their Conference with Venables, I omit it here) Part 2.

‘ This we deliver’d to Colonel *Venables*, and had before and did after by way of Conference give found and valid Reasons of our Answer in that kind.

‘ I thought best to premise what is said as an Introduction, unto the ensuing Reasons, which hold forth clearly to the whole World found Grounds why in Conscience we cannot Condescend unto the Command of Colonel *Robert Venables* in that kind, to give Obedience thereunto.

‘ First, It is said by Colonel *Venables*: Ye are Subjects to the Kingdom of *Ireland* which is a Kingdom belonging to *England*, ought ye not therefore to obey the Acts of the Parliament of *England*, who have by Act of Parliament adjudg’d it High-Treason, if any Man shall own *Monarchical Government* by King and House of Lords, and have Commanded under a Penalty to Subscribe an Engagement to be faithful unto the Government, now Establish’d without King or House of Lords: I will show you the Acts.

‘ To this we Answer. 1. That we acknowledge our selves to be Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and that *Ireland* is Subordinate unto *England*. _____

‘ But it was objected that now they were come in by the Sword as Conquerors and the Sword must be the Law: To this we Answer, That there is a necessity of Passive Obedience to their Power, though WE DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR AUTHORITY. But,

‘ 1. Certainly those who are conquered must, or at least ought to be made acquainted with the Laws of the Conqueror. by public Proclamation, and not receive them from every private Soldier or Colonel in an Army; which was never as yet done for any thing we could hear.

‘ 2. By two several Declarations, Colonel *Venables* spoke to the People in this Corner in another Strain; wherein are these Words, That he was come to deliver the well affected in the Country and the Ministry from the Power of Malignants; so that we are Am z^o why he now speaks to us in a Dialect so far different; And he knew then as well, in what we were well affected, as now.

‘ But grant that the Kingdom of *Ireland* were immediately Subject-

Part 2.

ed unto the Laws of the Parliament of *England*, and that we in Conscience were bound to Obey the Laws of the Parliament of *England*; (which we for our own Parts have been most ready to do always since these troubles, finding this Kingdom in such Posture by the Bloody Rebellion that from our own Parliament, wholesome Laws cou'd not issue: And do sincerely profess that we are all *cordially* and *willingly* *Subject* unto the Lawful Authority of the Kingdom of *England*, as ever we were and do resolve by the strength of God to continue constant;) yet we must be convinced that that Power which now Rules in *England* is the Lawful Parliamentary Authority of that Kingdom.

To this Colonel *Variables* Answers, that they call themselves so.

To this we answer, that it seems to us a strange Assertion, that they are a Parliament, *because they say so*; or a Power, because they place Power in themselves: Can Men be the Authors and Founders of a new Authority in themselves? Kings and other Magistrates are call'd the *Ordinance of Man*, because they are put into their Offices by Men: But can the same Persons be the Creator and the Creature?

Again, It seems to be more strange to us; for it overturns the very foundations of Order and Right Government: For Men are call'd to the Magistracy by the Suffrage of the People whom they Govern; And for Men to assume unto themselves Power, is MEER TYRANNY and UNJUST USURPATION.

But it may be said that they are call'd by the People.

Ans. 1. We indeed conceive that the first Parliament which was made up of the three Estates were Orderly in their Members, Elected and Appointed by the People, according to Law.

But we wou'd fain understand the Nature of this Government; At the first sight it looks like a *Democracy*. Yet we conceive that in a Democracy, the Power of Government is either in the *Collective Body* of the People, or in some elected by them, and entrusted therewith. But neither have the People assumed Government in their own Hands, since the Dissolution of the Old Government by King, House of Lords and Commons; Neither have they elected any new Delegates. There was once indeed propounded a draught, Entitled, *An Agreement of the People*; but it was not receiv'd nor was it Authoriz'd by them.

Secondly,

‘ *Secondly*, If this present Parliament (as you call it) had been Elected and Authoriz’d by the People, how comes it that in *England* they so GENERALLY STAND OFF from Subscribing the Engagement ?

Part 2.


‘ But we cannot be persuaded that this can be the Parliament of *England*; it looks so unlike it, from these reasons.

‘ 1. We who are now accus’d by you were formerly call’d the friends of the Parliament of *England*. And we are in nothing chang’d from the Men we were at that very time; We walk upon these very same Principles, we Preach these very same things; so that surely if this were the Parliament of *England*, we wou’d continue in their favors. —————

‘ 4. The Parliament of *England* and their Armies call’d us of the *Scot*: Nation their Brethren, their Armies and Ours were one, Lived as Brethren, suffered together: But we are now by your Soldiers call’d *Seditious Fellows*, our Nation a *Base and Treacherous Nation* which you will e’re long make a Province of, you are in constant Jealousies with us, we are not believ’d: No, our Oaths no more accounted than the *Bark of a Dog*. All these do evidently hold forth to us, that this is not the Parliament of *England*. —————

————— April 17. 1646. The House of Commons declare that their true and real Intentions are, to endeavour to Maintain the Ancient Fundamental Government of *England*.

‘ But says Colonel *Vaibles*, this Government is the ancient Fundamental Government; the House of Lords is only Usurp’d from Custom.

‘ *Ans.* 1. See page 4 of that Declaration, April 17. 1646. And there the House of Commons does fully explain themselves, What they mean by the Ancient Fundamental Government of *England*, in these Words,

‘ They are so far from altering the Fundamental Constitution and Government of the Kingdom of *England* by King, Lords and Commons, that they have only desir’d that with the Consent of the King, such Power may be settled in the Two Houses, without which we can have no Assurance but that the like and greater Mischiefs than these which God hath hitherto deliver’d us from, may break out again and engage us in a Second and more destructive War. Whereby it plainly appears (say they) our Intentions are not to change the Ancient Form of Government within this Kingdom, but to obtain the end of primitive Institution of all Governments.

‘ Look

Part 2.



‘ Look also the Petition of the Lords and Commons *Oct.* 22. 1642.
 ‘ Many more Acts and Ordinances of Parliament might be instant’d,
 ‘ as relating to the Covenant and Fundamental Government of the
 ‘ Kingdom of *England*, by a compound Magistracy of *King, Lords,*
 ‘ and *Commons*; All whereof are most manifestly destroy’d and over-
 ‘ turn’d by this *present Power*. So that we cannot conceive *this* (so
 ‘ call’d) Parliament to be the very Parliament of *England*.

‘ But it was Objected by Colonel *Venables*, that the *House* was
 ‘ Purg’d, for there was discover’d therein a *Faction* that carry’d on the
 ‘ *King’s Interest*, without regard to the public Good or Liberty of the Sub-
 ‘ ject. &c.

‘ *Ans.* 1. They were Purg’d indeed, and so Purg’d, that the very
 ‘ SOUL, ESSENCE and BEING of a Parliament was Purg’d from
 ‘ them: And nothing left but some few, even the lesser part of the
 ‘ House of Commons. You know when the breath or Life expires,
 ‘ and the Soul departs to God who gave it, Man is Dissolv’d, tho’
 ‘ some of his Constitutive Elements remain: The far lesser part of
 ‘ the House of Commons remain, in whom *there can be no formal Pow-*
 ‘ *er* but a BORROW’D LIFE from their Lord and Master, *Cromwel*
 ‘ and the Army.

2. Where was there any necessity of Purging, nothing of such be-
 ‘ ing reprehended by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor by the People of
 ‘ *England*, tho’ alludg’d by these who had the *Sectarian* Design in hand,
 ‘ for a seditious Colour for their Irregular Practices. See the Answer
 ‘ of the *Coadjutors* and *General Council* of the Army *Jan.* 3. 1648. calls
 ‘ it *Irregular*.

3. ‘ When the King in the first sitting down of the Last Parliament
 ‘ offer’d to Infringe the Liberties and Priviledges of the Parliament by
 ‘ secluding of the Members, how was it by these Men cry’d out up-
 ‘ on, who now themselves have so violsted the Priviledges of Parliam-
 ‘ ent, as they have cut off two Integral Parts, and the greater part
 ‘ of the third of the whole Parliament? If the Remainder have Pow-
 ‘ er, the *daughter has devoured the Mother*. We cannot in reason say
 ‘ there is any Parliament now sitting in *England*, unto whom Obedi-
 ‘ ence is due. For what Power they had with others in the ancient
 ‘ Fundamental Constitution of the Government, *must needs be null and*
 ‘ *ceased*. The Government being a mixture of three Estates, the *for-*
 ‘ *mal Essence* whereof is destroy’d, and consequently the whole.



‘ But let us go further and grant that those men were a Parliament,
 ‘ Whether or not ought we to obey this Command in submitting to
 ‘ their Authority *without King and House of Lords?* Or forbear preach-
 ‘ ing, praying or Conference in public, or in private, except with
 ‘ such limitations propounded by Colonel *Venables?*

‘ *A.* We cannot neither as we are Subjects, nor 2. As we are Chri-
 ‘ stians, Nor 3. As we are Ministers of the Gospel.

‘ 1. Then, we are under the moral tye of Subjects unto a former
 ‘ Establish’d Government by *King, House of Lords, and Commons:*
 ‘ Now *no man can serve two Masters,* therefore we cannot be subject
 ‘ both to the one and the other: And we conceive that **THIS IS**
 ‘ **THE ONLY TRUE ESTABLISH’D AUTHORITY,** as we have
 ‘ shewed formerly.

‘ 2. As Christians we cannot. 1. Because we are sworn and cove-
 ‘ nanted under that Relation.

‘ 1. In the Oath of Allegiance unto his Majesty the Supreme Ma-
 ‘ gistrate in these three Kingdoms in these words; *I do swear from*
 ‘ *my heart that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his*
 ‘ *Heirs and Successors.*

‘ 2. In the *Solemn League and Covenant,* wherein we are solemnly
 ‘ engag’d to maintain and defend these Interests which this Engage-
 ‘ ment takes away.

‘ We are to defend the *King’s Person and Authority, the Privileges of*
 ‘ *Parliament, to bring Malignants to Condign Punishment &c. All these*
 ‘ *for the Glory of God, Good of the Kingdoms, the Honor and Happiness*
 ‘ *of the King.* —————

‘ If it be objected, that there is no King and therefore the
 ‘ matter Subject of the oath ceaseth; We have given already sufficient
 ‘ reasons, and were it not we study brevity, we could give many
 ‘ more. that the King and both Houses, in regard of THEIR
 ‘ RIGHT TO RULE, are YET IN BEING, or in regard of their
 ‘ LEGAL INTEREST; altho’ they be violently turrst from it,
 ‘ by a power who have made themselves, and usurped the seat of
 ‘ Authority.

‘ Object. But in the Covenant you are tyed to bring all
 ‘ Malignants unto Condign Punishment; and the King himself was the
 ‘ head of all the Malignants.

‘ We desire to put you in mind how the Condition of affairs was
 ‘ be-

Part 2.

betwixt the King and his People, when the Government was first made and received; he was look'd upon as a Prince detain'd from the way of truth by sinister and Evil Counsel and Counsellors; and for this cause you, in your *public declamations*, held forth that ye were *only to deliver* him from them.

2. That is a special Article conceiv'd in the solemn Covenant; wherein you oblige your selves to *preserve his Majesties Person, his Just Power and Greatness, that you shall not diminish his Authority.*

3. It was well known what the KING THEN WAS, when the Covenant was made. And yet a DIFFERENCE clearly put betwixt HIM and OTHER Malignants.

2oly, As Christians we cannot Condescend to the desire of Colonel *Venables*, for by so doing we should offend against all these Scriptures. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Eph.* 5. 7. 10. *Isa.* 5. 22, 23. 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. 2 *Tim.* 3. 2, 3, 4. 5. *Prov.* 17. 15. And so justify the ungodly; connive at oppression and wrong, yea we shou'd cooperate with it. We know not how it can stand with Christianity to have fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness, or with the Throne of Iniquity.

But, may ye not engage a *non-acting* against, or a permissive sufferance of this power, that is, that ye shall not countenance any Insurrection among the people, but rather prevent and suppress the same?

Ans. 1. We deny not but it unto an usurped power there may be, in some cases & for some reason, a *present Passive Submission* in our own temporal things, or leaving for the time our Right in point of Liberty, Estate or the like: But to *engage for time to come* not to appear against them, *will not be Justify'd.* For

By so doing we *wrong others* with whom we are bound in solemn Covenant, in BINDING UP OUR HANDS from their assistance, in point of Justice AGAINST URRPERS.

2. Every Christian man in his station is bound to set himself against wicked Counsils and the promoters thereof. In this case we shou'd resist unto Blood. *Act.* 12. 5. For such as keep the Law *Con-tend with the wicked.* *Prov.* 28. 4.

3. If Lawful Authority may have a door open'd for the RES-TAURATION thereof, we make our selves UNABLE TO OUR DUTY before God and Man, unto the lawful Magistrate.

‘ Although our binding our selves in that kind may seem of small
 ‘ Importance for the present, yet it’s an *indirect advancing* of the
 ‘ *unjust ways* of Usurpers and oppressors, and a *Confirmation* of them in
 ‘ their *wicked courses*.

‘ *Thirdly*, Neither can we as Ministers of the Gospel Condescend
 ‘ to the desires of Colonel *Venables*, for these reasons.

‘ *1st*, Of all others, Ministers of the Gospel are most strictly ob-
 ‘ liged to shew Opposition, ——— and the Advancement of equity,
 ‘ in their Places and Stations, 2 *Cor.* 10. v. 4 5. *Ija.* 58.

‘ *Obj*: But what has Ministers to do with State Matters, let them
 ‘ preach Jesus Christ, and not Meddle with other things which do
 ‘ not concern them?

‘ *Ans*: We take no pleasure to move without our own sphere, Nei-
 ‘ ther through the strength of God resolve we to Meddle in State-
 ‘ Matters, further than it becometh Ministers of the Gospel.

‘ *As first*, we deal not as *Statesmen* in *State-Matters*, but only be-
 ‘ wails the *Exorimities* in them, and Witnesses against their evil.

‘ *2dly*, In so far as they fall under the Theologic I Rules and E-
 ‘ vangelical Doctrines, we dare not restrain our selves but as watch-
 ‘ men *set the Trumpet to our Mouth*, and cry aloud, and not fear.

‘ About two Months after this, Sir *Charles Coor* publish’d his Declara-
 ‘ tion against the Ministers of the Presbytery, another Authentic proof
 ‘ of their Loyalty, the Title and latter part thereof I cannot omit in
 ‘ this place, without manifest Injustice.

*A Declaration of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Coor,
 Knight and Baronet, Lord President of Conaught, Comman-
 der in the Army in the Province of Ulster and Conaught, and
 of his Council of War. August 14th, 1650.*

‘ As to that of the Ministers, we Declare that we are
 ‘ heartily sorry, that we shou’d be forc’d to that Inreverence, we
 ‘ seriously acknowledge, to persons of *their* Function; but when after
 ‘ several admonitions, private and public intimations, if they would ad-
 ‘ here to their former Dispensation of the word without these *frequent*
 ‘ *oblique Calumnies* upon that *Government* and *Power* under which they
 ‘ live, rather giving the Children stones than bread, and instead of

Part 2.

‘ Edification of Souls, SEEKING THE SUBVERSION AND RU-
 ‘ IN OF THE STATE, and fomenting such Distempers among our
 ‘ selves, that cannot probably (if way were given unto it) but draw
 ‘ us iⁿto Factions, Diversities of Interests, and so terminate in blood: we
 ‘ say, out of the duty we owe to God in Preserving that Peace we enjoy
 ‘ amongst one another, and for preventing such Misreports as some
 ‘ wou’d Charge us withal; out of the Relation we stand in to the PRE-
 ‘ SENT GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WOU’D UNDER-
 ‘ MINE, we must use all means to silence all *such Incendiary In-*
 ‘ *struments*, we being yet scarcely whole of these deadly wounds this
 ‘ Country receiv’d by the like contumelious practices, till which as
 ‘ in all sincerity we declare and desire it may be received in as friend-
 ‘ ly a belief: signed by Command of the Lord President and his Coun-
 ‘ cil of War.—

The Universal refusal of the Oath mentioned in Mr *Drysdail’s* de-
 fence, call’d the *Engagement*, wherein the jurants swore to be faithful
 to the Commonwealth of *England*, without King and House of Lords,
 the Universal refusal, I say, of this Oath by the Presbytery & all those of
 their persuasion, was an uncontrovertible proof of their Inflexible In-
 tegrity. They were often press’d to take it, threatned and revild
 for refusing it, when others comply’d, of which I shall give the Rea-
 der a brief account. Those who took upon them the Government of the
 North of *Ireland* in the year 1652, & who were styl’d the *Commissioners*
of the Revenue, wrote Letters to the Presbyterian Ministers in these
 bounds, subscrib’d by Colonel *Venables*, wherein they desire a Meeting
 and Conference with ’em at *Belfast*, *October 21st 1652*. Whereupon
 the Ministers met at *Cumbar* the day before their appearance at *Bel-*
fast, and foreseeing new troubles coming upon them entred into a Con-
 cert about their Behavior before the said Commissioners, and firmly
 resolv’d to acquaint them, that they COU’D NOT OWN the Govern-
 ment as LAWFUL, nor BIND THEMSELVES by any OATH or SUB-
 SCRPTION to it; and subscrib’d a paper to that purpose, which they
 actually gave in to the Commissioners next day. The Commissioners &
 they debated upon it 5 or 6 hours; but the Ministers wou’d not in
 the least recede from their Paper, tho’ they were much Dealt with
 both by Enticing promises and severe Threatnings. They were Dis-
 miss’d at that time; and desir’d to appear again within six Weeks,
 and in the mean time to *make no Insurrection in the Country*; They promis’d

mis'd to do the *first*, but *declin'd* to give any answer to the *second*. Part 2.

When the 6 Weeks were expir'd, They met the Commissioners again, but still continu'd *immoveable* and *fix'd* in their Loyal Principles. The Commissioners being weary'd and not knowing what to do with 'em, put them off with a Proposal that they shou'd send one or two of their Number to *Dublin* to General *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers there; to try if they cou'd give them Satisfaction. The Ministers accordingly chose two of their number for that purpose (tho' they despair'd of Success) *viz.* the Reverend Mr. *Parrick Adair*, and Mr. *Archibald Ferguson*, and gave them Instructions to adhere resolutely to the Principles, they had *own'd* and *asserted* to the Commissioners below; and particularly discharged them, from giving any Titles to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers, *which might seem to approve of their present Power*, and appointed them to Plead that it was pure Conscience and no Turbulent Faction's Humour that Influenc'd their Opinion in that Matter.

The two Ministers having gone to *Dublin*, and Discour'd *Fleetwood*, were call'd before a Meeting of the Sectarian Officers in the Castle of *Dublin*, and Interrogated, *Why they and their Brethren wou'd not take the Engagement, nor give Security to live Quierly?* To which, they gave an Answer exactly agreeable to their Instructions, and were much Upbraided and Revil'd for it. And yet they persisted in Asserting their Principles with such undaunted Courage, as very much confounded some of their Accusers; of which (among other Instances) I shall give the Reader this one. While Mr. *Ferguson* was Pleading Conscience for their Judgment and Practice, one *Auan* an Anabaptist reply'd, *a Papist wou'd and might say as much for himself, and pretend Conscience as well as you:* To which Mr. *Adair* boldly Answered, Sir, *Under favour, 'Tis a mistake to compare our Consciences with Papists; for a Papist's Conscience cou'd Digest the Killing of Protestant Kings, and so wou'd not ours, for our Principles are contrary to it.* There being divers there who had a hand in the King's Murder, all of 'em were struck with Shame, and some with Anger, by Mr. *Adair's* cutting Repartee; pulling down their Hats over their Faces, and using the other Gestures that are the usual Judications of these Passions: Whereupon there was profound Silence in the Company. The Ministers were not ask'd any more Questions, but in a day or two were dismiss'd

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by *Fleetwood*; without giving or getting any Satisfaction, but what was the Result of their own Integrity and of a good Conscience, in giving their public Testimony against those Republican Usurpers to their very Faces.

The Commissioners of the Rump finding that they cou'd make no hand of the Presbyterian Ministers and People, but were constantly oppos'd by them, form'd a Design of clearing the North of *Ireland*, of all such obstinate Anti-republicans, by Transporting them to the South, to be Confid'd there, where they imagin'd their Commonwealth cou'd not receive so much Damage by their Opposition to it: For this purpose, in the Year 1653, they Summons'd all the Ministers and Charg'd them to bring in the Greatest and Best part of their Parishoners to *Carrickfergus*, there to take the Engagement, or give sufficient Reasons why they refus'd it.

The Ministers having first *protested* against the pretended Authority, that Summons'd 'em, as *void*; and that their appearing should not be Interpret'd an *owning* or *Symbolizing* with the same, did accordingly appear at *Carrickfergus*, and were Accompanied with a vast Concourse of People; in presence of whom, and before the Commissioners then sitting, *viz.* Collonel *Venables*, Coll: *Barrow*, Coll: *Jones*, Coll: *Hill*, Major *Morgan*, and Major *Allan*, The Ministers (speaking by turns) continued for several hours, to *unfold* the *Sinful* and *Illegal Usurpation* of the then *prevalent Power* in *England*, the unlawfulness of Abjuring the King and House of Lords, whose Title they STRENUOUSLY ASSERTED; and exhorted their People with a COURAGE and STEADINESS becoming the GOOD CAUSE they Maintain'd, to be Just and Loyal to the King, and to refuse the *Engagement*.

The Commissioners heard all with great Patience, not that they approv'd the Matter of such Discourses, but that they might have the more full Proof and better Color for Practising their New Expedient of Transporting the Ministers and People to *Tipperary*, wherein they were so forward as to have at that very time a Ship lying ready in the Road of *Carrickfergus*, to carry off the Ministers instantly. But Divine Providence baffled this Design in a manner, and at a Nick of Time, which prov'd as Surprizing and Confounding to these Republican *Engagers* and to all their Abettors, as 'twas Seasonable for relieving the *Refusers*, and for Vindicating their oppress'd Innocence; for in the mean time, while the Commissioners were full of this Project,

and

and just about sending the Ministers a Ship-Board, the Multitude being in Town, the public News brought an Account that *Oliver Cromwell* had rais'd the Parliament, *Dissolv'd the Commonwealth*, and made himself *Lord-Protector*: Now there was *no Commonwealth* to Engage to, and that Society, that was Erected upon the *Ruin* of the *Constitution*, had it self made an *Inglorious Exit*. ——— This Damp'd the Commissioners, and made 'em Dismiss the Ministers and People with milder Terms and Treatment than they had design'd.

Oliver having now thrown off the Mask, and Set up for himself; the Ministers were as brisk in their opposition to *him* as they had been to the *Commonwealth*, and for the same reasons. After his Son *Henry Cromwell* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, he being of an easie gentle temper, they Liv'd in more Peace than formerly; but refus'd all Compliance with his Court, and wou'd not observe the Fasts and Thanksgivings, appointed by his Authority; for which they were troubled by him. He wrote 'em *threatning Letters*, full of *Animosity* and Resentment, and some of 'em were charg'd to appear before the Council. Mr. *Greg* and Mr. *Hart* were call'd before *Henry Cromwell* himself, and askt the Reasons why they and their Bretheren did not observe the Fasts and Thanksgivings appointed by his Authority: In Answer to which they Plead'd, *That their Consciences did not allow 'em to comply with any Power that was against the Constitution and Lawful Magistracy of the Kingdom*. He was much Incens'd against 'em by this Answer, and Charg'd 'em with Ingratitude, Meaning that they had 100 Pounds each of them, *per Annum*, from the Government. But they never look'd upon *that Salary* as any Obligation upon them to own the Government; for the Usurpers had taken the Tyths from 'em, and after some Years gave 'em *that hundred Pounds per Annum*; which they accepted of, *not as a Gift* from the Government, but as a *part of their own* to which they had a Prior Title, and of which they had been depriv'd by the Usurpers, as has been observ'd. But yet 'tis evident, that they were laid under a Temptation by the *Precarious Foot* upon which their *Maintenance* then stood; Notwithstanding which, they persisted in their Loyal Resolutions and Declarations, and constantly and openly Prayed in their Pulpits for the King and for his Restauration, to their great Danger from *Oliver's Army* who heard them.

Before I make any reflections upon these papers and Historical passages,

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passages, I have adduc'd for proving the Loyalty of this Presbytery, who fram'd the *Bangor-declaration*, I am oblig'd to satisfy the Reader (which I shall here do once for all) of their being authentic and Genuine. *Monk's Queries*, and the *Answers* to them; the *propositions* delivered to him, the *Declaration of the Army and Country*, are all kept amongst the original papers and minuts of the Presbytery; Colonel *Venables's* Letter is publish'd from the very original yet in being, and kept amongst the said papers. Sir *Charles Coor's* Declaration is from a Copy kept likewise amongst their papers. The *Vindication of the late proceedings of the Presbytery*, and the Committee's reproving the sovereign of *Belfast* for not mentioning the King's Name in *fencing the Courts* is taken from the Original Minuts of the said Committee. Mr *Drysdail's Defence* is publish'd from the Original Manuscript, all written with his own hand, known to several persons of untainted Reputation and Veracity, yet alive, who can attest it. All the papers and records from whence they are taken, have all the evidences that any papers in the world can have of their being *authentic & genuine*. And I do with the sam Sincerity and Solemnity declare, as if I were upon oath, before God and the world, that I have not interpolated or added (to my knowledge) the *least Word* or *Syllable* to any of 'em; but do find from undoubted evidences that the said papers were all own'd and deliver'd by the Ministers, who were then Members of that Presbytery to their other Brethren, as genuine, and the facts therein set forth, affirm'd by them to be true with all the positive and particular circumstances of Eye and Ear-witnesses; divers of 'em have died several years since the late *happy Revolution* 1688, and particularly the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Mr *Thomas Hall* and Mr. *Anthony Kennedy*. Besides what all are agreed on, about the Management of the Rump-party even in *Ireland*, and what the public printed Histories relate of Colonel *Venables*, Sir *Charles Coor* and others so well quadrates with these papers, that there cannot be any shadow of Spectring them. I have in my hands an original paper subscribed by 5 of that Presbytery to their brethren dated at *Alybole* in the *shire of Air* in *Scotland*, *November 2d*, 1653 Shewing their being banish'd for their Loyalty by that party; the 5 Ministers were, the Reverend Mr *John Greg*, Mr *Thomas Hall*, Mr *Fergus Alexander*, Mr *Anthony Shaw*, Mr *William Richardson*. The History I give of the Ministers of *Carrickfergus* in 1653 their refusing the

Engagement was attested by great Numbers of eye and ear-witnesses who surviv'd the Revolution, and Multitudes can be produc'd (if need be) who had it from their own Mouths.

The Ministers aver'd all these Facts mention'd in the said Papers, in their Address to the Duke of *Ormond* in 1662, when all that Generation cou'd have refuted them had they offer'd any Palpable Mistakes. These and all the other particulars I have adduc'd with Relation to the Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Times of Usurpation (beside the other Proofs already mention'd, of their being True and Genuine) are recorded in Mr. *Adair's* Manuscript-History; a Book of very good Credit and Authority, as I have shown p. 165, &c.

The Inferences from these Papers and Historical Passages are so *Obvious*, that I shou'd justly incur the Censure of the Judicious Reader, shou'd I offer any tedious Enlargement upon 'em. What more cou'd Loyal Subjects say or do, than what that Presbytery said & did? They *Preach'd* and *Pray'd* for their King, *Asserted* his Title upon all occasions, *Persuad'd* others to be Loyal, refus'd to Abjure him, were *banish'd*, *revil'd*, *sequester'd*, *imprison'd* and *miserably harass'd* and *oppress'd* for him; fac'd the greatest Dangers with an *intrepid Gallantry*, *spoke* and *did* what the Usurpers had Decreed to be *High-Treason*, and were not frighten'd out of their Integrity by an Usurper, so **FORMIDABLE** as to awe some of the greatest Crown'd-Heads in *Europe*, and to make *Foreign States* to Court his *Alliance*; And they did all this in Face of their Enemies, and attested by their Enemies. I am bold to say, that these were such *Demonstrative Evidences* of Loyalty as were **PARALLEL'D BY FEW**, and **OUTDONE BY NONE** in those Days.

But let us take a short View of the behavior of the Presbyterians in *Great-Britain* during this Period; and this is so well known from the public Histories of those days, that I shall spend but little time upon it.

In *Scotland*, they *Proclaim'd*, *Crown'd*, and *Fought* for the King; their Country was a *Sanctuary* to him, when he durst not appear in any of his other Dominions; they defended him with their Lives and Fortunes until they were overcome by *Cromwel* and his Adherents; In *his Cause* they lost the Liberty of their Country, and were expos'd to all the *Calamities* of a conquer'd People, and to all the *Malice* and *Scorn* of *Enrag'd Enemies*; In face of whom, their Clergy *Pray'd* for his *Restoration*, and all Ranks amongst the People asserted his Right: where-
by

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by they show'd, that, tho' their Bodies and Estates must be Passive to a Superior Power, they had Souls *not to be Subdu'd* by the *strongest* Temptations to what was Disloyal and Dishonorable. As many of 'em had contributed out of their Estates for supplying his necessities, during his Exile; so they *all join'd* (in their several Stations for promoting his Restauration; and 'tis well known that General *Mork* concerted his Measures *with them*, for effecting that *Grand Design*.

All these things were so *evidently* true and so publicly known; that some of the bitterest enemies of the Presbyterians have freely acknowledged the truth of 'em: A noted Instance of this we have in a Book, Entitul'd, the *History of Independency &c.* Written by *Clemens Walker*, Esquire, and publish'd *Anno 1661*. That Author acknowledgeth (*part 2. p. 15.*) that the *Scots* in their Treaty with King *Charles 2d at Breda* promised 1st, ' That his Majesty should be admitted to the Throne of *Scotland*. 2^{dly}, That his Rights then should be by Parliament recover'd from the hands of Usurpers, and 3^{dly}, ' That they would *assist* to bring the *Murderers* of his Father of blessed Memory, to *condign Punishment*, and to restore him to his Native Kingdom of *England*.

Upon these promises, and the Resolutions taken upon 'em and concerted between the King and the *Scots*, he lands in *Scotland*; The Loyalty of which Kingdom was what drew upon 'em all the Miseries, which the Sectarian Usurpers could possibly inflict, as the same Author (*Ibid. p. 16.*) relates in these memorable words.

' *Charles* being at this pass, and his Majesty with much ado gotten into *Scotland*, as aforesaid, which the *Ju Eto* at *Westminster* having perfect intelligence of, and Weighing with themselves *that promise* of the *Scots* to bring the *Murderers* of the King's Father to condign Punishment, they begin to think it high time to provide for their own safety; in consulting whereof, after much time spent, it is resolv'd, the safest, wisest & to them least chargeable course to wait on the Enemy in his own Country, whereby they carry'd the War from home, and *not to stay for him* to bring it to their own doors.

' As a *strong Motive* to this, just at the Instant, they discover that *MANY OF THE PRESBYTERIANS* of *England*, had by their Agents agreed with the *Scots at Breda*, to *Re-Est-lish his Majesty* in all his Dominions whereupon *MANY EMINENT* persons
are

are seiz'd on, and among them Mr *Cafe*, Mr *Jenkins*, Mr *Jackson*, Mr *Love* &c. Which Mr *Love*, together with one Mr *Gibbons*, SUFFERED DEATH together on *Towerhill*, at the earnest suit of *Cromwel*, protesting he would not March into *Scotland* unless they were cut off. Part. 2.

The same Author having given an Account of *Monk's* Intention of making an Expedition into *England*, for bringing home the King; acquaints us with his calling an Assembly of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* at *Edinburgh*; To whom he propos'd 3 things, viz. That in his Absence they should preserve the Peace of that Nation, and supply him with Men, and Money for his Undertaking: to which the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Chair-man of that Assembly, made such answers as were highly satisfying to General *Monk*, who (i. e. *Monk*) Endeavours to carefs and endear them by giving the Lords and Gentry power to arm themselves, by SATISFYING THEM PRIVATELY IN THE DESIGN OF HIS EXPEDITION, and accepting of their Years Taxes. Hereupon he resolves now to dally no longer than his supplies of Men and Money come in' (Ibid. p. 77) This makes it plain, that the *Scots* were made privy to *Monk's* design of bringing home the King, *Anno*. 1660; And that they gave him all possible Encouragement and Assistance for making it practicable.

But let us next review the behaviour of *Presbyterians* in *England* during this period, and there we will find 'em preaching, prying and suffering for their King. The Reverend Mr *Love* was condemn'd and executed as a Traitor for espousing his quarrel, and the *English* *Presbyterians* join'd with the *Scots* Commissioners at *Breda* in their promises and propositions in favor of the King and Royal Family, as *Walker* observes, in one of the passages I have quoted from him; for which reason they were the objects of the most Inveterate malice of the *Rump* and their Adherents; as will appear by 2 Instances which that Author hath Recorded in his History. For the two projects that wicked Party had fram'd for destroying *Presbyterians*, whose Loyalty was likely to obstruct their Designs, were a *Massacre*, and the Severity of the High Court of Justice.

As to the first, *Walker* gives us the following Account of it in these Words (Ibid. Part 3. p. 11.) 'The first endeavour of all Tyrannical Usurpers is to lessen the number of their Enemies, either by Flattering and Deceiving them; or by violently extirpating and rooting

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them out. And such have been the attempts of our new *Cromwellian* Statists, ever since (without any calling from God or the people) they took upon them the Supreme Authority of the Nation, subverted our well mixed Monarchy and created themselves a free State. 1st, They endeavor'd to sweeten and allure to act with them, as many of the *secured and secluded Members*, Ministers, and other *Presbyterians*, as they could, to the end that *ex post facto* being guilty of their Sins, they might be engaged in one common defence, and go *baile* with them in their Ignominy and Punishment, though not in their Power, profit and preferments, in which the Godly will admit no Rivals, but (like their Patron the Devil) cry *all's mine*: But this DESIGN FAIL'D FOR THE MOST PART. 2. Their second endeavor was how to diminish the number of their opposites, *Royalists* and PRESBYTERIANS, by a *Massacre*, for which purpose many dark *Lanterns* and *Poniards* were provided last Winter, 1649. But fame prevented this plot: which coming to be the common rumor of the Town, put them in mind of the danger, in *any* and hatred that wou'd overwhelm them. So this was laid aside.

As to the second Project, the Author having prov'd the Illegality of the Oath call'd the *Engagement*, and having commended the Loyalty of those who refus'd it, and particularly the reasons of the *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* Ministers in their *Plea for non Subscribers* (for the Presbyterians Universally refus'd that Oath through the three Kingdoms) proceeds to Treat of the *High Court of Justice*, and shows, *first*, the Authority by which 'twas Constituted. *2dly*, the *Judges*, *3ly*, the manner of their Proceedings; and then he adds (*ibid. p. 43*)

4ly. And lastly, I am to consider, to what end and purpose this New invented *High Court* is constituted and appointed? Concerning which see a Letter dated 6 June 1650. *Stilo Vetere*, from the *Hague*, (suppos'd to be *Walter Strickland's*, the Parliament's Agent there) as I find it in *Walter Fross's* brief Relations of some Affairs and Transactions, &c, from Tuesday June 11, to June 18. 1650. Wherein the Epistoler hath these Words, "One piece of the Cure (*viz.* of the dangers that threaten your new State must be *Phlebotomy*, but then you must begin before Decumbency, and then it will be facile to prevent danger &c. they are here most of all afraid of your *High Court of Justice*, which they doubt may much Dis-

“ COUR-

" courage their Party, they wish you wou'd not renew the Power
 " thereof, but let it expire: then they think that after *Michalmas*
 " they may expect assistance with you, and indeed that Court is of
 " almost as much use to you as an Army: And will prevent the raising
 " of as many Enemies as the other would destroy, only you must be
 " sure to Execute Justice there with all Severity. A few of the first
 " stirrers taken away, by the Power thereof, without respect to
 " Cousin or Country will keep all the rest quiet. But whosoever
 " that Court Condemns, let them be as already Dead &c. But let
 " them be most free in cutting the *Vena Caphalica* (that is, the PRES-
 " BYTERIAN PARTY) for the *Basilica* (or Royal Party) will be
 " litent. The *Median* (or Levellers) wou'd be spired as much as
 " may be, That the Body be not too much Emaciated. Besides, the
 " BLOOD IS MOST CORRUPT in the *Caphalicks* (or PRESBYTE-
 " RIANS) and is the very *causa continens* of your Disease. You need
 " not fear to take freely of this Vein, &c.

According to the above Scheme, the sectaries did bend their thoughts
 and apply themselves in the most effectual manner they cou'd, to the
 suppressing and ruining of the *English* Presbyterians; and yet 'twas
 not in their Power to make them abandon their Loyal Principles and
 Dutiful Affection to the Royal Family: For the Presbyterians, a little
 after *Oliver's* Death, made an open and bold attempt for the King's
Restoration, which will ever be remembered to their Honor. The
Rump, who had still entertain'd their Resentments against *Oliver* for
 deposing 'em and Dissolving their Commonwealth, finding that his
 Son *Richard* had not his Father's Parts, nor cunning to Maintain him-
 self in the *Protectorship*, found means to get once more into the Saddle,
 and set up their *Republick* again. How the Presbyterians in *England*
 behav'd in this turn of Government. I shall relate in the words of the
 Author of the *Continuation of Sir Walter Raleigh's History* p. 143. '*Rich-*
 '*ard* (says he) retir'd to his former Obscurity, *Henry Cromwel* gave
 ' up *Ireland*, and the Commonwealth was Re-establish'd. During
 ' this Revolution, the Royalists had not been Idle, they had formed
 ' a Conspiracy for a general Insurrection; and we must do the Pres-
 ' byterians the Justice to own, that MOST OF THE CONSPIRA-
 ' TORS were of THEIR PROFESSION, as the Lord *Willoughby*
 ' of *Parham* who was to seize *Lyn*; *Genetel Mussy*, who was to
 ' do the same by *Gloster*, and *Sir George Booth* in *Cheshire*, who actu-

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ally Rose, was Defeated by Lambert at *Winnington-bridge* and taken in disguise in *New-port-Pignel*.

This Loyal attempt, tho' it was not Successful at that time, prov'd very *Serviceable* to the *King's Interest* by the Influence it had upon others and particularly upon the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of which *Burlace* takes special Notice, calling it a *Noble Attempt*, p. 316. ' and the Affairs of *England* (*says he*) growing every day full of change, *Ireland* understood what Sr. *George Booth* had NOBLY ATTEMPTED in *England*, grew thence early in its dutiful Address to his Majesty.

The *English Presbyterians* not being discourag'd by the unsuccessfulness of the former attempt, for the Restoration of the Royal Family, did most CHEARFULLY CONCUR with *Monk*, and the Parliament Anno 1660, for bringing home the King. And here it ought to be observ'd, that the way was Pav'd for his Restoration, by the Readmission of the Secluded Members and Presbyterian Party into the House, of which *Walker* gives the following Account (*ibid.* part. 4. p. 92. &c.)

He (i. e. *Monk*) procures a Conference between some sitting Members of the House, and some of the *Honorable Gentlemen* and WORTHY PATRIOTS that were EXCLUDED from it; at which himself being in person present, and weighing judiciously the Reasons and Arguments formed on both sides, which he heard with a deep and reserved silence, after all were withdrawn, he concluded with himself, upon result from the whole, that the pretended settlement proposed by the House, was of *Compass too narrow*, and too weak of Foundation to bear up the Nation, and repair its breaches: he resolv'd therefore to withdraw all manner of force from the House, and to admit men of more sober, moderate and less by-ssed Judgments, whose Spirits being more apt for public Good, wou'd establish the Kingdom upon Terms comprehensive of every considerable Interest therein: hereupon, on the one and twentieth day of *February*, meeting the secluded Members at *White-hall* and expressing himself to them in a speech not delivered by himself but by his Secretary Wherein he commended to their care, 1st, Religion — — — 2dly the State. — — —

The Secluded Members being thus admitted, fall immediately to Work, where they were abruptly forced to break off in *December* 1648.

Confirming

‘ Confirming their VOTE MADE THEN by ANOTHER *nam*,
 ‘ that the *Concessions of the late King were a sufficient Ground to proceed on*
 ‘ *for settling the Peace of the Kingdom*; hereby not only Vindicating
 ‘ themselves, but as it were at once disannulling all that had been
 ‘ done Dissinant thereto, during the whole time of their Receipt.

It is very observable of the two CHARLESSES, that the FIRST could not be Murdered until the Presbyterian Members were first cast out of the House of Commons, and that the SECOND could not be restor'd, until the same Members were brought in again: And then Scētarian Usurpers were effectually depos'd, a *Wise and Faithful Council of State* set up, and the *Militia* put into Loyal and Trusty Hands. A free Parliament is Call'd, and Presbyterians in the mean time us'd their utmost Interest for the King, and particularly those eminent Divines, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Jacomb, and the other Presbyterian Ministers of London animated the Affections of that Great City, as Mr. Baxter observes in the *History of his Life and Times* (p. 214). Upon the last Day of April 1660, the Parliament kept a Fast for imploring Divine Blessings and Direction in their Affairs; Mr. Calamy and Mr. Baxter were employed to Preach and Pray before the House of Commons that Day, and publicly told the House that they were *agreed to be Loyal to their King* (*Id. Ibid.* p. 217;) and the very next Morning after this Fast, the Parliament Vote home the King, *Nemine Contradicente*; Mr. Calamy, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Bowles (with divers others) went immediately to Holland to wait upon his Majesty, who gave them a Gracious Reception, and a great Character. For in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, he says, ‘ When we were in Holland, we were attended by many Grave
 ‘ and Learned Ministers from hence, who were look'd upon as the most
 ‘ able and Principal Assertors of the Presbyterian Opinions ----- and to
 ‘ our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them PERSONS FULL
 ‘ OF AFFECTION TO US, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church
 ‘ and State”. And when his Majesty came to London as he pass'd through the City towards Westminster, the London-Ministers attended him in their Places with ACCLAMATIONS, and by the Hands of old Mr. Arthur Jackson presented him with a rich adorn'd Bible, which he receiv'd, and told them it *shou'd be the Rule of his Actions*. (*Id. Ibid.* p. 218: and Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Ash, Dr. Spurriflow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Cole, were made his Chaplains (*Id. Ibid.* p. 229)

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The Great Sir *Matthew Hale*, and the Learned *Conformist* in his *second Plea for the Non-Conformists*, do the Presbyterians the Justice, as to own their Zeal in promoting the Restoration, the latter quoting the former with just Applause, in these Words; (p. 65.)

‘ They who are purish’d (*i. e. the English Non-Conformists*) are as ‘ *Orthodox Holy Christians as any in the World*, out of our own Church. ‘ They are *profitable and peaceable Subjects*, notwithstanding many ‘ discouragements and *provocations* from Fellow-Subjects, and hidden ‘ Traitors; more particularly, many of them have deserved well ‘ from the Church and State, which in human Probability HAD NE- ‘ VER BEEN RESTOR’D, but for THEIR LOYALTY, Religion ‘ and Conscience. This made the most Renow’d Sir *Matthew Hale* say ‘ (whose sense may be as soon taken as *most Men’s alive*, for his Wis- ‘ dom, Loyalty and Integrity, and Impartiality in all Acts of Jdg- ‘ ment) “ Many of the *Non-Conformists* had MERITED HIGHLY ‘ in the business of the King’s Restoration, and at least deserved, that ‘ the Terms of Conformity should not be made stricter than they were ‘ before the War.

Upon the whole, let the World judge, whether the Presbyterians be fairly Treated by our Author, when they are represented by him as Enemies to the King’s Restoration; which had they oppos’d, as Matters then stood, the Issue of all other endeavours that were us’d to promote it had been at best very Dubious, if not wholly unsuccessful; of which the King himself was very sensible, when for *that very reason* he urg’d the House of Lords in his first Parliament, to hasten the *Act of Oblivion*, in the following Words, “ *My Lords* (said he) if ‘ you do not join with me in extinguishing these Fears, which keep ‘ Mens Hearts awake, and apprehensive of *Safety and Security*, you ‘ keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, I’m ‘ persuaded neither you nor I had been here. I pray let us not deceive ‘ those who brought or permitted us to come together.

Having thus illustrated. 1. The Scope and occasion of the *Bangor*-Declaration. 2. The Reasons that justify it, and 3. The Loyalty of the Presbytery who made it, and the Loyalty of the *British* Presbyterians from 1648 to 1660; In Pursuance of the Method I propos’d,

I come 4thly, to answer what is objected by our Author against this Declaration of the Presbytery of *Bangor*. And here I must observe, that the Substance of all he advances has been already refuted, while

I have demonstrated that the Presbytery were for owning King *Charles 2d*, asserting his Title, opposing his Enemies, and promoting his Restoration. But our author makes one objection, which I shall further consider. Let the Reader take it in his own words in his *second Letter*, p. 9, 10. ' However to give you a perfect view of the Principles upon which the *Northern Presbyterians* proceed in this period let us Compare one Paragraph of this *Bangor-Declaration* in 1649, With a Paragraph of a Letter writ to King *Charles 2d*, from the General Assembly in *Scotland*, Dated the very same year and recorded in the *Acts of the General Assembly*.

' In the Declaration of *Bangor*, they say, *He* (i. e. the Lord of *Airds*) *has now cloath'd himself with a Commission from his Majesty, who as yet refuses to give any satisfaction in Religion to the just demands of the Kingdom of Scotland*. Now what those demands were, to which that Presbytery of *Bangor* referred in their Declaration, we find summ'd up in that Letter to King *Charles 2d*, before mentioned in these words, viz.

' *That your Majesty do humble your self under the Mighty hand of God, &c.* These are the just demands of the *Kirk of Scotland* to which the Presbytery of *Bangor* refers; and which, you may observe they make the **SOLE CONDITION** of their Allegiance and Subjection. This I Judge sufficient for a specimen of the *Untainted Loyalty* of the Dissenters of *Ireland*, and their singular merit from the Crown and Church in the second period.

Our Author, to make his Argument good, ought to have prov'd two points, viz. 1st, That the demands which the Assembly made were unreasonable; and 2^{dly}, That they were the *sole condition* of their allegiance to the King: And because he reflects heavily upon the Assembly's Letter, while he quotes but a part of it; and that not only Justice may be done to the Assembly, but also the weakness of our Author's reasoning upon their Letter compar'd with the *Bangor Declaration*, may further appear, I shall here Insert the whole Letter, which runs thus:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

(r) We your Majesty's most Humble Loyal Subjects, the Commissioners

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' missioners from all the Presbyteries in this your Majesty's Ancient
 ' Kingdom, and Members of this present National Assembly, hav-
 ' ing *expected* to find at our Meeting a Gracious and *satisfactory re-*
 ' *turn* to those humble Representations, made to your Majesty at
 ' the *Hague* by the Commissioners of this Kirk, cannot but express
 ' our great Sorrow, and Grief, that your Majesty's Goodness has been
 ' so far abused, as that not only the *just* and *necessary* desires prefer-
 ' ted by them to your Majesty, which so much concern the *Glory* of
 ' God your own honor and happiness, the Peace and Safety of your
 ' Kingdoms are *utterly frustrated*, as we perceive, by the paper deliv-
 ' ered in Answer to them; but also this Assembly hath not receiv-
 ' ed so much as any signification by letter of your Majesty's mind :
 ' which Princely *condescension* had not want to be wanting in your
 ' Royal Father, to former General Assembly's, even in times of
 ' greatest distance. Our Witness is in Heaven, and record on high,
 ' that we are not *Conscious* to our selves of any *Undutiful thought* or *Dis-*
 ' *loyal Affection*, that might have procur'd this at your Majesty's
 ' hands; And that as we do from our hearts *abominate* and *detest* that
 ' HORRID FACT of the *Seclaries* against THE LIFE OF YOUR
 ' ROYAL FATHER, our late Sovereign; so it is the unfeigned and
 ' earnest desire of our Souls, that the ANCIENT *Monarchical Go-*
 ' *vernment* of these Kingdoms may be *Establ. sh'd* and *Flourish* in your
 ' MAJESTIE'S PERSON all the days of your life, and be continu-
 ' ed in your Royal Family; which by Divine Providence hath with-
 ' out Interruption Reign'd over us and our Predecessors for so many
 ' Generations, since the time that we were a Kingdom; and that
 ' there is nothing, under the Glory of God, and cause of our Lord
 ' Jesus Christ, for which we do more *heartily* sollicit the Throne of
 ' Grace, or wou'd more *heartily expose* unto hazard ALL THAT
 ' IS DEAR to us in the World, than for THIS. And now though
 ' this very great discouragement might incline us to hold our peace
 ' at this time, yet the tenderness and uprightnes of our *Affection*
 ' and *Love* to your Majesty's happiness (which many *Waters* cannot
 ' *quench*) together with the Conscience of our duty, which our Lord
 ' and Master has laid upon us in this our place and station, constraineth
 ' us, yea and your Majesty's own Goodness and Gracious Disposition,
 ' whereof the late Commissioners have given us so large a Testimo-
 ' ny doth much encourage us, to renew our Address to your Ma-



‘ jesty in this humble faithful Representation, both of the great and
 ‘ growing dangers to your Royal Person and Throne, and of these
 ‘ duties, which the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings calls for from
 ‘ you, as you wou’d look to find favor in his eyes, and to be deliver-
 ‘ ed out of your deep distresses.

‘ Our hearts are filled with fears and troubles in your Majesty’s
 ‘ behalf, when we look upon the sad Calamities which have been
 ‘ already produced by such ways and courses as we perceive your
 ‘ Majesty is entered and in danger to be further led away into by the
 ‘ prevalency of evil Counsel, upon your tender Age: particularly, your
 ‘ *refusing to give Satisfaction to the just and necessary desires* of the Peo-
 ‘ ple of God. for advancing the Work of Reformation of Religion,
 ‘ and Establishing and Securing the same in your Majesty’s Dominions,
 ‘ which is nothing else but to Oppose the Kingdom of the Son of
 ‘ God, *by whom Kings do Reign*, and to refuse that he should Reign o-
 ‘ ver you and your Kingdoms, in his pure Ordinances of Church-
 ‘ Government and Worship; Your Cleaving to these Men as your
 ‘ Trustiest Counsellors, who as they never had the Glory of God,
 ‘ nor good of his People before their Eyes, so now in all their Ways
 ‘ and Counsels, are *seeking nothing but their own Interests*, to the haz-
 ‘ ard of the *Utter Subversion* of your Throne, the ruin of your Roy-
 ‘ al Family, and the Desolation of your Kingdoms; Your owning the
 ‘ Practices, and entertaining the Person of that Flagitious man, and
 ‘ most justly Excommunicated Rebel, *James Graham*, who has exer-
 ‘ cised such horrid Cruelty upon your best Subjects in this Kingdom;
 ‘ which cannot but bring upon your Throne, the Guiltiness of all the
 ‘ Innocent Blood shed by him and his Complices: And ABOVE ALL,
 ‘ that which we cannot think upon without *trembling of Heart* and
 ‘ *Herror of spirit*, your settling of late such a Peace with the *Irish* Papists,
 ‘ the Murderers of so *many thousands* of your Protestant Subjects,
 ‘ whereby not only they are *owned* as your *good Loyal Subjects*, but
 ‘ also there is granted unto them, (contrary to the *Standing-Laws* of
 ‘ your Royal Progenitors, contrary to the *Commandment* of the Most
 ‘ High God, and to the high Contempt and Dishonor of his Majesty,
 ‘ and evident danger of the Protestant Religion) a full Liberty of
 ‘ their abominable Idolatry; which cannot be otherwise Judged, but
 ‘ a *giving of your Royal Power and strength unto the Beast*, and an *Ac-
 ces-*

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‘ We do in all Humility beseech your Majesty to consider and try
 ‘ to Heart what the Mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken of all
 ‘ the Accounts of People, Nations, Kings and Rulers against the
 ‘ Kingdom of his Son, that they *Imagin a vain thing*, and that *he that*
 ‘ *sitteth in Heaven will have them in Derision*, and *wex them in his sore*
 ‘ *Displeasure*. Consider, how he hath Blasted and Turned upside
 ‘ down these Years by past all the Devices and Plots of those Men
 ‘ that *now bear the Sway* in your Majesty’s Councils: Consider,
 ‘ how the Anger of God has been kindled even against his dearest
 ‘ Saints, when they have joined themselves to such Men as he Hateth
 ‘ and has Cursed. Consider, how severely he hath Threatned and
 ‘ Punished such Kings as have Associate with Idolaters, and leaned
 ‘ their help. Surely, Great is the Wrath of God, whereof you are
 ‘ in danger; and yet the Lord in the riches of his Goodness, *forbear-*
 ‘ *ance and Long Suffering*, is waiting to be Gracious to your Majesty,
 ‘ *To day if ye will hear his Voice, harden not your Heart, but humble your*
 ‘ *self under the mighty hand of God*; Lamenting after him as for the
 ‘ Iniquities of your Father’s House, especially the Opposition against
 ‘ the Reformation of Religion and Cause of God, the permitting and
 ‘ practising Antichristian Idolatry in the Royal Family it self, and
 ‘ the shedding of so much Blood of the People of God, so also for
 ‘ your own entering to walk in the like Courses in the *beginning* of
 ‘ your Reign. It is high time to fall down before the Throne of Grace,
 ‘ seeking to get your Peace made with God through Jesus Christ,
 ‘ whose Blood is able to wash away all your sins, to *walk no longer in*
 ‘ *the Counsel of the ungodly*, nor cleave to such as seek their own things
 ‘ and not the things of Jesus Christ, nor the Welfare of your Sub-
 ‘ jects and Government; but to set your Eyes upon the faithful in
 ‘ your Dominions, that such may dwell with you, and be *the Men of*
 ‘ *your Councils*, to serve the Lord in Fear, and *kiss the Son of God*, by
 ‘ a sincere and cordial Contributing your Allowance and Authority for
 ‘ establishing in all your Dominions, the Reformation of Religion, in
 ‘ Doctrine, Worship and Government, as it is now agreed upon ac-
 ‘ cording to the clear and evident Warrant of the word of God by
 ‘ the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and the General Assembly
 ‘ of this Church; and also laying aside that *Service-Book*, which is so
 stuff’d

' stuff'd with *Romish* Corruptions, and conforming your own Practice
 ' and the Worship of God in your Royal Family, to that Gospel simp-
 ' plicity and Purity which is holden forth from the Word of God in
 ' the Directory of Worship, and not only to grant your Royal Ap-
 ' probation to the Covenant of these three Kingdoms (without which
 ' your People can never have from you sufficient security either for
 ' Religion, or their just Liberties) but also your self to join with your
 ' People therein, as the greatest security under Heaven for your Per-
 ' son and just Greatness, and to cause all of them stand to it by your
 ' Royal Command, according to the Practice of that Gracious King
 ' *Jesiah*, to whom we wish your Majesty in these your Younger Years,
 ' and this beginning of Your Reign, to look as to an ensample and
 ' Kingly Portrait approv'd of God. These things *if your Majesty do*;
 ' as we are well assured, that the Hearts of all your Good Subjects in
 ' these Kingdoms will be *enlarged* with *all Cheerfulness* to Embrace your
 ' Person, and submit unto your Royal Government, so we dare pro-
 ' mise in the Name of our Lord, that you shall find favour with God,
 ' Peace and joy *unspeakable* and full of Glory to your Soul, and delive-
 ' rance out of your sad Afflictions, and deep Distresses in due Time.
 ' But if your Majesty shall *go on* in *refusing to hearken to* wholesome
 ' Councils; we must for the *discharge of our Conscience*, tell your Ma-
 ' jesty in the Humility and Grief of our Hearts, that the *Lord's Anger*
 ' *is not turned away*, but his Hand is stretched out still against you and
 ' your Family.

' But we hope and shall with all earnestness and constancy pray
 ' for better things from, and to your Majesty: and whatsoever mis-
 ' construction (by the malice of those who desire not a right Un-
 ' derstanding and Cordial Conjunction between your Majesty and this
 ' Kirk and Kingdom) may be put upon our Declaration; Yet we
 ' have the Lord to be our witness, that our purpose and Intention
 ' therein is *no other* but to warn and keep the people of God commit-
 ' ted to our care, that they run not any course which wou'd bring
 ' upon themselves the guilt of *highest perjury* and breach of Cove-
 ' nant with God, and cou'd not but prove most dangerous to your
 ' Majesty and involve you in shedding the blood of those, who are
 ' *most desirous* to preserve your Majesty's Person, & *just Rights in all your*
 ' *Dominions*. And now we do with all earnestness beseech your Ma-
 ' jesty, that you will follow the courses of truth & peace & that when

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‘ there is a door open’d for your Majesty to enter to your Royal Government over us, in Peace, with the favor of God, and cordial love and Embracings of all your Good Subjects ; You will not suffer your self, to be so far abused and misled by the Councils of Men, who *delight in war*, as to take a way of Violence and blood, which cannot but provoke the most high against your Majesty, & *alienate from you the hearts of your best Subjects*, who desire nothing more than that your Majesty may have a long & happy Reign over them : and that they may live under you a *peaceable and quiet Life in all Godliness and honesty.*

‘ *Edinburgh. 6.*

‘ *August.*

‘ 1649.

‘ *Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects and humble Servants,*
 ‘ *the Ministers and Elders convened in this National Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.*

There cannot be more solemn Proteſtations nor more Pathetical Expreſſions, of an inviolable Regard to Monarchy, a Loyal and dutiful Affection to the Royal Family and the person of their Prince, than these contain’d in the beginning of the above Letter, which therefore is a strong Argument for ’em instead of being matter of reproach. And tho’ in the latter part of it they make demands in favor of the Covenant, and against Episcopacy, *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies*, yet they don’t make these things the *Condition* of their *Allegiance* to him : and our Author’s reasoning proceeds upon this *Fundamental* mistake, upon which the whole strength of his Argument is built, and with which it falls ; *viz.* That he do’s not rightly distinguish between the *desires* which the Assembly of *Scotland* made to the King, and the *Conditions* of their *allegiance* to him ; but whenever he finds any thing propos’d by them to his Majesty, he presently concludes that to be the *sole Condition* of their Subjection to him. His Right to be their King was the condition of their Allegiance ; But then I see no reason why they might not desire him to do some things, which they were not for making the essential and sole Condition of their allegiance, but propos’d them only as their *earnest desires*, insinuating that his granting these things wou’d exceedingly encourage them, to pay their allegiance to him, with more cheer-

cheatful affection, and esteem of his Royal Government: and this is all they say, when they tell him, *these things if your Majesty will do, we are assur'd that the hearts of your Majesty's Subjects will be enlarg'd,* &c.

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As to the Matter of these desires, it wou'd quite lead me off the design of this Book, to enter into the controversie about *Episcopacy* and *Liturgies*; 'tis enough for my purpose to observe that the Church of *Scotland* had a right by the Laws of the Kingdom, to demand from the King, a sufficient security for the preservation of their own Constitution against both; and that in their Circumstances they had a great deal to say for their using some expressions against Prelacy & Ceremonies, which may seem *harsh* to people who know not the History of the troubles and confusions brought on that Church and State by the furious *Laudenſian* Prelates of that age; of which I shall here give the Reader a brief account, in the words of two Historians who cannot be suspected of partiality to *Scots* Presbyterians: The first is the Earl of *Clarendon* (1),

' It was a fatal Inadvertency (*says he*) that these Canons neither before nor after they were sent to the King, had been *ever seen by the Assembly or any Convocation* of the Clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the observation of them; nor *so much as Communicated* to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom, it being almost impossible that any new Discipline cou'd be Introduc'd into the Church which wou'd not much concern the Government of the State, and even *Trench* upon or *refer* to the *Municipal Laws* of the Kingdom. And in this Consideration the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had always declared to the Bishops of *Scotland*, *That it was their part to be sure that nothing they shou'd propose to the King, in the business of the Church, shou'd be contrary to the Laws of the Land, which he cou'd not be thought to Understand; and that they shou'd never put anything in Execution, without the consent and approbation of the Privy Council.* But it was the UNHAPPY CRAFT of those Bishops to get it believ'd by the King, that the work wou'd be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy and the People (which THEY COU'D HARDLY BELIEVE) in order to the obtaining his Majesty's approbation, and

autho-

(1) *vide* his Hist: Book 2d p. 84. &c. Edit. folio.

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Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find opposition from the Nobility, Clergy, or people against his Majesty's *express Power and will*, which without doubt was then in *great Veneration* in that Kingdom; and so they did not, in truth, DARE TO SUBMIT *these Canons* to any other Examination than what the King shou'd direct in *England*.

It was in the next place, as strange that Canons shou'd be published before the *Liturgy* was prepar'd (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were Principally for the observation of and punctual compliance with the *Liturgy*; which all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoind by it, before they knew what it contain'd. Whereas if the *Liturgy* had been first publish'd with all due Circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better reception, and the Canons have been less examin'd.

The Scots Nation, how capable soever it was of being led by some great Men and misled by the Clergy, would have been corrupted by neither into a barefac'd Rebellion against their King whose person they lov'd, and reverenc'd his Government, nor could they have been wrought upon towards the lessning of the one, or the other, by any suggestions, or insinuations, than such as shou'd make them jealous or apprehensive of a design to introduce *Papery*; a great part of their Religion consisting in an entire detestation of *Papery*, in believing the *Pope to be Antichrist*, and hating perfectly the persons of all *Papists*.

The Canons now published, besides (as hath been touched before) that they had pass'd no approbation of the Clergy, or been Communicated to the Council, appear'd to be so many new Laws, imposed upon the whole Kingdom by the King's SOLE AUTHORITY, and contriv'd by a few private Men of whom they had no good opinion and who were strangers to the Nation; so that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, and which they most passionately abhor'd. Then they were so far from being confin'd to the Church, and the matters of Religion, that they believ'd there was no part of their Civil Government invaded by them; and no persons of what Quality soever unconcerned, and as they thought, un-

hurt in them & there were some things in some particular Canons, how rational & sober in themselves, and how distant & cooler in the words and expressions from inclining to Popery, which yet gave *too much advantage* to those, who maliciously watched the occasion, to persuade weak men that it was an approach, and Introduction to that Religion wherof intoxicated all men and deprived them of all faculties to examine and Judge.

Some of the said Canons Defined and Determin'd such an unlimited Power and Prerogative to be in the King according to the pattern (in express Terms) of the Kings of ISRAËL, and such a full Supremacy in all Cases Ecclesiastical, as hath never been pretended to by their former Kings, or submitted to by the Clergy, and Laity of that Nation; which made impression upon Men of all Tempers, Humors, and Inclinations; And that no Ecclesiastical Person shou'd become Surety or Bound for any Man; That National or General Assemblies should be called only by the King's Authority, That all Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, who Dye without Children, shou'd be oblig'd to give a good part of their Estates to the Church, and though they shou'd have Children, yet to leave somewhat to the Church, and for advancement of Learning; which seem'd rather to be matter of State and Policy, than of Religion, thwarted their Laws and Customs, which had been observ'd by them; less'n'd, if not took away the Credit of Churchmen, and Prohibited them from that Liberty of Commerce in Civil Affairs, which the Laws permitted to them, and reflected upon the Interests of those who had, or might have a Right to Inherit from Clergy-Men. That none shou'd receive the Sacrament but upon their Knees; That the Clergy shou'd have no private Meetings for expounding Scripture, or for Consulting upon Matters Ecclesiastical; That no Man shou'd cover his Head in Time of Divine Service, and that no Clergy-Man shou'd Conceive Prayers extempore, but be Bound to Pray only by the Form Prescrib'd in the Liturgy, (which by the way was not seen nor fram'd) and that no Man shou'd teach a public School, or in a private House, without a License first obtain'd from the Archbishop of the Province, or the Bishop of the Diocess.

All these were New, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular and orderly People, piously dispos'd; Yet it was too strong meat for Infants in Discipline, and *too much* nourishment to be ad-
mi-

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' ministred as once, to weak and queasy Stomachs, and too much in-
 ' clin'd to nauseate w^{ch} was most wholesome, but then, to apply
 ' the old Terms of the Church, to mention the *Quatuor tempora*, and
 ' restrain all Ordinations to those four seasons of the Year, to enjoyn a Font
 ' to be prepared in every Church for Baptism, and a decent Table for the
 ' Communion; and to direct, and appoint the places where both Font and
 ' Table shou'd stand, and decent Ornaments for either; to restrain any
 ' Excommunication from being pronounc'd, or absolution from being given
 ' without the Approbation of the Bishops; to mention any practice of
 ' Confession (which they took'd upon as the strongest, and most In-
 ' separable Limb of Antichrist) and to enjoyn, That no Presbyter shou'd
 ' reveal any thing he shou'd receive in Confession, except in such cases,
 ' where, by the Law of the Land his own life shou'd be forfeited; were
 ' all such matters of Innovation and in their Nature so suspicious, that
 ' they thought they had reason to be jealous of the worst that cou'd
 ' follow: and the last Canon of all provided, that no person shou'd be
 ' received into Holy orders or suffered to Preach, or Administer the Sa-
 ' craments without first subscribing to those Canons.

The second Historian, whom I shall quote upon this head is a Re-
 verend Father in the Church of *England*, whose Testimony as being
 confirm'd by his Particular knowledge of the *Scots* affairs, and his
 Veneration for the Episcopal order, as well as his great Character as
 an Historian in General, can't with any good Grace be refus'd by our
 Author and these of his party; 'Tis the Reverend Doctor *Burnet*
 Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, who in his *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*
 (t), gives the following Character and History of the *Scots* Bi-
 shops.

' Episcopacy being settled, King *James* also erected a High-Commis-
 ' sion Court, for punishing such as offended against that Constitution
 ' of the Church. This Court was made up of Bishops and other No-
 ' blemen and Gentlemen; But the Bishops being those who kept the
 ' Diets of it best, most of the secular persons absenting themselves,
 ' often on design; and the Bishops leading all Matters in it, it
 ' was counted their Court, and the *Odiom* of all that pass'd there fell to
 ' their share.

' This

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' This step being made, King *James* advanced towards an Uniformity with *England* in Worship and other Ceremonies, moved to it, either that he might thereby make way for the Union of both Kingdoms, which of all things he most desired, or that he might root the Seeds of *Puritanism* out of *Scotland*. But in this he met with greater opposition, and all the Progress he made in it was that in one Assembly it was Decreed, there shou'd be a Liturgy drawn for the use of the Church of *Scotland*; and in another at *Perth*, the five Articles that bore the Name of that place, were settled not without great Contradiction; and these were the Confirmation of Children, private Baptism, private Communion in Cases of necessity, Kneeling in Communicating, the Observation of the Holy days of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost. These were also establish'd in Parliament Anno 1621, where the Marquis his Father was Commissioner, and Managed that Affair so dexterously, that it gain'd him an equal share of esteem and hatred, these things being generally very odious, As King *James* was going on warily in this Design, he Died Lamented and Admired by all the World, and even those who had Irritated him most when alive, did bewail his Death with Deep and just Regretes.

' He was succeeded in his Throne by his only Son *Charles the First*, who was Zealously Conscientious for Episcopacy; so what his Father begun out of Policy was Prosecuted by him out of Conscience; the Bishops therefore were Cherished by him, with all imaginable Expressions of kindness and confidence, but they lost all their esteem with the People, and that upon divers Accounts. The People of *Scotland* had drunk in a deep Prejudice against every thing that favour'd of Popery. This the Bishops judged was TOO HIGH, and therefore took all means possible to lessen it, both in Sermons and Discourses, MOLLIFYING THEIR OPINIONS, and commending their Persons, not without some Reflections on the Reformers. But this was so far from gaining their Design, that it abated nothing of the Zeal was against Popery, but very much heighten'd the Rage against themselves, as favoring it too much.

' There were also subtle Questions started some Years before in *Holland* about Predestination and Grace; and *Arminius* his Opinion, as it was condemn'd in a Synod at *Dort*, so was generally ill reported of in all Reform'd Churches, and no where worse than in *Scotland*, but

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most of the Bishops and their Adherents, *undertook openly and zealously* the defence of these Tenets; likewise the *Scottish* Ministers and People had ever a great respect to the Lord's Day, and generally the Morality of it is reckon'd an Article of Faith among them; but the Bishops not only *undertook to beat down this Opinion*, but by their Practices express'd their NEGLECT OF THAT DAY; and after all this, they declared themselves AVOWED ZEALOTS for the Liturgy and Ceremonies of *England*, which were held by the Zealous of *Scotland* all one with Popery: Upon these Accounts it was that they lost *all their Effort* with the People.

Neither stood they in *better Terms* with the Nobility, who at that time were as considerable as ever *Scotland* saw them; and so proved both *more Sensible* of Injuries, and more *capable* of resenting them. They were offended with them, because they seem'd to have more Interest with the King than themselves had, so that favors were mainly distributed by their Recommendation, they were also upon all Affairs, nine of them were Privy-Counsellors, divers of them were of the *Exchequer*, *Spittiswood* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* was made Chancellor, and *Maxwell* Bishop of *Ross*, was fair for the Treasury, and engag'd in a *high Rivalry* with the Earl of *Traguir* then Treasurer, which *rendred not a little to help forward their Ruin*. And besides this, they began to *pretend highly* to the *Tithes & Impropriations*, and had gotten one *Lexmonth* a Minister Presented Abbot of *Lindis*; and seem'd confident to get *that State of Abbots*, with all the *Revenue and Power* belonging to it, *again restored* into the hands of Churchmen, designing also, that according to the first Institution of the Colledge of Justice, the *half of them shou'd be Churchmen*. This cou'd not but touch many of the Nobility in the quick, who were too large Sharers in the Patrimony of the Church, not to be very sensible of it.

They were *no less hateful* to the Ministry, because of THEIR PRIDE, which was cried out upon as *unsupportable*. Great Comphains were also generally mad: of *Simoniackal P. tions* with their Servants, which was Imputed to their Masters as if it had been for their Advantage; at least by their Allowance. They also *exacted a New Oath* of Intrants, (*besides what was in the Act of Parliament for Obedience to their Ordinary*) in which they were oblig'd to obey the Articles of *Perth*, and submit to the Liturgy and Canons.

They

‘ They were also making *daily Inroads* upon their Jurisdiction, of which the *Ministers* were *very sensible*. And Universally their *great Rigor* against any that favour’d or *Puritanism*, together with their *meddling in all secular Affairs*, and *relinquishing* their Diocesses to *wait on the Court and Council*, made them the **OBJECT OF ALL MEN’S FURY**. Part 2.

‘ But that which heighten’d all to a *Crisis* was, *their advising* the King to introduce some Innovations in the Church by his *own Authority*; things had *prospered so ill* in General Assemblies, that they thought of these no more. And in the Parliament 1633. that small Addition to the Prerogative, that the King might appoint what *Habits* he pleased to the Clergy, met with *Vigorous Opposition*; notwithstanding the King seem’d much concerned for it; those who oppos’d it being sharply taken up and *much neglected* by his Majesty, which stuck deep in their Hearts, the Bishops bearing *all the blame* of it.

‘ At this time a Liturgy was drawn for *Scotland*, or rather the *English* Re-printed with that Title, save that it had some Alterations which rendered it *more invidious and less satisfactory*; and after long consulting about it, and another Book of Canons, they were at length agree’d to, that the *one* shou’d be the form of the *Scots* Worship, and the *other* the Model of their Government; which did **TALLY VARY** from their *former practices and Constitutions*: And, as if all things had conspired to carry on their Ruin, the Bishops *not satisfied* with the General High-Commission Court, produced Warrants from the King for setting up *such Commissions* in their *several Diocesses*, in which with other Assistors, Ministers and Gentlemen, all of *their own* Nomination, they might punish Offenders.

‘ That was put in Practice only by the Bishop of *Galloway*, who though he was a pious and learned Man, yet was fiery and Passionate, and went so *roundly to work*, that it was cryed out upon as a *Yoke and Bondage* which the Nation was not able to bear.”

From what both these Historians relate of the *Arbitrary Measures* and *Innovations* introduc’d by the *Scots* Bishops, it is evident that the Church of *Scotland* cou’d not be blam’d for *insisting* upon *good security* from the young King, for the Preservation of their *Legal Establishment*.

But I must not pass another Objection our Author makes against

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this Declaration of *Bangor*, in one of the Marginal Notes upon it in his first Letter p. 26 The Words of the Declaration he finds the Objection upon are these. ‘ For (whereas the danger of such Accidents being foreseen) an Article was inserted in the Declaration to acknowledge the King’s Command; he *Confirming* all the Articles of the Covenant, *before* he were admitted to the exercise of his Royal Power.

Upon which he remarks thus ‘ It seems then these *Loyal* Gentlemen would not so much as *acknowledge the King’s Commands* how Lawful soever, except he first should *Confirm all the Articles of the Covenant*, not one excepted.

Answer. That that Presbytery approved of the Covenant and would gladly have procur’d the Royal Approbation of it too, is indeed evident from that part of their Declaration, last quoted: But ’tis deny’d, that they made the King’s confirming all the Articles of the Covenant, the *Condition of their Allegiance*. They did indeed propose that he should confirm them, *before he were admitted to the exercise of his Regal Power*; but they do not put the case of his Refusal to confirm them, nor offer their opinion, that they would reject his Authority altogether, *if he did refuse to do it*. Nay, it is plain that their principles oblig’d ’em to own him for their King, though he should not confirm nor own the Covenant: for besides, that they had all unanimously received the *Westminster Confession*, which expressly says, that *Infidelity and difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrate’s just and legal Authority, nor free the people from their due Obedience to him*; Mr *Drysdail* in his Answers to *Venables’s* objections from the Covenant which was against all Malignants (see p. 296) clears this Matter, by letting us see, that they *knew the King to be the head of that party* when they made the Covenant, yet they put a difference between him and other Malignants; they swore to him *not to diminish his just power and greatness, but to preserve his Royal Person*; which demonstrates, that they did not intend to make his Alteration of his principles in that point, any essential condition of their Allegiance and Subjection to him.

I shall next come to consider the behavior of Presbyterians in the 2d period of this Reign, *viz.* From the Restoration to it’s conclusion: During which time, Our Author exhibits his Libel against ’em in his first Letter (p. 12.) in these Words ‘ I cannot at present produce a-
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any expressions relating to them from King *Charles the second*; but let the *Laws of the Land* made against them in his Reign in the three Kingdoms, speak for him; Let the *Proclamations* from the Government, not only in *England and Scotland*, but in *Ireland* speak for him; particularly, that from the Government of *Ireland* Dated the 30th of *April 1662*. In these words; *Whereas Indulgence to and forbearance of Dissenters and Non-conforming Persons of several Persuasions hath been long time used, and yet the event hath not answered Expectation; but Recusants, Non-conformists & Sectaries have grown worse by clemency. Therefore &c.* Let these *Laws and Proclamations* speak the *Princes's* sense of them.

And let the *Rye-house-Plot* in *England*, the Murder of the *Archbishop of St. Andrews*, and the Rebellion subsequent to it in *Scotland*, the Attempt of seizing the *Duke of Ormond* in *Ireland*, in each whereof the *Presbyterians* had the greatest hand; Above all, let their opposing his *Restoration* both from the *Kirk Assemblies in Scotland and Ireland*, as I will make appear, and the *Unchristian and scandalous* Aspersions thrown upon him in their Letter from the *Assembly to him* Dated from *Edinburgh*, which I will presently produce, speak for their *Untainted Loyalty* in that *Turn of Government*. Where he enlarges upon any of these heads in his *second Letter*, they shall be considered.

To his *first Argument* against *Presbyterians*, taken from the *Laws* made against 'em; I answer, that 'tis inconsequential, and proves nothing against their *Loyalty*; if ever one *Protestant* was persecuted by another, it must be own'd, that the *Presbyterians* were persecuted under a *Protestant Government* during this period, tho' by the *Influence of Popish Councils*. I have three remarks to offer to the sober and Conscientious *Protestant Reader*, which I hope will convince him that these *Laws* are no just ground of *Accusation* against *Presbyterians*.

1st, That the *Chief Promoters* of these *Laws* were either *Papists*, or influenced by *Popish Councils*, or peevish dividing *Protestants*, who out of *pique and revenge* were betray'd, though without a design on their part, into measures that tended to the advancement of *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*, or by *Temperizing Favorites*; who had no other fix'd Principle, but to please the *Court* and to sacrifice all to it.

2^{dly}, That these *Laws* were executed against *Presbyterians* at such times and in such a manner as tended to the *weakening* of the *Protestant*

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Interest. *Sifting* of the Popish Plot, and *entailing* the Misery and slavery of a *Popish Successor* upon the Nations.

3^{dly}, That in every Parliament in this Reign, the House of Commons were *sensible* that these Laws were *dangerous* to Religion and Liberty: and brought in *Bills* to repeal them, & made *Votes* against the execution of them; which was done even by *that very* house of Commons that *fram'd* them, after several Years experience of *the evil* of them: and that *all Good Bills* for the uniting of Protestants were *still* defeated by the influence of the Court and *Popish Councils*, at *that very* time when the discovery of the Popish Plot was discourag'd, and when Arbitrary steps for enslaving the Subject were taken, and when the Union of Protestants was *most Necessary* and desirable.

If I prove these remarks to be just, the Argument will turn upon our Author: and instead of doing any harm to Presbyterians, 'twill be an *effectual Vindication* of 'em, as *true friends* to the Protestant Religion, their King, and Country: and conclude them *Enemies* to Popery, Popish Plots, and a Popish Succession, Arbitrary Government in the Prince, and an *Arbitrary* slavery in the People.

To justify these observations, I shall lay before the Reader several passages of the *Proceedings* of the Parliaments during this Period, *Speeches* of the Honorable and Worthy Members, and of some of the most *Calumniated* Pieces written upon this Subject; placing them in that Order as may best tend to the Illustration and Proof of my *three* Remarks; and without the Interruption of my own Reflections upon them, until I come, upon the whole, to *Sum up* the evidence.

The first I mention is a part of a Treatise, call'd, *The Ill Effects of Antiquities, in the State Travels* (u)

‘ Though all *English Protestants* have ever been at an Accord in
 ‘ all the *Essentials* and *Vitals* of Religion, yet from the very begin-
 ‘ ning of the Reformation, there have been *differences* among them con-
 ‘ cerning *Ecclesiastical Government* and *Discipline*, and about *Forms*,
 ‘ Rites & *Ceremonies* of Worship; and had they consulted either their
 ‘ Duty to God, or the common Interest of *Religion*, they might have
 ‘ found Ways either for removing the *occasions* of them; or they
 ‘ ought to have lived together as Brethren, notwithstanding the *diffe-*

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'rences which were among them in *those things*. But how much *wiser*
 'are the Children of this World, than he of the Kingdom of God and
 'of Jesus Christ? For, tho' the Differences among the *Papists* do far
 'exceed ours, both in their *Number* and in the *Importance* of those
 'things wherein they *Disagree*, yet they do mutually *Tolerate* and
 'bear with one another: The Matters wherein they differ are neither
 'made the *Terms of their Church Communion*, nor the Grounds of
 'Mutual Excommunications and Persecutions.

' But alas, one Party among us hath been always endeavoring to
 'cut or stretch others to their own Size, and have made those things
 'which themselves, to be indifferent, both the Qualifications for Admis-
 'sion to the *Pastoral Office*, and the Conditions of Fellowship in the
 'Ordinances of the Gospel: Nor is it to be express'd, what advan-
 'tages were hereby Administr'd all along to the Common Enemy;
 'and what Sufferings PEACEABLE and ORTHODOX Christians
 'were expos'd unto from their PEEVISH and ANGRY Brethren.
 ' And though these things, with the *Heats* begotten among all, and
 'the Calamities undergone by one side, were not the Cause of that
 'famous War betwixt Charles the First and the Parliament, yet they
 'were an occasion of Diverting Thousands from the side which the
 'Persecuting Church-Menspos'd; and engaging them in the behalf of
 'the Two Houses in the Quarrel which they began, and carried on a-
 'gainst that Prince for Defence of the Civil Liberties, Privileges and
 'Rights of the People. But some of the *Mixed Clergy* were so far
 'from being made wise by their own and the Nation's Sufferings, as
 'upon their *Restoration* to hearken to Moderate Counsels, and to
 'Decline their former Rigors and Severities; that they became the
 'Tools and Instruments of the Court, not only for *Reviving* but for
 'HEIGHTENING and *enflaming* all the differences which had been
 'formerly among *English Protestants*. For the Royal Brothers find-
 'ing nothing more adapted and *subservient* than this, to their design
 'of *altering* the Government and *subverting Religion*, they Animated
 'those WASPISH and IMPOLITIC ECCLESIASTICS not only to
 'pursue the Restoration of all those things which had given Rise and
 'Occasion to former *Dissensions* and *Persecutions*, but to lay new Inat-
 'ces for alienating many Persons of unspotted Lives and tender Consci-
 'ences from the Church, and of rendering them obnoxious to suffer in
 'their Names, Persons, and Estates. And what a Satisfaction was it

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to the late King and his Brother, to find the old Episcopal Clergy prepared through *Principles of Revenge*, as well as from Love of *Dominion, Ambition and Covetousness*, to fall in with the design, not only of *Increasing Divisions* among Protestants, both by making the Conditions of *Entering up on the Pastoral Function* narrower, and for *Screwing with the Church* in her *Forms and Ceremonies of Worship*, into *Tests for Admission to Magistracy and Civil Trusts*, but of obtaining several *Laws against Dissenters*, where by the Penalties to which they foresaw that People would become *Liabie* were rendered greater than they had been before, and their *Sufferings* made more **MERCILESS, INHUMANE, and INTOLERABLE.**

The next is *Coke* in his *Detections* (w) ' The Commons in Parliament (says he) for the first ten years of this Reign were *Tories*, and all their business was against the *Protestant Dissenters* from the Church, scarce taking notice of the *Papists*, till the breach of the *Triple Alliance*; the second Marriage of the Duke of York, the second *Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience*, The attempt upon the *Smirna-Fleet*; the shutting up of the Exchequer, the King's making War with the *Dutch* in Conjunction with the *French* (these they successively acted) OPENED THE EYES of the greater part of the Commons, that for their own and the Nation's safety they became more numerous in the House than the *Tory-party*, yet retain'd their Loyalty to the King, I verily believe, as firm as any *English* men before them.

The Next evidence I adduce is the Author of that Celebrated Pamphlet, *Faults on both Sides*, who speaks thus p. 7, 8.

' It may be very material also to observe to you that as these names of Distinction (viz. *Whig & Tory*) are taken from words signifying Parties differing in their Religious Sentiments, the World has been led into, and still persists in a mistake, as if the one sort were altogether Dissenters, and the other included all that were true Church of *England* men, whereas there has always been a great number of the *Whig-Party*, even of the Clergy as well as the Laity, who are as zealous for the Episcopal Church Government as the *Tories* themselves: so that they are indeed more truly to be accounted *Factions* in the

' the State than in the Church, nor can we have a more just Idea of the
 ' real difference between them, than that in the beginning, the
 ' *Whigs* consider'd that the Duke of York was a Papist, and gave life
 ' and strength to that Party; that if he shou'd live to Inherit the
 ' Crown, our *Religion and Liberties wou'd be in the utmost danger*:
 ' that he had a great Influence over the King his Brother: that such
 ' Ministers were employ'd in the Administration of the Government
 ' as were in his Interests, and who were evidently inclin'd to Arbitra-
 ' ry measures. They every where us'd their utmost Diligence in the
 ' Elections of Magistrates for Corporations, and Members for Par-
 ' liament, to chuse such as they believ'd to be zealous for the good of
 ' the public, and would oppose the designs of the Court in any thing that
 ' might tend to the prejudice of the people in their Religious or Civil
 ' Rights, they foresaw and endeavor'd to prevent the many mischiefs
 ' that have since fallen upon us, so that all men of Candour must Confess
 ' that they were then true Patriots, and had expos'd the best Cause.
 ' On the other hand the *Tories* applauded the Duke of York, and
 ' promoted his Interest all they could, they Contend'd for such E-
 ' lections as shou'd then be ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO THE
 ' COURT; the Magistrates of that side oppress'd the *Whigs* with vexa-
 ' tious Prosecutions, violently persecuted those that were *Dissenters*,
 ' and went so far as by PACK'D JURIES and STRAIN'D LAWS
 ' to destroy some of the BEST MEN in the Kingdom; in short, that
 ' Generation of *Tories* gave themselves up to fulfil the will and Pleasure
 ' of the Court in EVERY THING that lay in their Power, and, by
 ' what we have since seen come to pass, 'tis evident that they engag'd
 ' on the wrong side, and were made the very INSTRUMENTS TO
 ' BRING ABOUT those evil Designs of the Duke of York, and the
 ' Papists, which broke out upon the Nation in the next Reign: I will
 ' not yet doubt, but that many honest well meaning men, zealous for
 ' the Monarchy & the Church, were impos'd upon by the leaders of that
 ' Party, (who were all the while playing their game at Courts prefer-
 ' ments) and eluded into a groundless Jealousy, that the *Dissenters*
 ' were aiming at the destruction of both.

Let us next consider what is said in the Relation of the most considerable

derable things handled in Parliament, relating to Religion, property, and Liberty, in the State-Tracts (x.), in these words.

‘ February 26. 1672,

‘ The Parliament, where notwithstanding his Majesty told them
 ‘ in his speech, he wou’d stand by his *Declaration of Indulgence*, yet
 ‘ the House of Commons February 10 Upon reading it, resolv’d that
 ‘ *penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of*
 ‘ *Parliament.*

‘ But yet it appeared that the *sense* of the House was not
 ‘ against the *matter of Indulgence* pretended to be granted by that
 ‘ *Declaration to Protestant Dissenters.*

‘ For February 14. Resolv’d in the House of Commons *nemine Con-*
 ‘ *tradicente.*

‘ That a Bill be brought in for ease of his Majesty’s Pro-
 ‘ testant Subjects that are Dissenters in Matters of Reli-
 ‘ gion, from the Church of *England*, and the House to
 ‘ be in a Committee on Monday to consider the Subject
 ‘ matter of this Vote.

‘ A Bill being drawn accordingly, received no great opposition
 ‘ in the House, but was look’d upon by the Major part of the Mem-
 ‘ bers, as *the only Means to keep popery from flourishing in this Nation*,
 ‘ and in time to expel that Religion, whose professors have in all
 ‘ Kingdoms and nations endeavored by all ways to establish their
 ‘ superstition, and to that end and purpose, have troubled, as they
 ‘ have had opportunity, the peace of the Christian World; but had
 ‘ now, by their GREAT INTEREST at Court, sufficiently strengthen’d
 ‘ (as they imagin’d, and *most honest Men* feared) that party, to the e-
 ‘ verthrow of the Protestant Interest.

‘ The *Cliffordian* and *French* Designs were carried on in the In-
 ‘ terval of this Scision, in as pernicious tho’ different Manner from
 ‘ their first design, whose method they were forced to Change,
 ‘ by reason that the Act of Parliament for the suppression of the
 ‘ Growth

Growth of Popery, was so made that it *executed* it self; and the Means of Introducing that Religion seeming then at a stand, they thought of a new project that in Probability might not receive so great opposition, nor attract that envy as the Preferment of the *Papists* in several great offices and places of Trust had done, yet the *same ends* might be More *certainly and easily*, tho' possibly not so soon obtained. And to this end, a Marriage between his Royal Highness, and the Princess of *Modena*, Sister to the Present Duke thereof, was proposed; and the better to advance the same and make the Match appear more Considerable, his most *Christian Majesty* had declared her an Adopted Daughter of *France*, and wou'd give her a portion suitable thereunto; which Match was concluded without any great Difficulty, by the Earl of *Peterborough*; and afterwards consummated by the same Person, by his Majesty's Royal Consent and Authority; according to the form used among Princes (as His Majesty was pleased to express it).

Hereupon the *Papish* and *French* party were grown extremely *Insolent*, having to most Men's Judgments received a *less Check* from the late Act of Parliament than *Encouragement* from the Marriage.

But before his Highness cou'd arrive in *England*, the Advisers of this Marriage perceived that the Twentieth of *October* wou'd come, and that it might probably receive some Obstructions from the Parliament, and that some other things contrived at their Meeting in *March* before, to their Prejudice, might Chance in a short time to be perfected; and therefore Ordered it so, that the Parliament shou'd be Prorogu'd till the 27th of the same *October*, whereby an end shou'd be put to that Session; and all the Business then unperfected, fall to the Ground, contrary to his Majesty's Gracious Assurances & Promises, in *March* last; proposing these Consequences as certain, *first*, thereby to prevent and remove from his Majesty all Temptations to break the intended Marriage and the *French Alliance*, knowing that the Parliament wou'd use their utmost endeavors to prevent the Consummation of that Marriage, which was likely to render both the *Popish* Religion and the *French Alliance* impregnable.

Secondly, Considering that a Bill of Ease for Protestant Dissenters (whereby 'twas intended that the *Major part* of them shou'd have *Liberty of Conscience*, and be capable of *Church-preferment*) had passed

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‘ the House of Commons, and had been sent up to the Lords in *March*
 ‘ before, where it then remain’d, and wou’d not long stick there (as
 ‘ they feared) before it shou’d obtain the Royal Assent; which if
 ‘ once effected, they did imagine and foresee, that *this Unting* of In-
 ‘ terests would *tend greatly* to the Suppression of Popery; and conse-
 ‘ quently no hopes of Replanting thereof in this Nation. But if they
 ‘ cou’d by *any means* whatsoever prevent the passing of that Bill, they
 ‘ doubted not, notwithstanding all the Parliament cou’d do, to be
 ‘ safe amongst so many *Dissenters*, and drive on their designs under-
 ‘ hand for the ruin and destruction of *all Parties* but their own.

Compare this with the following Passage, to be found in the *Confor-
 mist’s second Plea for Non-Conformists* p. 22.) ‘ That which gives strength
 ‘ to my Argument is this, That at the next Meeting of Parliament,
 ‘ which began *Feb. 24th*, 1672. An Act passed against the Papists, and
 ‘ a Bill was presented by the House of Commons to the Lords, in
 ‘ *favour of Dissenting*, and for Uniting *Protestants*, which (as some
 ‘ that have as much reason to know as any who Writ) would have
 ‘ passed, if they had had *time to Sit*; And from that time, that long Par-
 ‘ liament, who had made the Act against *Conventicles*, how resolute
 ‘ soever they were against an Indulgence, *Feb. 15th* 1662; they saw
 ‘ the INCOMPATIBILITY between the *Execution of their own Law*,
 ‘ and the PRESERVATION of the *Protestant Religion*, and saw a *ne-
 cessity* of Uniting *Protestants* at the same time, when they saw our in-
 ‘ creasing Dangers from the Increase of *Popery*. And our several Par-
 ‘ liaments since, have reasoned upon the same Principles and Founda-
 ‘ tions once again so far as to commit a Bill to Unite all *Protestants*.
 ‘ And now I have prepared my self for this Argument; it is not well
 ‘ done, and cannot be good for the Church or Kingdom (and if not
 ‘ good to them, it shou’d not be thought good by *Protestants*) which
 ‘ that very Parliament that made the Act, and many other Parliaments
 ‘ thought not good for the Church and Kingdom. For some particu-
 ‘ lar Magistrates, upon the Information of some self-seeking Infor-
 ‘ mers, to Execute the *Laws* against the Sense of the *Legislators*, who
 ‘ shou’d (and certainly did) best know what was for our good, is to
 ‘ oppose a *private opinion* to a *public Deliberation*, and a private Spirit
 ‘ against a public. That I may draw these reasonings to a conclusion,
 ‘ it is not a due Execution of the *Laws*, except it be upon the *Persons*,
 ‘ and to the *ends* intended in the *Laws*. But if you wou’d execute the
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the Laws upon the proper Objects, you must Execute them upon *Seditious Sectaries, Disloyal Persons, very Hypocrites* that do under the *Pretext of Religious Exercises, instil Principles of Schism and Rebellion into the minds of the King's Subjects.* The Law goes upon such a supposition, and to prevent such Mischiefs; but if there be *no such Meetings, to such a tendency, there are no Persons that deserve such Executions:* If there be, let them be tried; if there be not, of all times, is there no time but this for Protestant Magistrates to go upon the Information of Informers, to give countenance to a Scandal, that *Protestant Dissenters, are as pernicious to the Government, as Confederated Papists?* and that Protestants shou'd Act *contrary to their Principles, contrary to their Interests, to bring certain ruin upon themselves, Families and Friends, without any the least hope of Relief, or mending their Condition!* A game indeed! to set Informers to find a hare, when they shou'd run down the Fox.

Let the following part of a Letter of a Parliament-Man to his friend concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons in 1675, in the *State-Tracts* (y), be seriously considered.

'For missing our True Footing, you see we have run in the *mistaken Notion* of being for the Church so long, till we have *almost destroyed* the State, and advanced Prerogative, so much by suppressing Non-Conformity, that 'tis well nigh beyond our Reach or Power to put a Check to it; and had not *time, and but an indifferent Observation, shewed us how much we were abused in this Matter,* and that a Lay-Conformist and a Fanatick can Live as quietly and neighbourly together (*wou'd the Prelates but suffer them*) as any in the World; we had ruin'd our selves past all Recovery; for by our buoying up the Bishops in their *harsh and irreconcilable Spirit,* instead of Healing we have so fed and *nourish'd the Discontents* throughout the Kingdom, that I think nothing keeps the Fire from flaming out a flesh, and in another Intestine War, but the bare Circumstance of Opportunity only; and how long that will be able to restrain Passions that are made wild by Oppression, is worthy a very serious Consideration; and therefore there is hardly any thing more a *worder* to wise Men, than to see the Clergy *run at this rate* upon the Dissenters:

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ters: Wherefore, since the Non-Conformists have given so large and ample a Testimony of their willingness to live Peaceably, if yet notwithstanding the Clergy will not suffer them to be quiet in their Families and their Houses, I doubt, they may at one time or other drive them into the Field, and then it may exceed their Divine Art to Conjure them down again; for he sees but little that sees not the English Temper is better to be led than driven. And therefore I think it wou'd not be more a Vanity, to compel the Ladies to wear Queen Elizabeth's Ruff, than to force the Non-Conformists to be drest in her Religion.

Let a Person of Quality be heard in his Letter amongst the *State-Tracts* (2);

Thus our Church became Triumphant, and continued so for divers years, the *Dissenting Protestant* being the only Enemy, and therefore only persecuted, whilst the Papists remain'd undisturb'd being by the Court thought Loyal, and by our Great Bishops not dangerous, they differing only in Doctrine and Fundamentals, but as to the Government of the Church, that was in their Religion in the highest Exaltation.

This Dominion continued unto them, until the Lord Clifford, a man of a daring and Ambitious Spirit, made his way to the chief Ministry of affairs by other and far different measures, and took the Opportunity of the War with Holland, the King was then engag'd in, to propose the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Dissenters of all Sorts, as well Protestants as Papists, might be at rest, and so a vast number of people not be made Desperate at home, while the King was engag'd with so potent an Enemy abroad. This was no sooner propos'd, but the Earl of Shaftsbury, a man as daring, but more able, (tho' of Principles and Interest diametrically opposite to the other) presently clos'd with it; and perhaps the Opportunity I have had by my Conversation with them both, who were men of Diverſion, and of free and open Discourses where they had a Confidence, may give you more light into both their designs, and so by consequence the aims of their Parties, than you will have from any other hand. My Lord Clifford did in express terms

terms tell me one day in private discourse, *That the King, if he wou'd be firm to himself, might settle what Religion he pleas'd, and carry the Government to what height he wou'd; for if men were assur'd of the liberty of their Conscience, and undisturb'd in their Properties, able and upright Judges made in Westminster-Hall, to Judge the Causes of Men & Tum; and if, on the other hand, the Fort of Tilbury was finish'd to bridle the City, the Fort of Plymouth to secure the West, & Aras for 20000 in each of those, & n Hull for the Northern parts, with some Addition which might be easy and undiscernably made to the Forces now on foot, there were none that wou'd have either will, Opportunity, or power to resist* But he added withal. *he was so sincere in the maintenance of Property and liberty of Conscience, that he had his Will, tho' he should have receiv'd a Bishop of Durham (which was the Instance he then made, that See being then vacant) of another Religion, yet he would not disturb any of the Church beside, but suffer them to die away, and not by his Change (how hasty soever he was in it) overthrow either of those Principles, and therefore desir'd he might be thought an honest man, as to his part of the Declaration, for he meant it really.* The Lord Shaftsbury (with whom I had more freedom) I with great assurance ask'd, what he meant by the Declaration? For it seem'd to me (as I then told him) that it assumed a power to repeal and suspend all our Laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and to tolerate Popery; He reply'd all angry, *That he wondred at my Objection, there being none of these in the Case; for the King assum'd no power of repealing Laws, or suspending them, contrary to the Will of his Parliament or People; and not to argue with me at that time the Power of the King's Supremacy, which was of another nature than that he had in Civils, and had been exercis'd without Exception in this very case, by his Father, Grandfather, and Q. Eliz. under the Great Seal, to Foreign Protestants become Subjects of England, not to instance in the suspending the execution of the two Acts of Navigation and Trade.*

Thus, Sir, you have perhaps a better Account of the Declaration than you can receive from any other Hand,

At the next Meeting of Parliament the Protestant Interest was run so high, as an Act came up from the COMMONS to the House of Lords in FAVOUR of the DISSENTING PROTESTANTS, and had pass'd the Lords; but for WANT OF TIME. Beside

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Besides another excellent *Act* passed the *Royal Assent*, for the excluding all *Papists* from *Office*, in the Opposition of which the *Lord Treasurer Clifford* fell, and yet to prevent his Ruine this Session had the speedier End. Notwithstanding, the *Bishops* attained their Ends, the *Declaration* being cancell'd, and the *Great Seal* being broken off from it, the *Parliament* having pass'd no *Act* in favor of the *Dissenters*, and yet the sense of both *Houses* sufficiently declar'd against all the *Indulgence* but by *Act of Parliament*. Having got this point, they us'd it at first with seeming Moderation; there were no general Directions given for Persecuting the *Non-Conformists*, but here and there some of the most *Confiding Justices* were made use of to try how they could receive the *Old Persecution*, for as yet their zeal rais'd against *Papists* was so great, that the worthiest and soberest of the *Episcopal Party* thought it NECESSARY to UNITE with the *Dissenting Protestants*, and not to divide their Party, when all their forces were little enough: In this posture the Sessions of *Parliament* that began *October 27. 1673.* Found matters, which being suddenly broken up, did nothing.

The next Sessions, which began *Jan. 7.* following, the *Bishops* continued their zeal against the *Papists*, and seem'd to carry on, in joining with the *Country Lords*, many excellent votes in order to a bill; as in particular, That the *Princes of the blood Royal* should only marry *Protestants*, & many others; but their favor to *dissenting Protestants* was gone, & they attempted a bargain with the *Country Lords*, with whom they then join'd, not to promote any thing of that Nature, except: a Bill for taking away *Assent & Consent*, & renouncing the *Covenant*.

This Session was no sooner ended without doing any thing, but the whole *Chergy* were instructed to declare That there was no more danger of the *Papists*: The *Pharwick* (for so they call the *Dissenting Protestants*) is again become the ONLY DANGEROUS ENEMY; and the *Bishops* had found a *Scotch Lord*, and two new *Ministers*, or rather great Officers of *England*, who were desperate and rash enough to put their Master's business upon SO NARROW and WEAK a bottom: And that *Old Covenanter Lauderdale* is become the Patron of the *Church*, and has his Coach and Table fill'd with that Party.

Our *Statesmen* and *Bishops* being now as well agreed as in old *Laud's* time, on the same Principles, with the same Passion, to attain their end

end, they in the first Place gave Orders to the Judges in all their Circuits to quicken the Execution of the Laws against Dissenters; a new Declaration is publish'd directly contrary to the former, most in words against the Papists, but in the Sense and in the Close did fully serve against both, and in the Execution it was plain who were meant. A Commission besides comes down, directed to the Principal Gentlemen of each County, to seize the Estates of both Papists and Phanatics, mentioned in a List Annexed; wherein, by great Misfortune or SKILL, the Names of Papists of best Quality and Fortune (and so best known) were mistaken, and the Commission rendered ineffectual, as to them.

Let the Author of *No Protestant Plot* have Liberty to speak upon this Subject, who in his third part (a) reasons thus:

Nay, so great is their (*i. e. Papists*) Interest and Power, by means of the Duke of York, and such whom he either *overareth* or otherwise *influenceth*, that they do not only escape the Punishments which they are liable unto for their Treasons; but THEY HAVE OBTAIN'D to have the Laws made against Protestant Dissenters, to be Executed with the utmost Rigor and Severity, while in the mean time themselves are as good as conniv'd at in the Violation of all the Statutes Enacted against Popish Recusancy. For this cannot be thought to proceed Originally from the King, being so inconsistent with that Princely Wisdom which he hath always Manifested, when not over-ruled by the Impertunity of ill Men. How unlikely is it, that a Prince who receiveth and *indulgeth* Foreign Protestants, should at the same time encourage the distressing his own Subjects, that do no otherwise differ from the Church of *England*, than as those Foreigners do? Nor can it be the Advice of any sincere and true Protestant, to have the Laws Executed at this Season and Juncture against Phanatics, it being so Apparent a weakening of the whole Reformed Interest in those Kingdoms, and a betraying all the Protestant Party into the Power and Hands of their worst enemies. And seeing none but the Papists can reap any benefit or advantage by it, it must be THEY and none else that were the first Authors, and continue to be the Promoters of such Councils. And as some of those Laws

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were procured by the means of *Sir Thom. Clifford*, *Sir Thom. Strickland* and others, who have since appear'd to be Papists; so it is not unpleasant to observe how they have endeavor'd to get them either *suspended* or *Executed*, according as *this* or *that* have lyen in an usefulness to their Designs. Nor can we otherwise believe, but that as some of our Ministers obtain'd them to be dispensed with 1672: in favour of the Papists, so others pursue the having them put in Execution in 1682. out of friendship to the same People. Thus the Laws, which were *pretended* at first to have been made for the Preservation of the Church of *England*, have been from time to time **MANAGED TO SET FORWARD** the CONCERNMENTS of the CHURCH of *ROME*, and *advance* the *projections* of the *Papists*. Accordingly we have held them *suspended* for divers Years, when both most of the *Engl^{sh}* Clergy were earnest to have had 'em Executed, and when the Execution of them seem'd to lye in a subserviency to support the Grandests of the Church; but now when neither the Church *can be able to subsist*, nor are *any means* left to the preservation of the *Protestant* Religion, unless *Moderation* and *Lenity* be *exercis'd* to *Dissenters*, we are made daily and sad Spectators of *Oppression*, *Spoil* and *Havock* brought upon a **QUIET, INDUSTRIOUS** and **USEFUL** People, by the Execution of these very Laws. And we may be sure the *Papists* hug and solace themselves, to find that thro' the *Ascendency* which they have over some public Persons who Influence all our Councils, they can apply the Laws to the Ruin of many *Protestants*; and in Revenge for their having escaped their Murderous and Bloody Hands, engage the Government and Authority of the Nation against them. Nor is it less than a matter of Triumph to them to think that when the Commons of *England* in Parliament Assembled had not only Read and Committed a Bill for the *Uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects*; but Resolved it as the Opinion of that House, *That the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time Grievous to the Subject, a weakning to the Protestant Interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom*; they should not only be able to alienate and exasperate us more from and against one another, than ever we were, but procure *one* Protestant to Prosecute *another* upon the Penal Laws, to the *Scorn* and *Contempt* of the Wisdom of Parliaments, and the Proclaiming to all the World of how little esteem and value their Counsel and Advice are. The

The Ingenious *Conformist* in his *third Plea for Non-Conformists*, gives us the Character of those by whom, and from whom, and through whose means the *Protestant Dissenters* were again expos'd to Sufferings p. 8. 9, 10. Part 2.

' They are, 1. Such as cannot take it ill to be called *Addressers* and *Abhorrers*, but they (as far as I can look about me and see) particularly that have thanked the King for declaring his Resolutions of Ruling by Law, which if any of the *Non-Conformists* had express'd a doubt or fear of, had been a far greater Offence than their *Non-Conformity*.

, 2. And by Consequence, they are such as have declared a *Dislike of the Proceedings of our late Parliaments*, and in that particular of endeavoring the uniting of *Protestant Dissenters*, in which alone I am concern'd to take Notice of them, Act directly contrary to the Vote of the House of Commons, which resolv'd, *That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, weakening to the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement of Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom*; And by the Rule of Opposition, they must in their Opinions turn this Vote backward, as if they thought that the Prosecution of *Protestant Dissenters* upon the present Laws, is not grievous to the Subject, is not a weakening of the *Protestant Interest*, is not an Encouragement of Popery, nor dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom. — — —

' 3. A Third Branch of the Description of the Prosecutors. They are such as *do not*, yea *cannot* understand the State of the Kingdom, and Religion so well as the House of Commons did:

' 1. No one Man of them can understand the true State of the Kingdom, as a Grand Assembly of our Representatives did.

' 2. Nor all of them: For when the Representatives of the Kingdom met, and saw what was invisible to others; there was a Collection of Observations, and the Eyes of most of the Kingdom moved in that great Body, and their Debates and Reasonings were *mature* and *full*. And tho' a Vote have not the Formality and Force of an Act, yet it is the *first matter* and *Original* of an Act, out of which an Act doth arise.

' 3. This Vote was not of private Concernment, in which Interest makes Men Partial, but it was of Concernment to the Church

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and Kingdom. But *many* of the *first Movers* in the Prosecution, and of the Instruments in it, *Act* from a *private Spirit*, and a particular Interest, and find neither Concurrence from a *ty*, that *are at liberty* and *Act as Freemen*, nor Approbation from the *Standers by*; except the few that know not what they do, and care not what others do, any more than *Gallio*.

Liftly, the Inferior Sort, are Informers & Inferior Officers, Constables and Church-Wardens, &c. Of these, there is not one of many, but what abide severe Threatnings, and heavy Fines, considering their Estates, before they distrain. This way is contrary to the very common sense of Christians, and ordinary men. But the Informers are a Select Company, whom the long suffering of God permits for a time, of whom I will say but little in this place: they are of *no good Reputation*; for their Knowledge in the Country, they do not know the names, or persons of some of them that are molested by them, they go by report of their under servants and Complices; they are unknown to them that suffer by them, until they suffer: they come two or three Counties off, to set up this new trade; whether they are Papists or (nominal) Protestants, who can tell? they never come to Church, nor to their own Parish-Churches, but lie in wait and Ambush, their Estate is invisible, their Country unknown to many; *their Morals are as bad as the very Dreg: of the Age*. These are they that direct and rule many of the Magistrates, and live upon the spoil of better Christians, and Subjects than themselves; And who go away with honest men's goods, honestly gotten. but they?

And the same Author in his *2d plea for Non-Conformists*, illustrates the matter thus, p 23, 24. &c.

The second sort of Arguments is drawn from the fact, for which the Dissenters are to suffer.

The Crime, *prima facie*, is preaching in a manner different from the Church of *England*, and not according to the Liturgy, to numbers above four, besides the Household. This is the Fact. The Proof of it, is either by Confession of the Parties, which we will not suppose, or the Notoriousness of the Fact, which needs further Proof; it all depends upon the oath of two Witnesses. What do they depose? they (who perhaps know not what an oath is, nor what a Sin Perjury is) depose that *A. B.* preached at such a time

time or times, in such a place or places, to such Numbers against the Statute. But what if the Preacher preach'd true Doctrine? Exhorted to peace and Holiness, Obedience, Justice, Mercy, and not one word tending to Schism or Rebellion: What if the Person be a Loyal Subject? These things are *out of the Question*, out of the Deposition. But if these Witnesses *cannot depose* that such a Preacher is a Disloyal Person, his preaching to be to instil schism or Rebellion, or to move to Insurrection: then if the Execution be according to the Deposition, it is Execution upon Persons not intended by the Law, and for preaching not forbidden by the Law; for the Law forbids not preaching, but *to such an end*. There is one catching Circumstance, *it was above the Legal Number*: But yet one would think, that this should not be a Crime, except Rebellion and Insurrection be the Intention of the Person, and the effect of the thing: For many, for five hundred to hear a good Sermon, in a peaceable manner, is in it self no Crime; the Number, and the preaching, must be to an *ill Design*, in the Intention of the Law: For it were *impious*, to forbid preaching in it self. The Evil of it must be in the Evil of the *matter*, and evil of the *Design*; and by Consequence, only such Preaching, and such Numbers, are liable to the Penalty, that is, of a Destructive or Offensive Design; unless you punish for preaching, which is *good*, separate from the Design, as *evil*. This premis'd, my Argument is this;

It is not good but evil, to punish well doing, as if it were evil doing, and to punish Preachers and Hearers, that *never preach'd nor heard Rebellion or Seditious*, as if they were the *Highest Criminals in a Kingdom*.

But to issue out Warrants, and execute them upon Persons, when nothing is prov'd against them, but what is good and not prohibited by the Law, as evil in it self, but as evil to an evil end *viz.* Preaching, is not good, therefore it is not good to punish them, &c.

To punish a Fact, that in the intention of the Persons, or nature of the thing, hath *no tendency to Mischief*, to be prevented by the Law, is not good but evil: because the Execution is not directed to the end of the Law, and by Consequence it is no Legal Execution.

But to execute the Law for Preaching, and hearing, upon preachers and Hearers, whose preaching and hearing hath *no evil tenancy*

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‘ The *Minor* is prov’d from the PEACEABLENESS of the *Non-conformists*, Piety of their *Principles*, from the many years Experience and effects; and *Seditious, or Rebellious, or Schismatical matter*, are *not the things sworn against them*, or CAN BE SWORN, but preaching to such Numbers, and hearing in such Numbers, and in a manner different from the Church of *England*, which may be, and yet *not ill*, and may not be so for all the Informers know.

‘ It is not good, but evil, to use Dissenting *Protestants*, worse than ever *Papists* have been used.

‘ But to execute those Laws upon Dissenting *Protestants* neither for *Rebellion nor moving Insurrections*, is to use them worse than ever *Papists* have been used. Therefore it is not good to execute the Laws upon them.

‘ It is to be more rigorous towards *our Brethren*, and such as agree in one and the *same King, same Laws, same Worship* as to the Substance of *Christ’s Ordinances*, and are *willing to unite*, than you are towards men that own *another Supremacy, King and Bishops*, are *Idolatrous* in their *Worship*, and are for rooting us out, and not taking us in, without hazard of the truth of *Christ*, and *Hypocrisy* and *Eternal Life*.

‘ To punish *Dissenters* for preaching, and other Exercises of Religion, because to *such numbers*, and not in such an Uniform manner, is to punish them *for Religion*. If Religion be the Cloak, and *Rebellion* or *Sedition* be the Mischiefs to be conceal’d and convey’d under it, then Religion is but a Pretence and that cannot excuse them from suffering, which doth highly aggravate the Sin. But if *neither be infer’d from their Principles*, nor infused into their Exercises, then there is *no danger* to the King, in his *Life, Prerogative* nor *Authority*. If neither have been found in any of them, it is not Justly imputable to them; and then if their Preaching and prayer be the Fact, for which they suffer, they suffer for that which no *Papist* ever suffer’d for alone.

Let us hear the observations of 16 Noble Peers of the Realm in their humble petition and advice Delivered to the King *January 25, 1680. State-Tracts 2 Vol. p. 129, 130.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty. *The Humble Petition
and Advice of the Lords undernam'd, Peers of the Realm.*

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Humbly Sheweth,

That whereas your Majesty hath been pleas'd, by divers Speeches, and Messages to your Houses of Parliament, rightly to represent to them the Dangers that threatned your Majesty's Person, and the whole Kingdom, from the Mischievous, and wicked Plots of the *Papists*, and the sudden growth of a Foreign Power, unto which, no stop or remedy could be Provided, unless it were by Parliament, and an UNION of your Majesty's *Protestant Subjects*, in one mind and one Interest.

And the Lord *Chancellor*, in Pursuance of your Majesty's Commands, having more at large demonstrated the said dangers to be as great, as we in the midst of our fears could imagine them, and so pressing, that our Liberties, Religion, Lives, and the whole Kingdom would be certainly lost, if a *speedy Provision* were not made against them.

And your Majesty on the 21st of *April*, 1679. Having call'd in to your Council, many *Honorable* and *Worthy* Persons, and declar'd to them and the whole Kingdom, that being sensible of the evil Effects of a *single Ministry*, or private Advice, or *Foreign Committee*, for the General Direction of your Affairs; your Majesty would for the future refer all things unto that Council, and by the Constant Advice of them, together with the *frequent use* of your great Council, the *Parliament*, Your Majesty was hereafter Resolved to govern the Kingdoms; We began to hope we should see an end of our Miseries.

But to our unspeakable Grief and Sorrow, we soon found our Expectations frustrated. The *Parliament*, then subsisting, was *Prorogued* and *Dissolved*, before it could perfect what was intended for our Relief and Security; and tho' another was thereupon called, yet by many *Prorogations* it was put off, till the 21st of *October* past; and notwithstanding your Majesty was then again pleas'd to acknowledge, that neither your *Person*, nor your *Kingdom* could be safe, till the *Plot* was gone thorow, It was *unexpectedly Prorogu'd* on the 10th of this *Month*, before any sufficient order could be taken therein; all their *Just* and *Pious Endeavors* to
save

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' save the Nation, were *overthrown*; the GOOD BILLS they had
 ' been *Industriously* preparing to UNITE all your Majesty's *Pro-*
 ' *testant* Subjects brought to nought; the Discovery of the *Irish* Plot
 ' STIFLED, the Witnesses that came in frequently more fully to de-
 ' clare that, both of *England* and *Ireland*, DISCOURAGED Those Fo-
 ' reign Kingdoms & States, who by a happy Conjunction with us might
 ' give a check to the *French* Power, *disheartned*, even to such a Def-
 ' pair of their own Security against the *growing greatness* of that
 ' Monarch, as we fear may induce them to take new Resolutions,
 ' and perhaps such as may be fatal to us: The *Strength* and *Cou-*
 ' *rage* of our Enemies both at *home* and *abroad* encreas'd: and our
 ' selves lesa in the utmost danger of seeing our Country brought in-
 ' to utter Desolation.

' In these *Extremities*, we had nothing under God to Comfort us,
 ' but the hopes, that Your Majesty (being touch'd with the Groans
 ' of your Perishing People) would have suffer'd your Parliament to
 ' meet at the Day unto which it was Prorogued: And that no further
 ' Interruption should have been given to their Proceedings, in Order
 ' to their saving of the Nation. But that failed us too: For then we
 ' heard that your Majesty by the private Suggestion of some *Wicked*
 ' *Persons*, FAVOURERS of POPERY, *Promoters* of FRENCH DE-
 ' SIGNS, and ENEMIES to your Majesty and the Kingdom, with-
 ' out the Advice, and as we have good reason to believe agai st the
 ' Opinion, even of your *Privy-Council*, had been prevail'd with to *Dis-*
 ' *solve* it, and to call another to meet at *Oxford*, where neither Lords
 ' nor Commons can be in Safety, but will be daily expos'd to the
 ' Sword of the *Papists*, and their Adherents, of whom *too many* are
 ' *crept* into your Majesty's *Guards*. The Liberty of Speaking accord-
 ' ing to their Consciences, will be thereby destroy'd, and the vali-
 ' dity of all Acts and Proceedings consisting in it, left *Disputable*. The
 ' straitsness of the Place, no way admits of such a Concourse of Per-
 ' sons as now follows every Parliament; the *Witnesses* which are ne-
 ' cessary to give Evidence against the *Papish* Lords, such Judges, or
 ' others whom the Commons have *Impeach'd*, or have resolv'd to
 ' *Impeach*, can neither *bear* the *Charge* of going thither, nor trust 'em-
 ' selves under the Protection of a Parliament, that is it self evidently
 ' under the Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*.

' The Premises considered, We your Majesty's *Petitioners*
 out

‘ out of a just abhorrence of such a dangerous and *pernicious* Part 2.
 ‘ *Council* (which the Authors have not *dar’d* to avow) and the
 ‘ direful Apprehensions of the Calamities and Miseries, that
 ‘ may ensue thereupon; do make it Our most Humble Pray-
 ‘ er and Advice, that the *Parliament* may not Sit at a place,
 ‘ where it will not be able to Act with that *Freedom*, which
 ‘ is necessary; and especially to give unto their Acts and Pro-
 ‘ ceedings that Authority which they ought to have amongst
 ‘ the People, and have ever had, unless impaired by some
 ‘ Awe upon them. (of which there wants not *Precedents*.)
 ‘ And that your Majesty would be Graciously pleas’d to Or-
 ‘ der it to Sit at *Westminster* (it being the usual place, and
 ‘ where they may Consult and Act with *Safety* and *Freedom*)
 ‘ And Your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

<i>Monmouth</i>	<i>Salisbury</i>	<i>Shaftsbury</i>	<i>Grey</i>
<i>Kent</i>	<i>Clare</i>	<i>Mordant</i>	<i>Herbert</i>
<i>Huntington</i>	<i>Stanford</i>	<i>Evers</i>	<i>Howard</i>
<i>Bedford</i>	<i>Essex</i>	<i>Paget</i>	<i>Delamer.</i>

Let us next hear what pass upon this Subject in *Two free Conferences*
between Father La Chese, and four considerable Jesuits in the State Tracts
 3 Vol. p. 414. &c.

Sir John Warner:

— — — ‘ Let me beseech Your *Reverence* to suffer me to give you in
 ‘ short our Account how the Interests in *England* are divided; to do
 ‘ which, I must be forced to look back to the Year 1660. You know
 ‘ well, how much all wise and good Catholics did apprehend, upon
 ‘ the King’s return that those HAPPY DIFFERENCES between the
 ‘ *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* Parties would have been composed. The
 ‘ King’s *Declaration* made us think that he saw his *true Interest*, and
 ‘ would pursue it. And one would have thought that the Conten-
 ‘ ders, should have grown wiser, and used the true way for the fu-
 ‘ ture to avoid those animosities which had cost them so dear. But
 ‘ it was so happily ordered, that the most discreet and hottest of the
 Y y *Episco-*

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Episcopal Clergy were entrusted with the management of this affair; who being full of *Revenge* for what they had suffer'd, did not bring with them that Temper which was necessary to the good Conclusion of such a business. Some alterations were made in the *Liturgy*, but such as gave no Satisfaction; & soon after, an exact Conformity upon harder Terms, than ever, was required under the Severest Penalties. And Informers were every where encourag'd to a severe putting of these Laws in Execution. Every mercenary Pen was employ'd against them. The People were taught that *Rebel & Presbyterian* were Synonymous Terms; and that it was Impossible to be a Dissenter from the Ceremonies of the Church, and not be Factious and Seditious; altho' they have no Dependence one upon another. In the Universities the Youth were taught to Look upon those as the worst of men, who would not come up to every Title of what *Lana* in the late King's Reign would have introduc'd. Nay, they went so far, as that some of the Dignified Clergy told the World in Print, that to reject any of the enjoy'd Forms or Ceremonies, was a greater sin than to commit the greatest Immoralities. Nor were they content to represent these as the worst of Villies unless they made them the greatest of fools too. And therefore the most Scurrilous Pens were cho'sn out to dispatch them up in as Ridiculous a sort as they could devise. I mention those things to your Reverence, because they were the OCCASION and ENCOURAGEMENT, whereupon WE VENTUR'D to attempt the Regining of that Kingdom. We observ'd how deep a discontent this sort of Behaviour towards them had fix'd in the hearts of all the oppress'd Party, and we did conclude they were men, and would resent it, when they had Opportunity, and we did insinuate as much as we could, their fears into the minds of the *English* Clergy. At Court WE REPRESENT their numbers as dangerous, whilst the *Episcopal* Party were as busie in representing their Principles as Intolerable. And we were sure to have THE MINISTERS ON OUR SIDE: For a great many of the most wealthy, Sober, and observing men, being of that Persuasion; that alone was sufficient to make them obnoxious and hated, in a luxurious Court, where many will ever be wanting; and no way to get it, be lock'd on as unjustifiable. The King was no less displeas'd with them, for when by our Interest with the *D.* and the Lord *CL.* we had procur'd the Declaration

tion of Indulgence to be set out in the year 1673, the *Presbyterians* presently SUSPECTED THE KINDNESS, and, like wild men, closed with the *Conformists* and refused the *Bait*; how ever precious it seem'd, when they saw the *Hook* that lay under it. This thing did highly exasperate the King against them. —————

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(Sir Thomas Preston,)

‘ You see what *Invitations* we have to attempt what I propose, which if Joyn'd with Common Discretion and Ordinary Diligence, will *without doubt* be very Successful. If we would set up some in *London*, or near it, to present *Petitions* for putting the Laws in Execution against *Dissenters*, upon account of their late Insolent (as it must be called) *Petition*, or by burning the Rump again, or some such other public reviving the Resentment of the Court against the Actions of the late times, where we should Revenge their *Petitioning*, and their *Burning of Popes*, and prevent them for the future. Or if we could but get these things done, either by OUR FRIENDS AT COURT, or any how, so they were done, we might make very good use of them, especially if as Preparatory thereto, some *Reformation* were made upon the *Benches* at *Westminster*, and in the *Country*, and all *Courts of Judicature* were filled with men of *warm Tempers*, who have malice enough to the *dissenters*, to execute the Laws in good earnest against them. The Imprisonments and Fines, and the Banishment from Corporations, would so pursue both the Preachers and the People, that it would be easy, with good management, to provoke them or at least some of the meanest, who are usually most zealous, to no little Excesses.

(Father Conyers)

‘ The King once more set right in their good opinion, and the Persecuting of the *Presbyterians* Justify'd, as being only the Consequence of a Resolution in his Majesty to regain the Honor of the Government by an effectual and impartial execution of the Laws, THEN it may be a SEASON to think of a *Parliament*. Then 'twill be fit to dissolve this, from whom no possible good can be expected, and to summon a New one. For by that time all the *Presbyterians*

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will be under the lash of the Penal Laws, SEVERELLY EXECUT-  
ED and under suspicion of horrid Conspiracies, by the METHODS  
PROPOSED; and consequently will not dare to pretend to be e-  
lected, or to Interpose at Elections, and so we may once more have  
a Parliament like the last Long one. And if we can once again  
get such a Parliament, then the Presbyterians themselves will look  
upon a General Act of oblivion as a Grace, and consequently there-  
by all our Friends may be set at liberty.

To conclude this head with the Humble Address of the Commons  
in Parliament assembled, presented to the King Munday November  
29th. 1685. in answer to his Message about *Tangier*, wherein the  
Reader will find a most comprehensive History of the Managements  
of the Court in that Reign. It is in the *State-Tracts*. 2 Vol p, 104.  
&c.

— ‘ To that part of your Majesty’s Message which expresses a  
Reliance upon this House for the support of *Tangier*, and a Recom-  
mendation of it to our speedy care, we do with all humility and  
reverence give this answer, that although in due time and order, we  
shall omit nothing incumbent on us for the preservation of every  
part of your Majesty’s Dominions, and advancing the Prosperity  
& flourishing Estate of this your Kingdom; yet at this time when a  
Cloud which has LONG THREATNED THIS LAND is ready to  
break upon our heads in a storm of Ruin & Confusion, to enter into any  
further Consideration of this matter; especially, to come to any  
Resolutions in it, before we are effectually secured from the IMMI-  
NENT and APPARENT DANGERS arising from the Power  
of Popish Persons and Councils, We humbly conceive will not consist  
either with our Duty to your Majesty, or the trust reposed in us  
by those we represent.

It is not unknown to your Majesty how restless the Endeavors  
and how bold the Attempts of the Popish Party, for many years  
last past, have been, not only within this, but other your Majesty’s  
Kingdoms, to introduce the Romish, and utterly to extirpate the true  
Protestant Religion. The several Approaches they have made to-  
wards the Compassing this their design (assisted by the Treachery  
of perfidious Protestants) have been so strangely successful, that ’tis  
matter of Admiration to us, and which we can only ascribe to an  
Over-ruling Providence, that your Majesty’s Reign is still continued  
over

over us, and that we are yet Assembled to consult the means of our Preservation: This *Bloody and Restless* Party not content with the great Liberty they had a long time enjoy'd to Exercise their own Religion privately amongst themselves, to partake of an *equal freedom* of Persons and Estates with your Majestie's Protestant Subjects, and of an Advantage above them, in being excus'd from chargeable Offices and Employments, hath *so far prevail'd*, as to find Countenance for an open and avowed Practice of their Superstition and Idolatry, without Controul in several Parts of this Kingdom. *Great Swarms* of Priests and Jesuits have resorted hither, and have exercised their Jurisdiction, and been *daily tampering* to pervert the Consciences of your Majestie's Subjects. Their Opposers they have found means to *disgrace*, and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them TURN'D OUT OF COMMISSION: And in Contempt of the known Laws of the Land, they have practis'd upon People of all Ranks and Qualities, and *gained* over divers to their Religion; some *openly* to profess it, others secretly to espouse it, as most conduced to the Service thereof.

After some time they *became able* to INFLUENCE MATTERS OF STATE and Government, and thereby to destroy those they cannot Corrupt. The *Continuance* or *Prorogation* of Parliaments has been *Accommodated* to serve the purposes of that Party. Money rais'd upon the People to supply your Majestie's extraordinary Occasions, was by the PREVALENCE of POPISH COUNCILS employed to *make War* upon a *Protestant State*, and to *advance* and *Augment* the Dreadful Power of the FRENCH KING, though to the *Apparent hazard* of this, and all other *Protestant Countries*. Great Numbers of your Majestie's Subjects were sent into, and continued in the Service of that King, notwithstanding the Apparent Interest of your Majestie's Kingdoms, the Addresses of the Parliament, and your Majestie's Gracious Proclamations to the contrary. Nor can we forbear to mention, how that at the beginning of the same War, even the MINISTERS of ENGLAND were made Instruments to Press upon that State, the acceptance of o e demand, among others, from the *French King* for procuring their Peace with him, that they should admit the public exercise of the *Roman-Catholic Religion* in the *United Provinces*, the CHURCHES THERE to be DIVIDED, and the *Romish Priests* MAINTAIN'D OUT OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

## Part 2.

‘ At home, if your Majesty did at any time by the Advice of your Privy Council or of Your Two Houses of Parliament, Command the Laws to be put in Execution against Popists, even FROM THENCE they gained Advantage to their Party, while the Edge of these Laws was turned against Protestant Dissenters, and the Popists escap’d in a manner untouch’d. The Act of Parliament, enjoining a Test to be taken by all Persons admitted into any public Office, and intended for a security against Popists coming into Employment, had so little Effect, that either by Dispensations, obtained from Rome, they submitted to those Tests, and held their Offices themselves, or those put in their places, were so favourable to the same Interests, That Popery it self has RATHER GAINED THAN LOST GROUND SINCE THAT ACT.

‘ But that their business in hand might yet more speedily and strongly proceed, at length a Popish Secretary (since executed for his Treasons) takes upon him to let a Foot and Maintain Correspondencies at Rome (particularly with a Native Subject of your Majesty’s, promoted to be a Cardinal, and in the Courts of other Foreign Princes (to use their own Form of Speech) for the *Subduing that Pessilent Heresy, which so long domincer’d over this Northern World*; that is, to root the Protestant Religion out of England, and thereby to make way the more easily to do the same in other Protestant Countries.

‘ Towards the doing this great Work, (as Mr. Coleman was pleas’d to call it) Jesuits, the most dangerous of all Popish Orders to the Lives and Estates of Princes, were distributed to their several Precincts within this Kingdom, and held Joint Councils with those of the same Order in all Neighbour Popish Countries: One of these Councils and Correspondencies was hatcht that Damnable and Hellish Plot, by the good providence of Almighty God brought to light above two Years since, but still threatening us; wherein the Traitors impatient of longer delay, reckoning the prolonging of your sacred Majesty’s Life (which God long preserve) as the great Obstacle in the way of the Consummation of their Hopes, and having in their prospect a *Profelyted Prince* immediately to succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, resolv’d to begin their Work with the Assaution of your Majesty, to carry it on with Armed Force, to destroy your Protestant subjects in England; to execute a second Mas-

here in *Ireland*, and so with ease to arrive at the suppression of our Religion, and the subversion of the Government.

When this Accursed Conspiracy began to be discover'd, they began the *frustrating* it with the *Babonous Murder* of a Justice of the Peace, within one of your Majesty's own *Palace*, who had taken some Examinations concerning it.

Amidst these *Disfract. us and Fears*, Popish Officers, for the Command of Forces, were allowed upon the Musters by *special Orders* (surreptitiously obtain'd from your Majesty) but Counterfig'd by a Secretary of State, without ever passing under the Tests Prescrib'd by the forementioned Act of Parliament. In like manner above

FIFTY NEW COMMISSIONS were granted about the same time to known Papists, besides a GREAT NUMBER of *desperate Popish Officers*, though out of Command, yet *entertain'd at half pay*.

When in the next Parliament the House of Commons were prepared to bring to a legal Tryal the Principal Conspirators in this Plot, That Parliament was *first Provoqued and then Dissolved*. The Interval between the Calling and Sitting of this Parliament was so long, that now they conceive hopes of covering all their past Crimes, and gaining a seasonable time and advantages of *Practising* them more effectually.

Witnesses are *attempted to be Corrupted*, and not only promises of Reward, but of the *favour* of your Majesty's *Brother*, made the Motives to their Compliance. Divers of the most considerable of your Majesty's Protestant Subjects have Crimes of the *highest nature FORGED AGAINST THEM*, the Charge to be supported by *SUBORDINATION* and *PERJURY*, that they may be *DESERVED* by *FORMS OF LAW AND JUSTICE*.

A Presentment being prepar'd for a Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, against your Majesty's said Brother the Duke of *York*, (under whose Countenance all the rest shelter themselves) the Grand-Jury were in an *unheard of and unprecedented*, and *illegal* manner discharg'd; and that with so much haste, and fear lest they should finish that Presentment, that they were prevented from delivering many other Indictments by them at that time found against other *Popish Recusants*. Because a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, called, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which exposes *Papery* (as it receives) as ridiculous to the People, a NEW and *ARBITRARY* Rule of

Part 2.

‘ Court was made in your Majesty’s Court of King’s-Bench (rather like a *Star-Chamber* than a Court of Law) that the same should not for the future be Printed by any Person what’s ever.

‘ We acknowledge your Majesty’s Grace and Care in Issuing forth divers Proclamations since the Discovery of the Plot, for the Banishing Papists from about this great City, and Residence of your Majesty’s Court and the Parliament; but with trouble of mind we do humbly inform your Majesty, that notwithstanding all these Prohibitions, *great numbers* of them, and of the most *dangerous sort* to the Terror of your Protestant Subjects. do daily resort hither and abide here. Under these and other *sad Effects* and Evidences of the *Prevalency of Popery, and its adherents*, We Your Majesty’s Faithful Commons found this your Majesty’s Distressed Kingdom, and other Parts of your Dominions *labouring*, when we Assembled.

‘ And therefore from our *Allegiance* to your Majesty, our *Zeal* to our Religion, our *Faithfulness* to our Country, and our Care of Posterity, We have lately, upon mature Deliberation, proposed *one* Remedy of these Great Evils, without which (in our Judgments) *all others* will prove vain and fruitless, and (like all deceitful Securities against certain Dangers) will rather expose your Majesty’s Person to the greatest hazard, and the People, together with all that’s valuable to them as Men or Christians, to utter Ruin and Destruction. We have taken this Occasion of an Access to your Majesty’s Royal Presence, Humbly to lay before your Majesty’s Great Judgment and Gracious Consideration this MOST DREADFUL DESIGN of introducing Popery, and, as necessary Consequences of it, *all other Calamities*, into your Majesty’s Kingdoms. And it after all this, the *private Suggestions* of the *Subtile Accomplices* of that Party and Design should yet prevail, either to Elude or Totally Obstruct the faithful endeavors of Us Your Commons for an Happy Settlement of this Kingdom, we shall have this Remaining Comfort, that we have freed our selves from the Guilt of that Blood and Desolation which *is like to ensue*. But our only hope, next under God, is in Your Sacred Majesty, that by Your Great Wisdom and Goodness, We may be effectually secured from Popery, and all the Evils that attend it; and that *none but Persons of known fidelity* to your Majesty, and *sincere Affections* to the Protestant Religion, may be put into any employment Civil or Military; that whilst we shall

' give a supply to *Tangier*, we may be assured we do not Augment  
 ' the strength of our Popish Adversaries, nor encrease our own dan-  
 ' gers. Which desires of your faithful Commons, if your Majesty  
 ' shall graciously Vouchsafe to grant, we shall not only be ready to  
 ' assist your Majesty in defence of *Tangier*, but do whatsoever else  
 ' shall be in our Power to enable your Majesty to protect the Prote-  
 ' stant Religion and Interest, at home and abroad, and to resist and  
 ' repel the Attempts of your Majesty's and the Kingdom's En-  
 ' mys. ?

I must put my Reader in mind that I have adduc'd all these evi-  
 dences, to prove three Remarks I made (p. 325) upon the *Laws*  
 made against Dissenters in this Reign, and upon the prosecution of 'em,  
 according to these Laws, And I submit it to the judicious, whether  
 these 3 Remarks be not made evident, from the Testimony of many  
 Noble Peers; from *both Houses* of Parliament; from *Votes* and *Ad-*  
*dresses* of the House of *Commons*; from the *best Pieces* extant, that  
 were written in that Reign, for Liberty, and property, and for the  
 safety of the Protestant Religion; as well as from some later Au-  
 thors: And my *Remarks* being but the very *Marrow* and *Abridgement*  
 of these Collections, I shan't spend the Readers time (and my own)  
 in making any summary Recapitulation of the heads of what has been  
 Inserted at large, instead of which I shall only repeat the Remarks  
 themselves.

*Remark 1st*, That the *Chief Promoters* of these Laws were either  
*Papists* or *influenc'd* by popish Councils, or *peevish dividing* Prote-  
 stants, who out of pique and *revenge* were betray'd, though with-  
 out a design on their part, into measures that tended to the advance-  
 ment of Popery and Arbitrary power; or, by *Temporizing* Favorites,  
 who had no other fixed Principle, but to please the Court and to sa-  
 crifice all to it.

*Rem 2d*. That these Laws were executed against *Presbyterians* at *such*  
*times* & in *such* a Manner as tended to the *weakening* of the Protestants  
 Interest, *stiffing* of the Popish Plot, & *entailing* the Misery and slavery  
 of a *Popish successor* upon the Nations.

*Rem. 3d*. That in every Parliament in this Reign, the House of  
 Commons were *sensible* that these Laws were dangerous to *Religion*,  
 and *Liberty*, and brought in *Bills* to *repeal* them, and made *Votes* a-  
 gainst the execution of them; which was done even by *that very House*

## Part 2.

of Commons that *fram'd them*, after several years Experience of the evil of them ; and that *all good bills* for the uniting of Protestants were still defeated by the influence of the *Court and Popish Councils*, at that very time when the discovery of the Popish Plot was *discourg'd*, and when Arbitrary steps for enslaving the subject were taken; and when the Union of Protestants was *most necessary* and desirable.

Having thus demonstrated that the Laws in *England* made against the Protestant Dissenters, are no Argument against their Loyalty ; it is easie to apply what has been said, to the Declaration of the Parliament of *Ireland* in 1661. and to the Proclamation of the Government and privy-Council there, in 1662, both which are quoted by our Author in his *second Letter* p. 10, 11. But seeing much harder and more severe Treatment in *England* did not prove 'em Disloyal, but flow'd from another spring : these Actings of the Parliament and Council of *Ireland*, which were but in compliance with the Court of *England*, can prove nothing to our Author's Purpose ; tho' he endeavors to make it out by a very unfair Method : for he adduceth *Ware's Annals*, and quotes him in these words, ' Note (says he) That Indulgence to Dissenters was published by the Government ' May 1662. And that they conspired to seize the Duke of OR-MOND May 1663.

Any one who is disposed to take this Quotation upon trust, wou'd imagine that the Author (from whence it's quoted) had wrote not only the *very words* recited here, but in the *very order* recited here ; but by consulting the Book it self we'll find the Contrary. For in *Gesta Hibernorum* p. 184 (the very page he refers to) we have these words ' Anno 1662 An Indulgence to Dissenters publish'd by the Lords ' Justices ' After these words, an account is given of 5 several particulars, which have no connexion with the said words, and after these 5 heads in the next page, we have these words ' Anno. 1663. ' The Plot of *Jepson, Thompsons, Blood, &c.* To seize on the Castle ' of *Dublin*, was discovered, and prevented ; and 4 persons executed.

Our Author has *jumbled* together these two passages, as if they had stood connected in his Author ; and *alter'd* the Words, as if the Plotters had been as extensive as the Party Indulged, or rather the *same* with them ; and thereby perverted the Sense of his Author, to favor this Calumny.



Our Author's next Objection against the Presbyterians during this Period, is the *Ryckhouse-Plot* in *England*. But I'm persuaded, all sober Men who will give themselves leave *impartially* to reflect upon the Transactions of those days, will think our Author very unwary in making this Objection; by which he falls in with the Papists, who forg'd that Plot, as they did divers others, to cover their own Popish Plot, and to destroy under the *colour* and *forms of Justice* some of the best Men in *England*. The above mentioned Conferences between Father *Le chese* and the 4 Jesuits is a Demonstration of it, of which I must lay the following part before the Reader, *vide* State-Tracts Vol. 3. p. 414. &c.

‘ Sir *John Warner*:

‘ ’Tis known how dexterously we have laid our Design, how certainly the Guilt of the *King's* Death, would have been laid on the *Presbyterians*, if we had succeeded in that Attempt. And I am still of Opinion, that there is no other means to divert the storm from the *Catholicks*, but by *contriving* some way to make the *Presbyterians* Guilty, or at least *seem* so, which does OUR BUSINESS altogether as well. —————

‘ A Gentleman of good Quality who came lately to *Paris* assures me, That if a stranger were to hear the Sermons and Discourses of the Generality of the Dignify'd Clergy, he would indeed guess, that there had been discover'd of late a horrid Conspiracy against the King and Government, but he *would never* guess that the *Catholicks* had been accus'd of it. Consider, if you please, the numerous Party we have there ready to receive every Impression to the Disadvantage of *Presbyterians*.

‘ A Numerous Party are longing for some Evidence of a Guilt, which is found only in their desires. Heaven does not only inspire us with this project, but assists and instructs us in it. Let us therefore go on with our *usual diligence* and Constancy. Every day *DEVISE NEW TALES* to encrease the Jealousy against the *Presbyterians*. Let us whisper abroad the *greatness* of their Numbers, the *INCORRIGIBLENESS* of their Principles. Let us, when things are got to a little more Maturity, *strengthen* that Evidence which we have *ALREADY PREPAR'D* against them. —————

## Part 2.

1 *Warren*, I am perfectly of *Sir John Warner's* Opinion. That no  
 2 greater happiness could be wish'd in this Juncture, than to be able to  
 3 fix any seeming Plot upon the *English Papists*. It would be like  
 4 fresh Game started, and would certainly tempt the *hot-headed hunters*  
 5 to leave the old Chace of the *Papists*, as they call us, and pur-  
 6 sue the new Discovery. I know very well that it would be a very  
 7 great weakening of the Common Enemy, and make another Civil War  
 8 amongst Protestants. I know, however their Learning be despis'd  
 9 by the pretended Church of *England*, That yet that Severity which  
 10 they keep up in their *Manners*, and so constantly Press on their Dis-  
 11 ciples, has in an extraordinary manner OBSTRUCTED the Advance-  
 12 ment of the *Catholic Religion* in *England*, by hindering that general  
 13 Debauchery and Corruption of Manners, amongst those Hereticks,  
 14 which would have let them in upon us so easily. As may be demon-  
 15 strated by OUR SUCCESS IN THE COURT, and other places  
 16 where none of those Intractable Whining Stoicks come. I am not ig-  
 17 norant that any Reconciliation betwixt us and them is Impracticable.  
 18 There have been *Bramballs*, and *Lands*, and *Grotiuses*, and *Lloyds*,  
 19 have fancied it possible to reconcile other sort of Protestants to us,  
 20 but there never was yet a Man so fond as to hope for any Union  
 21 between the *Catholicks*, and the *Disciples of Calvin*. I am also very sen-  
 22 sible that NO SORT OF MEN have been so INDUSTRIOUS in  
 23 ruining our late hopeful Contrivances, nor none so jealous of us;  
 24 and consequently, so careful to Watch in what shape the designs  
 25 of the Society will next appear. But let us put your Reverence in  
 26 mind, that it would be ever fatal to us, to set on Foot such an at-  
 27 tempt at such a time and fail in it.

1 ——— We have more than once attempted the same thing;  
 2 and have been Defeated. *Sir John Warner* mentioned to your Revc-  
 3 rence the ill Success of the Design upon *Claypole*, but he forgot to  
 4 tell you of the later Detection by *Dangerfield*.

5 *Sir Thomas Preston,*

6 I agree with *Father Warren* (said *Sir Tho. Preston*) that it's of ab-  
 7 solute necessity that we should not suffer *Parliaments* to Sir, but I  
 8 must add with *Sir John Warner*, that it is no less necessary for us to  
 9 fix some Conspiracy upon the *Presbyterians* immediately. Take the  
 10 Counsels of both the *Fathers* together, and we cannot fail of Suc-  
 11 cess. Our COUNTERFEIT PLOT will be discover'd, if the PAR-  
 12 LIAMENT

LIAMENT SIT. And the *Parliament* must needs sit in a little time; if we cannot charge a *Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*. (By *Presbyterians*, I do not mean those only that are really, but we must Order it as Arch-bishop *Laud* did, who called every one a *Puritan*, who was not for his sort of Government in *Church* and *State*.) Notwithstanding all that *sera in fundo parsonia*, that new good Husbandry taken up at *Court*, the want of Money will increase so fast, that it will be impossible to hinder the K. from Calling the Parliament together in a little time, if you do not make him afraid of them; and that can be done by no other means than by persuading him that they are generally *Presbyterians* in the *House of Commons*, and that the *Presbyterians* are at this Instant contriving against his Crown. ————— ‘ Nay, what is it we can despair of, after we have seen Mrs. C. and Mr. G. admitted as Evidence to prove a *Presbyterian Plot* upon Sir R. P. when the *Contrivance of the Forgery* had been before DIRECTLY PROV'D upon those very Persons, by the Testimony of *Dangerfield*, confirm'd with many Circumstances? 'Tis Cowardise to fear after such Success; and 'tis folly to have too good an Opinion of our Adversaries. Do we not see they help us all they can? Do not a *great Party* amongst the *Hereticks* Labour as heartily to SERVE OUR INTEREST, as if they were of our Religion, and more ready to be gull'd into a belief of some *Presbyterian* Conspiracy, than we are to form one? —————

‘ *LeChefe*, The Debate of these weighty matters has given me abundant Satisfaction, and a great light into the Affairs of *England*. I am clearly of Opinion that to secure that Kingdom, every one of your Counsels must in some degree be pursued. *Parliaments* must be kept off, the *Laws* must be put in Execution against the *Dissenters*, and they must be either DRIVEN into, or CHARG'D with some *Treasonable Conspiracy*’.

From this Conference, 'tis plain that it was a part of the *Papish Plot* to lay it upon the *Presbyterians*; and you may perceive they Argue here from such Topicks, as all *England* know to be true, viz. the *Artifices* us'd to disgrace *Presbyterians*, & Impose upon the Credulity of weak and bigotted Churchmen. The *Plot* they mention here discover'd by *Dangerfield* was that commonly called the *Meal-Tub-plot*, the Account whereof is in most of the Histories of these times, but I chose

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Coke's, because of its being so succinctly narrated, *vide Coke's Detect.*  
 (b) 'Then a design was set on Foot to throw the Popish Plot upon the  
 Presbyterians, by leaving Papers of a Plot in the Lodgings of the  
 Principal Persons, who were Active in the Discovery of the Popish  
 Plot, and then to search their Houses, and prosecute them upon  
 it, and these Papers to be given in evidence against them. Mrs.  
 Cellier was a Principal Agent herein and *Dangerfield* as her Instru-  
 ment at first made an Attempt herein, upon *Colonel Mansel* who  
 was prosecuted upon it; but the Examination of it was refer'd to  
 Sir *William Jones*, then Attorney-General, upon whose report of it  
 to the Council, they thereupon Voted *Colonel Mansel* Innocent, and  
*Dangerfield* Guilty, and that this was a design of the Papists to lay the  
 Plot upon the Dissenters Charge, and a further proof of the Popish  
 Plot. But this was such a Crime in Sir *William Jones*, that he was  
 soon after put out of his place, and Sir *Robert Sawyer* put in it, who  
 would not venture the loss of his Place for such another Report.  
 'By this time my Lord Chief Justice's Zeal, which he Profess'd for  
 the Discovery of the Popish Plot, was inverted into the quite con-  
 trary, and he was not of the Opinion of the Council: For after  
 this *Dangerfield* procured his Pardon, and then discovered the whole  
 Plot, which he Printed; Hereupon Mrs. *Cellier* was Prosecuted and  
 Tryed before my Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, upon the 11th of  
 June, 1680. and Mrs. *Cellier* excepting against *Dangerfield's* evidence:  
 he having his Pardon, the Case was sent to the Court of *Common-*  
*Pleas*, for their Judgment upon it; who gave it that *Dangerfield's* evi-  
 dence was good; yet let any Man Read the Tryal, and see how the  
 Chief-Justice Rated and Vilify'd him, so as Mrs. *Cellier* was quit;  
 and after the Tryal, Committed *Dangerfield* to Prison, upon the  
 Account there was a Defect in his Pardon, tho' it were not then be-  
 fore him, whether there was any Defect in his Pardon or not'.

The House of Commons perceiving this Intrigue of the Papists for  
 raising *Sham-Presbyterian-plots* to disguise their own, and turn the scent  
 of the Nation another way, took the *Ala m*, and so far was this Presby-  
 terian plot from gaining any Credit with them, that they prosecuted  
 some who had been the scandalous Reporters of it, and made the fol-  
 lowing Resolution and orders *October 28th, 1680.*

Re-

Resolved,

That it doth Appear by the evidence this day given to this House, that Sr Robert Can is guilty of publicly declaring in the City of Bristol in October 1679 That there was no Popish Plot, but a PRESBYTERIAN PLOT.

Ordered,

That Sr Robert Can a Member of this House be committed to the prison of the Tower, and that he be EXPELL'D THIS HOUSE.

Order'd,

That Sr Robert Yeamans be sent for in Custody to answer for publicly declaring in Bristol, that there was no Popish Plot, but a PRESBYTERIAN PLOT. vide a Display of Tyranny (c)

The House pursu'd this matter so far, as to appoint a Committee to examine the infamous Parson Thompson of Bristol, for the same report. The Committee examin'd eight witnesses, divers whereof declar'd that the said Thompson in a Sermon on the 30th of January 1679. said there was nothing but a Presbyterian-Plot, abusing those of that persuasion most grossly; and saying, upon that and other occasions, many scandalous things both against Church and State. The report of the Committee and the vote of the House upon it the Reader may see at large in the State-Tracts (d). I shall content my self with transcribing the Vote of the House, which was made December 24th 1680.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

‘ That Richard Thompson Clerk hath publickly defamed his Sacred Majesty, presch'd sedition, v lify'd the Reformation, promoted Popery, by  
‘ Asserting Popish principles, decrying the Popish Plot, and TUR-  
‘ NING THE SAME UPON THE PROTESTANTS, and endeav-  
‘ ored to subvert the Liberty and property of the Subject and the  
‘ Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and that he is a scandal  
‘ and reproach to his Function.

‘ And that the said Richard Thompson be IMPEACHED upon the  
‘ said Report, and Resolution of the House; and a Committee is ap-  
‘ pointed to prepare the said Impeachments, and to receive farther  
‘ Instruction against him, and to send for persons, papers and re-  
‘ cords.’

## Part 2.

I must observe, that the above-mentioned Conferences between Monsieur *Le-Chese* & the *four Jesuits*, were after the discovery of the *Meal-tub-plot* by *Dangerfield*, & before the breaking out of the *Rye-house-plot*; and pray let the Reader compare the Scheme laid by these Jesuits, with the History of what immediately follow'd. The Jesuits had contriv'd to have the penal Laws executed against Dissenters; and in order to that, to make 'em odious to the Court and people, to get Sheriffs and Juries to their mind that they might convict persons of their Sham-plot, to procure Credit to it, that it might not miscarry like the former: and accordingly all this happened. These occurrences are so briefly told and judiciously compar'd by the Author of the *Continuation of Sr Walter Raleigh's History* (e), that I must beg the Reader's patience to consider what follows,

' The Popish Party (*says he*) encouraged by the differences between the King and Parliament, contriv'd a Plot known by the name of the *Meal-tub*, to throw the odium of the Conspiracy on the  
 ' DISSENTERS and MODERATE CHURCHMEN. Several names  
 ' were put to an Association against the King, and a Declaration  
 ' was drawn up by the Conspirators full of Invectives against the  
 ' Government, and Insurgitions to Rebellion, which they designed  
 ' to drop in the Houses of many popular Lords and Gentlemen,  
 ' and then have them search'd; that being found there, those worthy Patriots might be taken off, as that ILLUSTRIOUS one  
 ' the Lord RUSSEL was, soon after. *Fitzharris*, one of the Conspirators showing some inclination to confess who set him upon it,  
 ' the House of Commons resolv'd to examine him themselves; and  
 ' fearing he might be tryed, and Hang'd out of the Way before they  
 ' finish'd his examination, they sent up a bill of Impeachment to  
 ' the House of Lords, when the Parliament met at *Oxford*, against  
 ' *Fitzharris*; that they might have cognizance of the matter: but the  
 ' Lords thro' it out, which so offended the Commons that they were  
 ' very free with the Peers in their speeches, and by a Vote forbid  
 ' any Judge, Justice or Jury, to proceed upon *Fitzharris*. They  
 ' also brought in the *Bill of Exclusion* again; ANOTHER ACT IN  
 ' FAVOR OF DISSENTERS, and another to prosecute the Lords

Powis



Powis, Arundel, Petre and Belafis, who were Prisoners in the Tower for the Popish Plot; but every body guess by THESE PROCEEDINGS, that they wou'd not sit long; and accordingly six days after they met, they were Dissolv'd, to the great Terror and Surprise of the Nation. *Fitzbarris* was hang'd, notwithstanding the Parliament's Votes; and *Stephen Colledge*, a poor busy Joyner Indicted of High Treason, for going Armed with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* to *Oxford*, and other offences taken against him. The London-Jury returned an *Ignoramus* on the Indictment; Yet *Colledge* was removed to *Oxford*, a new Indictment prefer'd against him, and the Judges did not doubt of getting such a Jury there as wou'd find the Bill. It appears by Sir *John Hawles*, the late Solicitor-General's Learned Remarks on this Tryal, that the whole was nothing else but a COMBINATION of the JUDGES to destroy him; and 'tis just the World shou'd know the chief of those Judges was Sir *Thomas North*. *Colledge* was by the *Oxford* Jury, Condemn'd and Executed; but that unjust Judgment has been REPEAL'D BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* himself committed to the Tower, and Indicted of High-Treason; but the Grand-Jury return'd *Ignoramus* on the Bill, and the *Irish* Witnesses which Swore against him, with difficulty escaped the fury of the Multitude.

The Duke of *York* having been sent to *Scotland* with the Character of Lord High-Commissioner, behav'd himself so Arbitrarily, that he gave general Discontent, the *Papists* and their Adherents, being the only Persons that were pleas'd with his Government. The Earl of *Argyle* on a Malicious Prosecution, for explaining his Meaning when he took the Test there, was found Guilty of High-Treason, and had he not made his escape had lost his Head four Years sooner than he did. The bold behaviour of the two Juries above-mentioned, so offended the Court, that a *Quo Warranto* was brought against the City of *London*, the Dissenters were every where PERSECUTED without Justice or Mercy: And a few Miserable Inhabitants of most Towns and Counties in *England*, engaged to send up Addresses in Approbation of these Proceedings. At the head of these were the low sort of Gentry, who thought their false Loyalty wou'd make amends for the neglect of their Duties to God and their Neighbour. Sheriffs were impos'd on the City by Violence, or North & *Riob* had never had that Honour, the Charter was taken away in 1683.

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And tho' the *Meal-Tub Plot* fail'd, that of the *Rye-house* succeeded so well, that the Lord *Ruffel*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Captain *Wallcoat*, and others, were Executed for it. Let *who will take offence*, this Testimony must be born to the Merit of that brave *English-Man*: That scarce all the Misfortunes that have attended his Enemies since, have been sufficient to atone for the *Righteous Blood* of so noble and so Innocent a Gentleman, whose Death the Parliament of *England* have since **SOLEMNLy DECLARED TO BE A MURDER**. The Earl of *Essex* was found Dead in the *Tower* with his Throat Cut, and a famous Writer put upon giving an eloquent Account of the Conspiracy which was publish'd in the King's Name. Collonel *Sydney*, the Earl of *Leicester's* Brother, was Condemn'd and Executed for Writing a Book which was not then Printed; but of late it has pass'd the Press, and *no Treason* appear'd in it. *Bateman* the Chirurgeon, *Rouse* and others were serv'd in the same manner; and 'tis well there were no more Protestants SACRIFICED to the *Manes* of the *Popish Saints*, who suffer'd for that Conspiracy. *Quo Warrantos* were sent against most of the Corporations in *England*, that wou'd not surrender their Charters; and there were not wanting in all Burroughs certain Tools to forward the delivery of these Charters: They were generally Men of no *Morals nor Fortune*, and consequently fit for any bad Service they were put upon. All their Merit consisted in their **ZEAL AGAINST DISSENTERS**; with the *Plunder* of whose Houses, Shops, Barns and Fields, they maintained their Riot and *Debauchery*; some thoughtless People were engag'd to side with them out of *Bigotry or Fear*, and some out of a natural *Inclination to Rule*; for by their cry of Rebellion against their Enemies, and of *Loyalty* in themselves, all this Party then call'd *Tories* were Tyrants in the places where they lived. Enough of these Wretches, who are long since Perish'd, and may no worse Faction ever Rise out of their Corruption.

I shall further recommend to the Impartial Reader the perusal of the Book Entituled, *No Protestant Plot, in three Parts*; wherein he'll find the Villany of the Witnesses against *Shaftsbury*, and many other things Detecting the whole Forgery; and in the Book, call'd *Tyranny Displayed, Part 1st*, He'll be furnish'd with such Remarks upon the Trials of the Great Lord *Ruffel*, Collonel *Sydney*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and poor *Colledge* and others, as may convince him, that they and others

after



after their expressing a peculiar Zeal against Popery, Arbitrary Power and a Popish Successor, were plainly *Murthred* in the form of Justice, and all by the Popish contrivance of the *Rye-house-Plot*. And therefore I cannot but differ in Opinion from our Author, who thinks the *Rye-House-Plot* an Argument against the Loyalty of Protestant Dissenters, whereas the Papists would never have put such a Plot upon them, had they not been assured of their being *Irreconcilable Enemies* to Popery and Slavery, and *stanch friends* to his Majestie's Person, Crown and Dignity; against which they were carrying on their Hellish Conspiracies.

What do's further prove this *sham-plot* to be a meer forgery of the Papists, is, the *Voucker* our Author has produc'd for *fixing* it upon Protestant Dissenters, I mean, Dr *Spratt's* History of the Conspiracy; for that Book was published in the year 1685, by the special order and Command of the late King *James*, prefixt to it. The Book it self is Entitled, *A True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King, His present Majesty, and the Government, as it was ordered to be published by his Late Majesty*. And had not the book been very *Subservient* to the designs of that Prince, for advancing Popery, and Arbitrary Power, he would not have taken that notice of it, he did: nor would he have been so fond of it's publication. And let any sound Protestant, who loves the Liberties of his Country, peruse the Book seriously; and try, if he can possibly be of another Judgment. There are two things in it which makes that matter as plain as any thing of that kind can be, *viz.* 1<sup>st</sup>, The Commendation and Applause which is given in it to some of the most Arbitrary Methods that were taken in the Reign of King *Charles 2d.* 2<sup>dly</sup>, The Representation it gives of the *Complaints* of the danger of Popery as *groundless*.

As to the *first*, it is indisputable that the breaking the Charter of the City of *London*, and the compelling the other Corporations of *England* to Surrender their Charters and give up their Liberties, was the direct road to the *enslaving* of the Subject, and the *destruction* of the *freedom* and *Privileges* of Parliament, and consequently of the whole Constitution. And yet this Book bestows very ample *Encomiums* upon those practises of the Court, and makes 'em to be the *peculiar Glory* of that Reign, in these words, p. 8, 9.

Wherefore his Majesty foreseeing how destructive, in time, the

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Effects of so great and growing a Mischief would be, resolved at length, after many intolerable Provocations, to *strike* at that which he had now found to be the very *Root* of the Faction.

This his Majesty and all wise and good Men perceiv'd, could be no otherwise done, than *first* by REDUCING the ELECTIONS of the Sheriffs of *London* to their ancient Order & Rules, that of late were become only a business of CLAMOUR & VIOLENCE: And then to make Inquiry into the *Validity* of the *City-Charter* it self; which an ILL PARTY of men had abused to the Danger, and would have done it to the Destruction of the Government, had they been suffered to go on never so little farther Uncontroul'd.

In both these most just and necessary Undertakings, the *Righteousness* of his Majesty's Cause met with an answerable Success: *First*, Notwithstanding all the Tumultuous Riots the Factionary party committed, to disturb the peaceable issue of that Affair; yet the undoubted Right of the Lord Mayor's Nominating the eldest Sheriff, was restor'd and established: And so the Administration of Justice once more put in a way of being *cleared from Partialty and Corruption*; and then a DUE JUDGMENT was obtained, by an equal process of Law, against the Charter it self, and its Franchises declared forfeited by his Majesty. and in page 164, 165. We have these words ' His Majesty cannot here forbear to let the world know, what entire satisfaction he has taken in one *special Testimony* of his Subjects Affections; whence through God's Gracious Providence the *Monarchy* has gain'd a most considerable advantage, by means of this very Conspiracy; and it is, that so great a number of the Cities and Corporations of this Kingdom, have since so freely resign'd their *Local Immunities and Charters* into his Majesty's Hands; least the Abuse of any of them should again hereafter prove hazardous to the *Just Prerogatives* of the Crown.

This his Majesty declares he esteems as the PECULIAR HONOR of his Reign; being such as none of the most popular of all his late Royal Predecessors could have promised to themselves, or hoped for.

This is Demonstration that that *Rye-house-plot* was contrived and forg'd to advance Arbitrary Government, and destroy the Liberty of the Subject: and that *Spratt's History* of it, commends *Slavery* for

for *Loyalty*, and *Arbitrary Power* for *just Prerogative*. but

2dly, Tho' what I have advanced from the *Addresses* and *Votes* of *Parliaments*, and other undeniable *Testimonies* show that the *Nations* were in eminent danger, of being overrun with *Popery* and *slavery*; yet that *Book* asserts p. 162. All these complaints, to have been but *Groundless Rumours of Popery, slavery, and Arbitrary Power*.

Let us compare what has been said with the account, given by the Ingenious Mr *Pierce* in his Answer to Dr. *Nichols*. The Doctor in his Book Entitul'd, *Defensio Ecclesie Anglicana*, had objected the *Rye-house-plot* against Dissenters, and quoted *Spratt's* History of it (as our Author has done) in defence of his Allegation. To which *Pierce* answers p. 108, 109. Which I translate thus :

Now follows in the Author the *Rye-house-plot*, as it's called ; a *fabulous story*, as he describes it, which never deserv'd Credit ; among wise men, and is now held by all to be ridiculous, *Thomas Spratt* Bishop of *Rochester* who wrote the *History of that Conspiracy*, and is commended by the Author, did after King *William's* Accession to the Crown, publish a book which has as much of the nature of a *Recantation* as of an *Apology* : His words written in his own defence are very observable, viz. *I could not prevent their Death* (he means of those who suffer'd on account of this sham-plot) *but I was not in the least necessary unto it. Nay, I lamented it, and especially that of the Noble Lord RUSSEL, after the Reverend Dean of Canterbury had inform'd me of his distinguishing Prebity, and of the detestation he had always conceiv'd against deceitfulness.* But had there been such a plot as the Author Asserts, *Russel* and all his Accomplices in that horrid Villany (whom notwithstanding the Parliament has declared to be unjustly put to Death) had deserved not only the Mortal hatred of all good Men, but the Direful Punishment they suffer'd, nor would *Spratt* have needed any such Defence or Excuse. Besides, the same Bishop declares that his Manuscript was Perused and Altered in several places by King *James*, before it was Printed. And therefore what can be depended upon for certain in such an History?

I leave it to every Judicious Reader to form such Reflections upon what has been said upon this Head, as will naturally arise in his own mind, for the just Vindication of the *Innocence and Loyalty* of *Presbyterians* ; and for evincing how little Credit is due to *Spratt's* History, dis-

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*disown'd by himself, alter'd by King James. Calculated for the Advancement of Popery and Slavery, and Publish'd by that unhappy Prince, while he was eagerly pursuing the Measures that were destructive of the Welfare of his good Subjects. And I heartily wish our Author, for his own sake as well as for the sake of Truth, would forbear this Method of imposing upon his Reader, by his referring us to such Popish Forgeries, in Defence of his Allegations against Presbyterians.*

I come next to consider the Murther of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, another Crime Objected to the Presbyterians in this Reign; but this was a Fact Condemned by the Presbyterians, and therefore I can't see what Ground there can be for charging them with it, as our Author does. For suppose him to be Murthered by some few of that Persuasion, who were his Tenants enraged against him by Oppression, I don't see how Presbyterians are accountable for their Crime, any more than all the Murthers, Rebellions, Adulteries, and other Crimes committed by Men of other Persuasions are chargeable upon the Communities to which they belong.

As to the Rebellion (as our Author calls it) subsequent in Scotland upon this Murther, it was the Act not of the Body of Presbyterians, but only of a Part of them made Mad by unexampled Oppression, which seems to have been contrived by the then prevalent Faction, of purpose to raise a Rebellion, and take occasion from thence to ruin the Nation and make way for Popery; as the Noble Earl of Shaftsbury observes in his Speech in the House of Lords, March 25. 1679, vide State-Tracts p. 71, 72. Vol. 2.

‘ *Popery and Slavery like two Sisters, go hand in hand, sometimes one goes first, sometimes the other in a Doors; but the other is always following close at hand. In England Popery was to have brought in Slavery; in Scotland, Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow.*

‘ I do not think your Lordships or the Parliament have any Jurisdiction there; it is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom; they have an illustrious Nobility, a Gallant Gentry, a Learned Clergy, and an Understanding worthy People; but yet we cannot think of England as we ought, without reflecting on the Condition therein. They are under the same Prince, and the Influence of the same Favorites, and Councils; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the Richer expect better Usage? It's certain, that in all Absolute Go-



vernments, the poorest Countries are always most favorably dealt with.

When the ancient Nobility and Gentry there *can not enjoy their Royalties, their Shirevaldoms and their Stewardries* which they and their Ancestors have possessed for *several hundreds of Tears*; but that now they are enjoined by the Lords of the Council to make *Deputations* of their *Authorities* to such as are their *known Enemies*.

Can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long under the same Persons, and Administration of Affairs? If the Council-Table there can *Imprison any Nobleman or Gentleman* for several Years, *without bringing him to Tryal*, or giving the *least Reason* for what they do; can we expect the same Men will preserve the Liberty of the Subject here?

I will acknowledge, I am not well vers'd in the particular Laws of *Scotland*; but this I do know, that all the *Northern Countries* have by their Laws, an UNDOUBTED and INVIOLEABLE RIGHT, to their Liberties and Properties; yet *Scotland* hath OUT-DONE all the *Eastern and Southern Countries*, in having their Lives, Liberties and Estates subjected to the ARBITRARY WILL and PLEASURE OF THOSE THAT GOVERN. They have lately *plunder'd and harrass'd* the Richest and Wealthiest Countries of that Kingdom, and brought down the *Barbarous Highlanders* to DEVOUR THEM; and all this without almost a *Colorable Pretence* to do it. Nor can there be found a Reason of State for what they have done; but that those *wicked Ministers* design'd to PROCURE A REBELLION AT ANY RATE, which as they manag'd, was only prevented by the Miraculous Hand of God, or otherwise all the *Papists in England* wou'd have been arm'd, and the fairest opportunity given in the just time for the Execution of that Wicked and Bloody Design the *Papists* had: and it is not possible for any man that duly considers it, to think other, but that those Ministers who acted that, were as guilty of the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in Question for it.

My Lords, I am forc'd to speak this the plainer, because till the Pressure be fully and clearly taken off from *Scotland*, 'tis not possible for me, or any Thinking man to believe that *Good is meant us here*.

We must still be upon our Guard, apprehending that the Principle is not chang'd at Court, and that these men that are still in place

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place and Authority, have that Influence upon the mind of our Excellent Prince, that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, that his own Nature and Goodness wou'd incline him to.

*Coke*, tho' no friend to *Scotch* Presbyterians, gives us an Account of the Barbarous Treatment they met with in very moving Terms, *Detelt. Part 2. p. 198, &c.* And that he (*i. e. Lauderdale*) might not be less active in *Scotland*, than his Brother *Clifford* was in *England*, and *Buckingham* and *Arlington* were in *Holland*, being arm'd with these other Powers, he made all sorts of People depose upon Oath, their Knowledge of the Persons of Dissenters, not *Popish Meetings*, in the Exercise of their Worship, upon Penalty of *Fining, Imprisonment, Banishment, and Transportation, and to be sold for slaves, Imprisoning all Outed Ministers*, who shall preach out of their Families, till they give Security of 5000 Merks *Scots*, not to do the same again: every Hearer being a Tenant, to pay 25 *l. Scots*, and Cotter 12, *Toties Quoties*, they shall offend: and that IT SHALL BE DEATH for any to preach in Fields or Houses, where any are without Doors: and 500 Merks Reward for any to secure such, DEAD OR ALIVE: and gave orders, That every man for himself and all under him, shou'd give Bond, not to go to Field-meetings, and to Inform against, Pursue and Deliver up, all outed Ministers to Judgment.

The Execution of these Orders was not by *Legal Officers*, but by an Army of *Highland Robbers*, who Quarter'd upon the Country; so that it may be a question, whether the *French King* did not take his Measures in his *Dragoon-Reformation*, by the Ground-Work laid by *Lauderdale*.

But his Grace (which it seems did Work Irresistibly) did not stay here; for his *Highland Army* which consisted of eight or nine thousand Men, not only liv'd upon free Quarters, upon all Sorts of the King's Peaceable Subjects, but in most Places Levied great Sums of Money, under the Notion of *Dry-Quarters*; — The King's Subjects were denounc'd Rebels, and *Captions* issu'd out for seizing their Persons, for not entering into Bond, that neither they nor any under them, shall go to Field-Conventicles.

But he that wou'd be let into the whole Management of these affairs ought to read the Book, Entitul'd, *An Account of Scotland's Grievances by reason of the Duke of Lauderdale's Ministry*; whereof I shall

transcribe the following part to shew how the Faction manag'd in Church Affairs. *vide State-Tracts Vol. 3. p. 209, 210.*

' The Second Remark shall be concerning my Lord *Lauderdale's*  
 ' *Administration in Church-Affairs.* It is not necessary to remember,  
 ' how that Earl *Middleton* in his Parliament thought fit to correct  
 ' the Rigor of Presbytery by the Heights of Prelacy, and what a  
 ' *severe Vengeance of Conformity* the Bishops did thereafter execute  
 ' upon the whole Country, for their former Compliance with, and  
 ' retain'd Affection to their Breshren of that Ministry; O when shall  
 ' Princes know wherein the *true Power* and *Peaceableness* of the Gos-  
 ' pel doth lie, and deliver themselves and the People from the *Pe-*  
 ' *dantry* and *Hypocrisie* of all Church-Pretenders! However, the ex-  
 ' treme Distress whereinto these Episcopal Persecutions had brought  
 ' the Country, did in the Year 1669. (As I have before related),  
 ' move the Compassion of some more moderate Persons, to obtain  
 ' for it the ease of that small *Indulgence* which was then granted; for  
 ' the better Establishment whereof, it was suppos'd (as I have said)  
 ' that the *Supremacy* was thereafter in Parliament enacted. But that the  
 ' Country might the better relish this favor, & know how to discern his  
 ' Majestie's from his Commissioner's *Grace*, it pleas'd my Lord *Lauderdale*  
 ' that in the Year 1670. Conformity shou'd be again commanded, and  
 ' press'd by new Acts of Parliament, and those in my Opinion, of a  
 ' *greater Severity* than the *Highest Points in Christianity* cou'd have al-  
 ' low'd: For by the fifth Act of that Session (as also by the seven-  
 ' teenth Act of the third Session) it is Statuted, That no *Non-Con-*  
 ' *form Minister, not licens'd by the Council, or other Person, not autho-*  
 ' *riz'd by the Bishop,* (shall (so much as) pray to God in any meeting, ex-  
 ' cept in their own Houses, and to these of their own Families, and such  
 ' as shall be present, not exceeding the Number of four, and that all  
 ' Accessary to the contrary shall be guilty of keeping *Conventicles,* and pu-  
 ' nish'd with the Pains there specify'd, the Article of the Apostolic  
 ' Creed, *I believe the Communion of Saints,* notwithstanding. 2dly,  
 ' by the same Act it is declar'd, That whosoever without License or Au-  
 ' thority aforesaid, shall Preach or Pray at any *Field-Meeting,* or in any  
 ' House where there be more Persons than the House contains, so as some of  
 ' them be without Doors, (who may only be two or three, and posted  
 ' there by Malice) or who shall Convocate these Meetings, shall be punish'd  
 ' with Death and Confiscation of their Goods, and the Seizers of such

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Persons are not only indemnify'd for any Slaughter that shall be committed in the apprehending, but also assur'd of five hundred Merck Scots of Reward, for each Person of them seiz'd and secur'd. So mortal a thing is this Field-Conventicling, the Mass and all its Idolatry hath nothing in it so deadly.

Thirdly, by the sixth Act of that Session, there are considerable Pecunial Pains ordain'd against disorderly Baptisms; such as those are reckon'd to be, That are perform'd by Outed-Ministers, not Licensed, or by any other than the Parish-Minister, without his Certificate, or in case he be Absent, the Certificate of one of the Neighbouring Ministers. Fourthly, by the seventh Act it is appointed, That all his Majesty's Subjects of the Reform'd Religion (For Papists that are without, God judgeth) shall attend Divine Worship in their own Churches, under the Pecunial Pains there mentioned, toties quoties, &c. and in Case any landed Man shall withdraw for the space of a Year, notwithstanding their being therefore fully Fin'd, They are to be presented to his Majesty's Council. who are Authoriz'd to require of them a Bond, not to rise in Arms against his Majesty, or his Commissioners (as if a Man cou'd not be so far dissatisfy'd with a pitiful Country Curate, but he must also be suspected for Disaffection to his Majesty) which if they refuse or delay, they are to be imprison'd or banish'd, and both their single and Life-Rent-Escheat doth immediately fall to his Majesty. And lastly, by the second Act of that same Session, It is Statuted & Ordain'd, That all Persons thereto call'd by the Council, or others having his Majesty's Authority are oblig'd in Conscience (very fair!) and Duty, to declare and depose upon Oath, their Knowledge of any Crime, and particularly of any Conventicles, and of the Circumstances of the Persons present, and things done therein; may not then any one be brought from the Streets, and urg'd to become upon Oath, Informer, Accuser or Witness, upon all that he ever saw or heard in his Life, against himself, his Friend, Father, and all Men else? or if he shall be so perversely wicked or disloyal, as to refuse or delay, he is to be punish'd by Fining, close Imprisonment, or Banishment, by sending him to the Indies, or elsewhere, at the Council's Pleasure. Sure I am, the Spanish Inquisition hath no broader Warrant. And yet notwithstanding all these, my Lord Lauderdale by a new Act of the third Session of this Parliament, procures the Execution of the above mention'd Acts against Conventiclars, and withdrawers from public Worship, to be enjoin'd to all Sheriffs and Magistrates, with an exprefs Provision, that they

shou'd



shou'd render an Account yearly of their Diligence, under the Pain of five hundred Marks Scots. Part 2.

If we consider the Barbarous Treatment the *Scotch* Presbyterians met with before that Insurrection at *Bothwel-Bridge*, the Proceedings against 'em being as Ollious and Unjustifiable as those of the *Spanish* Inquisition, and a manifest violation of the Law of Nature and Essential Liberties of Mankind; their Deplorable Case ought rather to be mention'd with that *Compassion* which the *Christian Religion*, and even *Human Nature* it self makes Due to them; and with a just Abhorrence of the *Unnatural* and Cruel Oppression by which they were driven into Defensive Arms, than with these hard Terms of Disloyalty and Rebellion. The Parliament of *Scotland* (who were better Judges of that Matter than our Author) were so far from Calling that Practice Rebellion, that they pass'd an Act July 4. 1690, Entitled, *Act Rescinding Forfeitures and Fines, pass'd since the Year 1665*. From whence it appears, that in the Judgment of that Parliament, the Persons who made and were Accessary to the said Insurrection were not accounted Rebels. The following Words of the said Act do clearly prove this Point.

‘ OUR SOVEREIGN LORD and LADY, the King and Queen’s Majesties, and three Estates of Parliament, in PROSECUTION OF THE CLAIM OF RIGHT, and for Relief of their Majestie’s good Subjects, and the better Settlement of the Peace, Quiet and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, by the Tenor hereof, Declare, Statute and Ordain, that the Decrets and Dooms of Forefaulture pronounc’d against the Persons after Nam’d viz’. (here follows a vast Number of the Names of many of those who were at *Pentland* and *Bothwel-Bridge*) ‘ and generally, and whatsoever Decrets and Dooms and Forfeitures, given and pronounc’d against any of the Subjects of this Kingdom, either by the High-Court of Parliament, or Ordinary, or Circuit Courts of Justiciary, or any other Court or Commission, from the first of *January* one thousand six hundred sixty five, to the fifth day of *November* one thousand six hundred eighty eighth, with all Escheates fallen upon the Ground of the said Forfeitures, since the said day, are, and shall be void, and of no avail, Force, strength, nor Effect in all time coming; Rescinding and Reducing the same forever, except the Decrets of Forfeiture pronounc’d against (here are some Persons Nam’d who were justly forfeited for Atrocious Crimes):

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And in like manner, all and sundry Infeſtments, Charters, Precepts, Instruments of Seaiſin, Preſentations, and other Rights whatſoever of Lands, Heritages, Teinds and Poſſeſſions, *made and granted, and proceeding upon the ſaid Forfeitures, and Hornings, to, and in favors of whatſoever Perſons, medately or immediately, with all DECREETS and SENTENCES given and pronounc'd by ANY JUDGES* conſequent, depending upon the ſaid Foreſaultures and Hornings, ARE VOID and NULL FROM THE BEGINNING, and of no Force, Strength nor Effect, and that without any ſpecial Proceſs of Reduction, or other Declarator to follow thereupon. Declaring this preſent Act as ſufficient to all Parties concern'd, as if the ſaid Sentences of Foreſaultures and Hornings, with the ſaid Charters, Diſpoſitions, and other Rights and Titles whatſoever, with the Decrees and Sentences following thereupon, were ſpecially and orderly Retreated and Reduc'd, and as all Parties having Intereſt had been ſpecially call'd thereto. Likeas, their Majeſties, and three Eſtates, *Re-habilitats, Re-integrates and Reſtores* ſo many of the ſaid Perſons as are living, and the *Memory of them who are Deceas'd,* their Heirs, Succeſſors and Poſterity, to their Goods, Fame, and Worldly Honor, and to uſe all lawful Acts and Deeds in Judgment, and out-with the ſamene, and to all and ſundry their Lands, Heritages, Tacks, Steadings, Debts, and Poſſeſſions whatſoever, which they, or any of them had, the time of the leading of the ſaid Proceſs againſt them.

And further, Their Majeſties and three Eſtates, Ordain the Perſons foreſaulted, and the Heirs of them, who are Deceas'd, to be fully Re-poſſeſs'd to their Lands, Teinds, Heritages, Tacks, or Poſſeſſions, whereof they or their Predeceſſors were in Poſſeſſion, the time when they were challeng'd for the *Deeds whereupon the Foreſaultures follow'd,* with full Right and Acces to all Bygones ſince the Time of *Martinmas 1688. incluſive,* with all other Bygones, yet *reſtving unimpliſhed in the Tenants hands:* As likewiſe, to all bygones whatſomever, intrometted with by any Donatar, or his Assignes, in the caſe of ſpecial Reaſons, and Acts to be paſt thereanent, in manner aftermention'd. Likeas, their Majeſties with Advice and Conſent of the ſaid Eſtates, do diſcharge all Fines yet unpay'd, which were impos'd by Sentences from the firſt of *January, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty five,* to the fifth of *November, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty eight,* upon any Perſon or Perſons for Church-Irregularities,

6 rities, or Non-Conformities, or refusing of Public Bonds, or Subscrip-  
 6 tions and Oaths, or for not obeying Acts, Proclamations, or Or-  
 6 ders thereant, Resetting of, or Converting with Rebels, for the  
 6 Causes foresaid, refusing to depone on Libels against themselves, in  
 6 Capital Cases, albeit restricted to Arbitrary Punishment, and any  
 6 Bonds granted for these Fines, with all Hornings, Denunciations,  
 6 and the Intercommunings, Given, Pronounc'd, and issu'd forth in  
 6 Parliament, or by any other Court, Commission, against any  
 6 Persons, FOR THE SAID CAUSES: \_\_\_\_\_

6 And seeing many of the Liedges were Spuilzied and Plundered  
 6 without any Previous Sentence, and Bonds and other Rights were ex-  
 6 torted or exacted from them through Fear and Terror: Their Majesties,  
 6 with Advice and Consent foresaid, ordains the Creditors, or others  
 6 having Right, to deliver up to the Debtors, all Bonds, and other  
 6 Rights extorted or exacted upon the Accounts foresaid, and where  
 6 the Bonds are registrat, to grant Discharges thereof, bearing a  
 6 Clause of Registration, and that betwixt and the first of November  
 6 next under the Pain of the double of the Penalty in the Bond, to be  
 6 decern'd against them, without any Modification, in case the Bonds  
 6 be found to have been extorted, or exacted in manner foresaid, and  
 6 insisted for, or not deliver'd up to the Debtors therein. And likewise  
 6 ordains the Clerks of the Privy Council, and the Clerks of any other  
 6 Courts, general Receivers, and others who have in their Hands,  
 6 Bonds which were extorted, or exacted, on the Accounts foresaid;  
 6 to deliver up the same to the Debtors, if they be requir'd: and  
 6 allows the foresaid Persons Spuilzi'd and plundered, to pursue for  
 6 Repetition of the Damages and Spuilzies, on the Accounts fore-  
 6 said, for which Bonds were not granted, either before the Com-  
 6 mission appointed by this act, or the Judge ordinary, as they please;  
 6 And appoints the Lords of Session, upon probable Grounds, to  
 6 grant Suspension of any Charges to be given on the foresaid Bonds,  
 6 without Caution or Consignation, and that gratis, without Pay-  
 6 ment of any Dues. And their Majesties, and Estates of Parliam-  
 6 ent, being willing, that this present Act be inviolably keep'd, Or-  
 6 dains the same, and whole Clauses thereof, to be interpret by all Judges  
 6 and Ministers of the Law, in the most extensive Sense and Con-  
 6 struction the Words can bear, in favors of the Persons Forfeited, Fined,  
 6 Denounc'd or OTHERWISE LESED as said is.

And

## Part 2.

‘ ——— And it is hereby declar’d, that this present Act shall be  
 ‘ as valid and effectual to all others Our Liedges Forfeited, Fined, &  
 ‘ or *otherwise Lesed, as foresaid,* from the said first day of *January*  
 ‘ one thousand six hundred sixty five, to the fifth day of *November*  
 ‘ one thousand six hundred eighty eight, and not here nam’d, as if  
 ‘ they had been particularly here insert: Declaring likewise, that  
 ‘ this present Act is without Prejudice of any who have been For-  
 ‘ feited, Fined, or *otherwise Lesed in manner, and upon the Grounds*  
 ‘ *foresaid,* in the Reign of King *Charles 2d.* before the Year one thou-  
 ‘ sand six hundred sixty five, to bring in their Processes or particular  
 ‘ Acts before the Parliament, or such as they shall appoint for that  
 ‘ Effect, and to crave and receive Redresses, according to the Merit  
 ‘ of their Causes, as Accords of the Law :

Many other Privileges are declar’d by the above Act to belong to the Forfeited Persons therein mentioned, too long to be here inserted. But from the whole tenor of the Act, their Majesties *K. William & Q. Mary* of Glorious Memory, & the *Scots* Parliament who set the Crown upon their Heads, and approv’d of the late Happy Revolution, did not account the Insurrections at *Pentland* and *Borbmel-Bridge* to be Acts of Rebellion. For if they had thought them to be such, why shou’d they have declar’d the Persons who were forfeited upon these Accounts to BE LESED? Certainly a Rebel forfeited for his Rebellion can’t be said to have been *lesed* or *injur’d*; by his losing Life, and Estate, which he has justly forfeited: and ’tis very observable, that this Law is not an Act of Grace, but of Justice, for it is founded upon the *Claim of Right*; and accordingly, it does not only render the Disposal of the forfeited Estates null and void for the future, but expressly declares all Infeftments, Charters &c. and all Decrees and Sentences of any Judges &c. to have been *null and void from the beginning.*

No Law can justly make the Sentence of a Judge concerning the Forfeiture to be *void & null from the beginning,* when that Law is posterior to the Sentence of the Judge, unless the said Sentence be void in it self from the beginning; And that Sentence can’t be void in it self, but for *one* of those *two* Reasons, either because 1. The Person is condemn’d for a Fact, which tho’ clearly prov’d against him, is *in it self no Crime,* & so can’t render him obnoxious to a Penalty, or 2. *Because there is not sufficient Proof* of the matter of Fact, tho’ it be a Crime. Now, let us apply

apply this to the Case of these forfeited for being at *Pentland* and *Bothwell-Bridge*. Many of them were upon Trial clearly and evidently prov'd to have been engag'd and concern'd in those Insurrections, and therefore the Sentences pronounc'd against 'em cou'd not have been void for want of proof of the Fact charg'd upon them; and consequently the Proceedings must have been declar'd void, for the first Reason, viz. Because the Parliament *Anno 1690* cou'd not think it a Crime for them to defend themselves by Arms against the Cruelty, Violence, Oppression, and Infringment of the *Vital Liberties of Mankind* as well as the *Nation*, under which they lay groaning. The Retrospect which is in this Law can never be justify'd upon any other Supposition than this, that they look'd upon the whole Proceedings against these People to have been *in themselves unjust*; and a necessary Consequence from that is, that they did not believe them to be Rebels, otherwise they wou'd have been to Absurd as to affirm that Rebels ought not to be forfeited nor punish'd; & seeing the Legislature hath appointed this Law to be interpreted in the most Extensive sense and Construction the Words can bear, in favors of the Persons Forfeited, Fined, Denounc'd, or otherwise Lesed, upon these Accounts; and have taken a Peculiar care of, and shown a Veneration for the *Memory of those who were deceas'd*, so as to have 'em restor'd to their *Fame* (which is inconsistent with the Opinion of their dying in Rebellion) I am perswaded this Law will bear me out in the Consequences I have drawn from it.

But it is time to come now to our Author's last objection against the Loyalty of Presbyterians during this Reign. And here he has an *Irish Plot* to fix upon 'em viz. the Attempt of *seizing the Duke of ORMOND* in *Ireland*; he makes a great noise about this in his *second Letter* p. 11, 12, 13. And all that he advances to prove them guilty of it is, A Declaration of the Parliament of *Ireland*, *Anno. 1665*. I don't question but there was a Declaration made by that Parliament relating to that Plot, commonly call'd *Blood's Plot* (from the Person's name who head-ed it); and at the time mention'd by our Author: But I have not yet seen the Declaration it self. If there be nothing else in the Declaration, for fastning this Plot upon the Presbyterians, than what our Author has quoted from it (and I presume there is not, otherwise he wou'd not have miss'd it) their Reputation will be safe enough; for the Words of the Declaration he quotes are these,

The

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Part 2.

That they did most traiterously and disloyally conspire to Raise a Rebellion in this Realm, and particularly had design'd on the said 21<sup>st</sup> of May in the said Year to surprize and take his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin* &c. And to seize of the Person of his Grace the *Ld. Lieut.* &c'. To infer from hence that the Parliament believ'd there was such a Plot as they describ'd, is a very native Consequence; but then, how shall we know upon what Party they fix'd the Guilt of it? For the Words quoted by our Author (unless they be compar'd with some other part which he hath not quoted, and of which I can make no Judgment) don't in the least decide that Question; in order to which, it must be inquir'd what Denomination or Party they were speaking of in the preceding part of their Declaration, with which the Words quoted by our Author are connected. And to make his Argument good, he must produce some Words which necessarily infer that this Passage is to be apply'd to *Presbyterians* or *Protestant Dissenters*; and he must yet go one step farther, and prove the Parliament fix'd this Plot upon the Collective Body of *Presbyterians* or *Protestant Dissenters* in *Ireland*, and that they did not confine it to some few of these Denominations. Our Author indeed inserts a parenthesis of his own thus 'They (*i. e.* *Dissenters*) did most Traitorously and Disloyally conspire to raise a Rebellion in this Realm &c'. But I am not sure that he has not mistaken the Parliament's Meaning and Words, and that he has not put a Gloss and Commentary upon them which they will not bear. The Account which I will presently give of the Innocence of the *Presbyterians* as to the Matter of *Blood's Plot* inclines me to believe that our Author has not rightly apprehended the Parliament's Sense, who knew better things than to be Guilty of that mistake.

Of the same Nature is that precarious Assertion of his, 'But farther, as an Instance of the Indefatigable Application of the Dissenters of those Days, and the Artful manner of their Address, in *listering* Persons of all Ranks into their Service; They had not only influence'd many of the Common People whom they judg'd able to sustain 'em, had they succeeded in that Conspiracy against the Church and State; but they had brought over several Members of the *House of Commons* to be Actors and Abettors in their Plots, of which the Parliament takes notice in the same Declaration, in these Words, *viz.* And whereas one of those Persons so justly Executed; and some others also &c.



Upon Reading this Passage, I expected our Author would have prov'd two things by this Declaration. 1. That the Members of Parliament Guilty of *Blood's Plot*, were brought into it by the *Dissenters*, for that he pretends to be set forth in the Declaration. And 2<sup>ly</sup>, That the *Dissenters* were Guilty not of this *single Plot* only, but of *more*, because he speaks of *their Plots*, and that they had drawn Members of Parliament into them all, and that the Declaration clears these points. But I find my self disappointed; for the Declaration (so far as he has quoted it) says not *one word* of the Persons by whom these Parliament-men were ensnar'd into this Plot, nor does it make the least mention of any other Plot, in which those Members were engag'd. This Author's loose way of Reasoning, and pretending to prove things by what will hardly amount to an *innuendo*, can never convince the Judicious, tho' it may go well enough down with the *Weaklings* and *Bigots* of a Party.

To show that I have not wrong'd our Author, by asserting that that part of the Declaration he quotes, proves none of the Points for which he adduceth it, I shall here transcribe so much of the Declaration as he himself hath set down (for that purpose) in his Book, ' And whereas one of those Persons so justly Executed, and some others also who were invol'd in the Guilt of that Hideous Conspiracy, were Members of the *Commons-House* of Parliament, which we mention with inward Sorrow and Grief of Heart, and with Horror and Detestation, to find that any Persons, who had the honor (under the Protection of his Majesty's blessed Government) to be Members of this House, &c. should be so ungrateful, nay Trayterous and Disloyal, as to Conspire against that Government, they were bound by the Laws of God, and Nature, to contribute their best endeavors to preserve and Maintain &c. And this House doth also declare the deep Sense it hath of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond's* great Prudence and Seasonable Prevention of the Sad, Bloody, and Dreadful Effects, which might have follow'd thereupon throughout this Kingdom; for which his continu'd Watchful Endeavors for the Safety of the King and Kingdom, We do return his Grace the most humble and hearty Thanks of this House &c. And that this House may not fail in any point of Duty to his Majesty, We are fully resolv'd to make strict Enquiry, what Members of this House have been so wicked, as to have had any hand in those

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‘ Horrid Guilts, so hateful to God and Man, &c. And to the End  
 this Declaration may be deliver’d over to Posterity, &c. It is or-  
 dered, that this Declaration be entred in the Journal Books of the  
 ‘ Proceedings of this House, Dated the 2d of November, 1665.

But I shall here give some short Account of *Blood’s* Plot, from whence  
 the Innocency of the Presbyterians will be evident. The Character  
 of *Blood* the main Projector, and who was to have been the Princip-  
 al Actor in it, together with a short Abstract of the Occasion and  
 Design of the Plot, is given more succinctly in Mr *Baxter’s* Life,  
 part 3. p. 88. than in any other Book I have met with.

‘ There was (*says he*) this Year a Man much talk’d of for his En-  
 ‘ terprizes, one Major *Blood* an *English-man* of *Ireland*. This Man  
 ‘ had been a Soldier in the Old King’s-Army against the Parliament,  
 ‘ and seeing the Cause lost, he betook himself towards *Ireland*,  
 ‘ to live upon his own Estate. In his way he fell in Company with  
 ‘ the *Lancashire-Ministers*, who were then Writing against the Ar-  
 ‘ my, and against all Violence to King or Parliament. *Blood* being of  
 ‘ an extraordinary Wit, falls acquainted with them, & not thinking that  
 ‘ the *Presbyterians* had been so true to the K. he is made themore capa-  
 ‘ ble of their Counsel; so that in short he became a Convert, & Marry’d  
 ‘ the Daughter of an honest Parliament-Man of that Country; And  
 ‘ after this in *Ireland* he was a Justice of Peace, and Famous for his  
 ‘ great Parts, and upright Life, and Success in turning many from  
 ‘ *Papery*. When the King was restor’d, and he saw the *Old Ministers*  
 ‘ blenc’d in the three Kingdoms, and those that had surpriz’d *Dublin-*  
 ‘ *Castle* for the King from the *Anabaptists*, cast aside, and all things  
 ‘ go contray to his Judgment and Expectation, being of a most bold  
 ‘ and resolute Spirit, he was one that Plotted the Surprizing of the  
 ‘ Duke of *Ormond*, and of *Dublin-Castle*. But being detected and  
 ‘ prevented, he fled into *England*’

*Blood* had a Brother-in-Law, one Mr *Lecky* a Dissenting Minister,  
 who had been a Fellow in the Colledge of *Dublin*, was a Man of  
 Parts, and was engag’d in this Plot; *Blood* and he us’d their utmost  
 Interest to bring into it as many as they could. But they could pre-  
 vail with few or none, but with those who had been Sectaries, and  
*Criminalians* as they were call’d. There were three Memorable At-  
 tempts that *Blood* & *Lecky* made upon the *Scots* Presbyterians, two in the  
 North of *Ireland* and one in *Dublin*: In all which they were repuls’d  
 with



with a Peculiar Loyalty and Steadiness, by a People who were then in hard Circumstances, and us'd otherwise than their loyal Appearance and Sufferings for the King gave 'em reason to expect they shou'd have been. Blood and Lecky took a Tour to the North, and first made an Attempt upon two Presbyterian Ministers and a Gentleman in the County of Down in or about December Anno 1662. The two Ministers were the Reverend Mr John Greg of Newtown, and Mr Andrew Stuart of Donneghadec, whom the two Plotters had got together with Captain James Moor in Mr Greg's house; and propos'd to them, that in regard of the Iniquity of the Times, the Usurpation of Bishops, and the Tyranny of their Courts, the Increase of Popery, and the Male-Administration of the Civil Government, there was a Party that were Well-Wishers to a Reformation & desirous of having these abuses Redress'd, & had form'd a design for doing it, without wronging the King's just Authority; and that if the Ministers and People in these Parts wou'd give 'em any assistance of their Concurrence, they shou'd be let into the Secret; and urg'd those three men to send their thoughts of it to Dublin. Captain Moor and the two Ministers immediately reply'd, That they wou'd not ENTERTAIN A THOUGHT, nor suffer a Word to be spoken in their Company that was PREJUDICIAL TO LAWFUL AUTHORITY; and that they abhorr'd any Plot or Enterprize that tended that way, that they wou'd not stain their Profession with any unchristian and Disloyal Attempt, for preventing the Sufferings that God might call them to: That for their part, they knew nothing of BLOOD'S Designs nor of his Scheme for the accomplishing of 'em; and therefore cou'd only say in General, that God's ends by lawful Means could not be rejected by good Men: But if he and the Party he spoke of had any unlawful Means in View, Religion and good Principles wou'd not allow 'em to fall in with 'em. These three Loyal Persons were so wary in what they said to Blood, and did so soon discover their Principle and Inclination, as prevented his proposing any thing to 'em which was Treasonable; and by this means their concealing of what pass'd between 'em (until they were examin'd afterwards, of which I shall presently give an Account) was not chargeable with the Imputation of Misprision of Treason, as their Judges acknowledg'd. They made such an Attempt in the County of London-Derry upon the Reverend Mr John Hart, making the same proposal to him which they had made in the County of Down, but had no better Success. And in Dublin they made an Experi-

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ment upon Mr *Thomas Boyd* an Eminent and Wealthy Citizen, of the Presbyterian Persuasion, and met with the *same Repulse*.

The Plot being discover'd, & some of the Principal Plotters apprehended upon the very day upon which it was to have been executed, *viz.* May 21 1663, The Adversaries of the Presbyterians father'd it wholly upon them, & possess'd the Government with a *violent Suspicion* that the Scots in the North were universally guilty of it. Two things were improved by 'em, as an handle for propagating that Calumny. *First*, The Character of *Blood & Lecky* the Principal Conspirators, who own'd themselves to be of that Persuasion; and *Secondly*, Three Eminent Presbyterian Ministers of the North *viz.* Mr *Adair*, Mr *Stuart*, and Mr *Semple*, had been in *Dublin* in the Year 1662, about the time when the Conspirators were hatching their Plot. Those three Ministers were attending his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, with an humble Address from their Brethren in the North, and were oblig'd to stay there for his Grace's Answer. But they were *Misrepresented*, as staying there upon another Errand, as Promoters of the Plot, to which they were *perfect Strangers*. And yet upon this Suspicion, the Government gave Directions for bringing those three Ministers Prisoners to *Dublin*. The Earl of *Mount-Alexander* being assur'd of the Loyalty of Mr *Stuart*, prevented his being apprehended at that time. The Lord *Massareen* interceded in like manner for Mr *Adair*, and procur'd an Order from the Duke, that Mr *Adair* should not be brought up with a Guard, but come up upon the Command of the Government for his own Vindication. When he came to *Dublin*, the Lord *Massareen* bail'd him; he stayed there three Months, and frequently petitioned either to be brought to a Tryal, or Discharg'd: And there not being the *least proof* against him, nor the *least ground* for *suspecting* his Loyalty, he was dismiss'd; and commanded to live peaceably and quietly, which he *ever did*.

In the mean time, great Jealousies of the Ministers and Gentlemen in that part of the North about the City of *Londox-Derry* call'd the *Lagan*, being industriously insus'd into the Duke; he dispatch'd Sir *Arthur Forbes* to inquire into that matter, who after the most *Critical* and *Severe* Examination he cou'd make, cou'd not find *any ground* of Accusation against either Ministers or Gentlemen in that Country; only he took notice, that in Mr *Hart's* Examination, he had Ingenuously own'd his Conference with *Blood* and *Lecky*, giving the same Account

of it, as I have done already; believing that it was so far from being Criminal on his part, that 'twas a *considerable Vindication* of his Loyalty. And Sir *Arthur* was of the same opinion. But Mr. *Hart* dropt an Expression in his Examination, which tho' it occasion'd much Trouble to some Worthy Gentlemen and Ministers, yea it gave 'em an opportunity of doing themselves and their Reputation Justice: For while he was giving an Account of his abhorring any Traiterous Conspiracy against the Government, he added these Words, as *Mr. Boyd of Dublin well knew*. What he meant by that expression was no more than this; that Mr. *Hart* being in Company with Mr. *Boyd* in *Dublin* the Winter before that, they discours'd and communicated to one another the Conferences which *Blood* and *Lecky* had entertain'd with them, and fortify'd one another in their *Loyal* Principles and Resolutions. But the Expression, as it stood in the Examination, and was return'd by Sir *Arthur* to the Government, being short and obscure, Mr. *Boyd* was taken up and examin'd; and he knowing nothing of Mr. *Hart's* using that Expression concerning him, and fearing that in such a Critical and dangerous time, when a powerful prevailing Party were resolv'd to run down the Protestant Dissenters at any Rate, the most Innocent Words that had pass'd in that Conference upon his Part (and he was not conscious to himself of any thing else) might be stretch'd, and a bad Construction put upon 'em to his Prejudice; he wav'd any particular Narrative of it, and vindicated himself (as well he might) by strong Protestations of his Innocence in general: But the Duke being Irritated, and having shown him Mr. *Hart's* Examination, Mr. *Boyd* told his Grace the whole Story as I have related it; and farther acquainted him, that he believ'd the Ministers and Gentlemen in the North, whom *Blood* had made any Essay upon, utterly discourag'd him from thinking upon any thing that was Treasonable or Disloyal, and particularly instanc'd Mr. *Greg*, Mr. *Stuart*, and Capt. *Moor*: For *Blood* had told Mr. *Boyd* what they had said to him. Before this Examination of Mr. *Boyd*, the Enemies of the Northern Presbyterians put the Duke upon the severest Measures they cou'd against 'em; many of the Ministers were imprison'd upon bare and groundless Suspicion; And particularly seven of 'em viz. Mr. *Drysdail*, Mr. *Greg*, Mr. *Stuart*, Mr. *Alexander Hutcheson*, Mr. *Richardson*, Mr. *Ramsey*, & Mr. *Gordon*, were very ill us'd and imprison'd in *Carlinsford*; all the Scots in the Country were disarm'd without Distinction.

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Upon Mr. *Boyd's* Examination, Mr. *Greg* and Mr. *Stuart* were brought to *Dublin* under two several Guards, had not the benefit of conversing with one another, and were kept close Prisoners in *Dublin*; Mr. *Stuart* was examin'd in Prison by the Earl of *Mount-Alexander* and the Lord *Dungannon*, and he upon Advice of a true friend who had first him private Information of what Mr. *Boyd* had told concerning his Conference with *Blood*, frankly open'd up the whole Story with all its Circumstances, as before related; Whereupon these Noble Peers told him, that *if there was no more between 'em, he was in no hazard*. But Mr. *Greg*, having no Intelligence of what either Mr. *Stuart* or Mr. *Boyd* had acknowledg'd, Desir'd his Accusers to prove what they alleg'd against him, and gave Answers to the same purpose (and for the same Reasons) as Mr. *Boyd* had done before he knew of Mr. *Stuart's* Examination: This Irritated the Government against him and his Brethren, who were severely Treated for some time; but upon the Recommendation of divers *Persons* of Quality, and *Gentlemen* of good Figure of the Establish'd Church, who thought themselves oblig'd both from Principles of Justice and Compassion, to give a Testimony for the Loyalty of these Ministers and Gentlemen, they were dismiss'd: There was never *one* of them convicted of the Guilt of that Plot, nor was there so much as *one* single Witness produc'd against any one of them; there was nothing cou'd be said to them, but what they confess'd themselves; and that could never militate against them, seeing 'twas *neither Treason nor Misprision of Treason*; but a Vindication of their Loyalty and Innocence. And let any Man impartially consider the *Severity* of those Times against Dissenters, the *narrow* Inquiry, and *sifting* Examinations they underwent, and all the fair Opportunities their Adversaries then had of finding out their Guilt, if it cou'd have been justly laid to their Charge; and from these and the other Circumstances and Facts I have mention'd, let him judge whether the fixing of *Blood's* Plot upon the *Body* of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* be not a *groundless Aspersions*. And the Duke himself was at length fully convinc'd of the innocency of a People, upon whom he had been advis'd contrary to the goodness of his own Temper, to put very great hardships, upon a bare Suspicion of Guilt: And for that very reason he continu'd the Indulgence to them for some Time; which is particularly observ'd by the Author of a Letter publish'd in *Cox's* Hill by Part 2. in the Reign of King *Charles II.* p. 6.

The Facts I have related in this short Narrative are known to,  
and



and can be attested by divers *Credible Witnesses* yet alive. Mr. *Grog*, Mr. *Stuart*, and Mr. *Hunt* have frequently told these Passages to their Brethren, and to many other Gentlemen, who exactly remember 'em. The Noble Lords above-mention'd gave the same Account to several Ministers and Gentlemen; some whereof are yet alive and can attest it. And Mr. *Alair*, as he frequently told those Passages to his Friends and Acquaintances, so he hath given a full Account of them in his Manuscript History, out of which this Abstract is taken: And to confirm all, I shall offer two things, 1. Let any Man produce a Record for Convicting any Presbyterian in the North of *Ireland* of being in the least Accessary to that Plot, or produce one single Examination of one Credible Witness for fastning that Imputation upon any one of them. As for those in the South of *Ireland*, there was indeed Mr *Lecky*, as has been noted, who was guilty of it, and not another Minister but himself, that I ever heard of: *Blood* likewise seem'd to own that Persuasion; but it were highly injurious, to upbraid the whole Body with these few Instances. But

2ly. Let the time when King *Charles 2.* granted his Royal Pension to the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* be considered: it was near ten years after *Blood's Plot*, and it is not supposable that he would have granted it, unless his Majesty and Sr. *Arthur Forbes* (afterwards Earl of *Granard*) had been fully satisfy'd of the Innocence and Loyalty of those in whose favor the Royal Grant was made. 'Tis just, the world shou'd know the first Motion that was made for that Pension, and the Consideration upon which 'twas granted, and has been now continu'd these forty Years past *without Interruption*, except during the Reign of King *James 2d.* And a very few years in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles 2.* when the Ruin not only of Presbyterians, but of all sober Church-men, and of the Protestant Religion it self was upon the Anvil. The Account I am to give of this Matter was drawn by the late Reverend Mr. *Alexander Hutcheson*, Presbyterian Minister at *Tannagh-Nive* in the County of *Down*; he and three Ministers more, *viz.* Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Mr *William Semple*, and Mr *Archibald Hamilton*, did all concur in the same Account to the rest of their Brethren, affirming that they had it from Sir *Arthur Forbes's* own mouth. And they were all men of so much *Candor* and *Veracity*, as no man of any good Character, of whatsoever Persuasion, wou'd have call'd in Question the Truth of what any of them said, and far less of a Fact they all agreed in. The Account it self I shall give in Mr *Hutcheson's*

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own Words, as he has left them under his hand, which is as follows:  
 ' The truly Honorable Sir *Arthur Forbes*, the *steadfast* and real friend  
 ' of the Ministers and people in that part of the Country, wrote  
 ' for four Ministers to come to him to *Dublin*, that he might com-  
 ' municate to them a matter wherein they were *highly concern'd*. The  
 ' Ministers were Mr *Patrick Adair*, Mr *William Semple*, Mr *Alexander Hutcheson*, and Mr *Archibald Hamilton*, who all went to *Dublin*  
 ' about the middle of *October 1672*. The matter was, as he related  
 ' it himself, as followeth: He being a little time before in *London*, and  
 ' being in Conference with the King, who had a great Kindness for  
 ' him (and *deserv'dly*) the King amongst other things relating to this  
 ' Kingdom enquir'd at him, concerning the *Presbyterian* Ministers and  
 ' People in the *North*: How the Ministers lived, and that he had *al-*  
 ' *ways been inform'd*, that they were *Loyal* and had been *sufferers on*  
 ' *that account*, and were *peaceable in their way and Carriage*, notwith-  
 ' standing of the hardships they were under.

' Sir *Arthur* reply'd, 'twas a *true account* his Majesty had  
 ' heard of them; and as to their present Condition, they lived in no  
 ' great plenty, tho' they had the *affection* of the people, where they  
 ' did reside; but that they were not in a *Capacity* to afford them a  
 ' Comfortable subsistence, being under many *heavy burdens*. The  
 ' King of his OWN MEER MOTION told Sr *Arthur*, that there  
 ' was *twelve hundred pounds* a Year in the Settlement of the Revenue  
 ' of *Ireland*, which he had not yet dispos'd of, but design'd it for a  
 ' charitable use; & he knew not *how to dispose of it better*, than by *giv-*  
 ' *ing it to these Ministers*; and told, he would forthwith give Order &  
 ' desired Sr *Arthur* to bring the Secretary to him to morrow, that  
 ' the order might be pass'd under the King's Privy-Seal; and the  
 ' money to be pay'd to Sir *Arthur* quarterly, for secret Service, as  
 ' the *Order run*; but when the Secretary came to the King, it  
 ' was found there was only six hundred pounds to be dispos'd  
 ' of, which he order'd to be paid as is formerly related. Sir  
 ' *Arthur* sent for the four Ministers, partly to give account of the  
 ' *King's business* to them, partly that *they might consider* how to divide  
 ' it, which they considering apart, agreed on this Method, that each  
 ' Minister which was in the Country in the year 60 should have an  
 ' equal Proportion, and that the Widows and Orphans of these who  
 ' were removed by Death might share of the King's Bounty; and  
 ' when they told this to Sir *Arthur*, he was much pleas'd with what  
 ' they had done, and order'd the present payment for the first quar-

ter. He also told the Ministers that it was very becoming them to signify, by a Letter of Thanks to the King, the Sense they had of his Majesty's singular favor; and another Letter to Duke Lauderdale, a third to Sir Robert Murray, who were ready to do what Service they could for their Country-men here, and had spoke in their favors; all which Letters were drawn, and communicate to Sir Arthur, and by him sent over to London; which were Graciously Accepted; as both D. Lauderdale, and Sir Robert Murray signify'd by their Letters to Sir Arthur, which they desir'd him to communicate to the Ministers, which he did as Opportunity offer'd.

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## An Appendix to the Preceeding Chapter, concerning the Reign of King James II.

ALL the Mischiefs of Popery and Slavery which burst out in this Reign, were the *Hideous Spawn* of those Wicked Councils which govern'd the Preceeding Reign; and those Patriots who foresaw and foretold 'em, and for that Reason had urg'd for the Bill of Exclusion, as the only expedient for the Preservation of Religion and Liberty, were now proved to all the World to be true Prophets. The present Generation have (or at least ought to have) so deep an Impression and so fresh a Remembrance of the Melancholy Circumstances of our dear Country during that Reign, as gives a full proof of the *Necessity, Justice and Glory* of the late *HAPPY REVOLUTION*.

Our Author mentions but *one* Objection against Presbyterians during this Reign, which he sets off in his first Letter p. 12, 13. in these Words, 'It must be own'd that King James 2. treated them kindly, and gave them good words, and that they were not behind with him, for his granting them a Toleration by his absolute Authority against the Laws of Scotland,' And then he quotes the Address of the Scots Presbyterian Ministers to the King upon that occasion, in these words, 'For which Royal Favors, his Majesty's most Loyal Subjects the ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion in Scotland, from

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the due Sense they had of his Majesty's most Gracious Favor, &c. do most earnestly desire his most Gracious Majesty to accept of their most Humble Address, as proceeding from the Plainness and Sincerity of *Loyal* and *Thankful* Hearts, much engag'd by his Royal Favor, to continue their Fervent Prayers to the King of Kings for all Blessings Spiritual and Temporal ever to attend his Royal Person and Government.

Let the Barbarous Sanguinary Laws against *Scots* Presbyterians which destroy'd at once Life, Liberty, and Property, and which were procur'd by this King both before and after his Accession to the Crown, Declare, whether he *treated them kindly*, as our Author alledges: Instead of which, their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and for the *Bill of Exclusion*, made 'em the Objects of his Implecable Fury. 'Tis true, he publish'd *A Liberty of Conscience* to them, but all the World knows, that he design'd no Benefit or Kindness by it to any, but to the Papists, upon whose Account, he Arbitrarily Dispens'd with the Penal Laws; And now the Question is, Whether the Presbyterians were blameable for taking the Benefit of that Liberty to themselves, and for Addressing him upon that occasion? I humbly conceive they were not: For *had they refus'd* to make use of it, *That* wou'd never have hinder'd the Papists for reaping the Benefit of it, but on the contrary, wou'd have *strengthen'd Popery*, by putting themselves out of Capacity to oppose it: Besides, the *Penal Laws* against Presbyterians were of themselves so Inhuman and Unchristian, as they thought, that they were obliged by the Word of God the Supreme Law, to make use of all Opportunities of Worshipping and serving him according to their Consciences, any Human Law whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And accordingly Divine Providence Overrul'd that *Papist* Project of *K. James*, so as to make it *one* of the *visible Means* of Defeating the End which he himself had designed by it: For the Presbyterians, being relieved from the Barbarous Severities which had ruined Multitudes, and Dispirited the most of them, got *new Strength*; which they had no sooner got, but they *improv'd it vigorously* in Conjunction with other Loyal Protestants, for promoting the late *Happy Revolution*.

The same Objection is made against the *English* Presbyterians by some of our Author's Faction; and the Argument is manag'd at large by Mr *Wesley* and Mr *Palmer*. The latter publish'd *Anno. 1705.* a





*Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England.* He states the Objection and refutes it p. 70, 71. in these Words, ' But the most plausible Argument of our Enemies upon this Head is, that the King having usurped the power of dispensing with the Laws, and the Declaration of Favor to us, being founded upon such usurped Powers; consequently our thanks to the King was an Acknowledgment and Allowance of it; but we have several things to Reply to this in our Defence. And, 1. We say, 'tis Unaccountably hard to make our Address of Thanks a Crime, and an acknowledgment of that Usurped Power which they themselves advanc'd, Supported, and Voluntarily Conferr'd upon the King. Thus when they had preach'd up *Absolute Obedience*, when they had taught that the Word of the King was Law, when they had set up an *Imperial Sovereignty*, which they said was above the *Political Power*, and might *Over-rule the Legal Authority*: I say, when they themselves had thus set up a Usurped Power, to charge us with acknowledging of it as a Crime, is a most unaccountable Conduct, and nothing else but as their own Poet has it;

' The self same thing they will abhor

' one way, and long another for :

' All Piety consists therein

' In them, in other Men all Sin !

' But 2<sup>dly</sup>, We Urge, that when they had taught, that the King was Head of the Church, and had a Plenary *Ecclesiastical Capacity and Power to Rule it*. And when the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was a *meer Ecclesiastical Act* ; How cou'd it be our Crime to acknowledge that Capacity, which the Church did give him, by our receiving the Benefit and Advantage of the Exercise of it. And 3<sup>dly</sup>, We deny the Consequence, viz. That our Address of Thanks was an Acknowledgment of any such Usurped Power, to belong of Right to the King. For as there's no Address of ours ever made that Acknowledgment in Terms; so in the Thanks that we offer'd we only asserted our Right to that Liberty of Religion, to which in the Nature of the Thing, and by the Law of God, we had a Right Prior both to the Laws made against us, & the Declaration that pretended to annul them. And if a Man might not thankfully acknowledge a good Act, as this in its own Nature was, being an Act of Mercy, without acknowledging the Usurped Power, that savour'd

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' this mercy and Goodness to him ; 'Twould be worse living under  
 ' a Conquering and Usurping Power than it has hitherto been, and  
 ' men wou'd be barr'd from any means of softning the *Tyranny* of  
 ' Oppressors. At this rate of Arguing *Tully* cou'd not have Compli-  
 ' mented *Cesar* into Clemency to *Marcellus*, if his so doing must be  
 ' judg'd a wicked Allowance of *Cesar's* Right to destroy the Repub-  
 ' lic ; and in the same manner, if the Compliments paid to *Cromwel*  
 ' for some particular *Acts* of Goodness done by that Usurper to the  
 ' Friends of the King, were to be interpreted to be an assent to his  
 ' Usurpation ; I doubt some great *Church-men* wou'd be found as  
 ' guilty as any of the *Phenatics* in their Addresses to him. And  
 ' that we ought not to be charg'd with allowing the *Dispensing-Pow-*  
 ' *er* upon the account of our Thanks for this particular Favor is E-  
 ' vident, because 'twas not we, but the *Church-men* that advanc'd it,  
 ' the *Judges* that affirmed it were Members of the *Church*, and of  
 ' the two *Universities* of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. We at that very  
 ' time declared our Abhorrence of it, and as soon as we could, we  
 ' joined the *Prince of Orange* to resist and oppose it, tho we had Rea-  
 ' son before to Rejoyce, that we were deliver'd from the Oppres-  
 ' sions under which for so many Years we had groan'd, till that De-  
 ' claration relieved us.

Let the World judge, whether that Faction had any Reason to ac-  
 cuse Presbyterians of paying Excessive Compliments to King *James*,  
 when themselves had so shamefully exceeded all Bounds of Decency in  
 that matter, as will fully appear by the following Collection which  
*Palmer* has made of their Addresses in the Reigns of *Charles 2*, and  
*James 2*. from the *Gazettes*, (*ibid.* p. 66, 67, 68.) ' *Ripon* (c)  
 ' Address esteems it a matter of the highest Joy and Satisfaction that  
 ' they were deliver'd from the Unwarrantable and Arbitrary Procee-  
 ' dings of the House of Commons ! That of *Richmond* (d) is a very strong  
 ' piece of *Enthusiasm*, where they tell the King that the *Special Spirit of God*  
 ' inspired him to dissolve the Parliament. High-Church too, it seems,  
 ' has a great Respect for the *Light within* ! The *University of Cam-*  
 ' *bridge* (e) thank him for giving so seasonable a Check to the Arbitra-  
 ' ry and Insolent Undertaking of the Commons ! And *Chesterfield*  
 ' tells

tells us, that this Arbitrary Usurpation was Imprisoning his Majesty's  
 Subjects ! Thus the Right of the Commons to imprison was deny'd  
 when it was for their Turn ! *Durham* (f) makes a Gracious Offer, to  
 give Money without Consent of *Parliament*, to secure the Throne to a  
 Papish Successor ; and they were so wonderfully fond of this great  
 Blessing, that *Lyn, Norfolk* and *York* (g) do extremely Rejoyce, that  
 a Papist was Return'd to the Councils and Presence of the King. *Portsmouth*  
 (h) is angry beyond Measure with the Dissenters for crying  
 out so severely against the Heretical Church of Rome, a very Reasonable  
 Complaint this, from the Members of the Church of England !  
*Cornwall* has a pretty Complement, and being Resurrectionists talk of  
 Sublimated Sedition, and tell the King, that what they promised in a  
 black Character they shou'd be ready to perform in Red, in Red ! Yes yes,  
 we know Blood was their Desire, for 'tis a very great Mistake, if we  
 think these Gentlemen intended to venture their own Blood in the  
 Service of their King, no, no; 'twas ours they intended should trans-  
 form the Character of their Address from Black into Red ; And  
*Ipswich*, to make sure Work, tell the King, that Jurors were  
 only to Inquire, not to Determine, and Acquit the indicted ! This I suppose  
 was to shew their Skill in the Law, & how little they knew themselves  
 worthy of the Priviledge to be try'd by a Jury, & that the very fountain  
 our Law might be brought into Contempt ; the very Loyal Adres-  
 ses of *Worcester*, speaking of the Votes of the House of Commons, call  
 'em the Sawcy and Seditious Votes of our Senate ! And if any thing  
 like this can be shown in Dissenters Adresses, I have done !  
 But this was but the *Preludium*, and to Pave the way to our Ruin.  
 This was under pretence, that they had hopes the Duke was not a  
 Papist, or that if he was, yet he wou'd not be an Arbitrary King :  
 But when they felt the Effects of their own Folly, they were resolv'd  
 to pursue it, and the Frolick must go round in the Glorious Reign  
 of James II. Thus the Merchants make a surrender of the Customs to  
 the King, and hug the Arbitrary Yoke, which his illegal Proclamati-  
 on put upon their Servile Necks but a few Days before, (i) and that  
 this

(f) March 20. (g) March 27. 30, 1682. (h) April 10. (i) C42. Feb. 19. 1684.

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this might have the Sanction of the long Robe, the middle Tempers sent up their Address by the Hand of Sir H. M. in which they tell the King, *That he had a Right to take the Customs that were expir'd, without Consent of Parliament.* Tho' this is declar'd to be a high Usurpation by the Law (k)! The Men of Winchester (l) were so far, and so early in the design of the Imposture that was afterwards put upon us; That they Solicited the Queen to divert her self in their Country, that their Excellent Air might Work that Miracle, which the Virgin Mary afterwards permitted to be done by the Catholic Waters of the Bath! And to do these Gentlemen Justice, it must be confess'd, that they have been even both with that Queen and the Virgin, for slighting their Complement by a very Zealous Address against their Miraculous Son! Gloucester's Address is very free with the Parliament, and calls 'em a Parcel of Blood-thirsty Villains, for endeavoring to Exclude a Subject from the Throne! Worcester (m) can't forbear Complementing themselves for their own Voluntary, Free and Unanimous surrender of their Charter! But to close all; now we are almost tyr'd, Northampton (n) Address will be extremely refreshing; for they say, *they were restor'd from Death to Life, and this cou'd not but beget all imaginable Veneration in their Minds* and as an Evidence of it, they offer up their Lives and Fortunes to serve his Majesty WITHOUT RESERVE. Without Reserve! That's very much indeed. But then they give us a very good Reason for it; for when they had made the King a God, it was but fit they shou'd worship him, and make an Absolute surrender to him, and therefore they add in the same Address, *That they had that Reverence for all his Majesty's Declarations, particularly for that which relates to our Religion as by Law Establish'd, as if they came to us from HEAVEN IT SELF!* But what became of their Reverence for the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, did they think that came from Heaven it self? Did they esteem it equal to the Declaration of Heaven? No they trampled upon it, and forsook their Heaven, & found that they had a Reserve, for they never meant to pay this Reverence to any of his Declarations, unless he shou'd publish one to oblige 'em to read a Book of Sports, or Persecute us! 'Tis time to be

(k) Feb. 12. 1684. (l) *Ibid.* (m) March 9. (n) March 16. 1684.

be weary of Transcribing these Impertinent and Impious *Addresses*; and I shou'd never have done it, but that I might evince the Falseness of Mr. *Wesly's* Assertion, viz. *That we made much greater Compliments to King James II. than the Gentlemen of the Church*; and we join Issue here too, and leave these few to be compar'd with all the *Dissenting Addresses*, and if such Insolent Expressions to Parliaments, such Complimenting *Arbitrary Power*, such surrendering of Property, such Encouragement of *Papery*, and of Usurpation upon the Rights of the Kingdom, and with all such Nauseous insipid Flattery as is here, and may yet be produc'd; Nay, as is in this single *Northampton Address*, can be charg'd upon us, We deserve the Censure of Mankind for our Folly; but even then too, we desire to be corrected by honest Hands than those of the *Faction* that oppose us, who are thus Guilty of the same, of which with so much *Bigotry* and blind *Rage* they accuse us.

I must observe that the Character, which honest *British* Protestants contend for with respect to their Behavior under this unhappy Reign is not about their *Loyalty*, but about their *Disaffection* to that oppressive Government; They vie with one another, and *happily contend* for the *higher Praises* and *Superior Merit* for giving the briskest Opposition, and making the bravest Stand against the Measures of that Unfortunate Prince: I call this an *Happy Contention*, because it Issues in a *Noble* and *just* Agreement against the late King *James*, and all his Abettors: For seeing all sides look upon their Non-Compliance with his illegal Courses to be a *brightning* of their Character, and an *Establishing* of their Merit; Their contending with one another about that Question, *which of them was most Vigorous and Early in that Glorious Enterprize for Rescuing our Religion, Liberties and all that's dear to us, from his violent Popish Councils*, is (under God) one of the best Securities we can have against the Return of that Intolerable Bondage; Which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear, or shake off, unless the immediate Hand of God (by an almost Miraculous Providence) had interpos'd, in our greatest Extremity, for our Relief. The Effectual way for deciding *that Question* will be this; for all Parties, to perpetuate that *lucky* and *Loyal Debate* for the future, and contend with one another, which of 'em shall be the most Active and Zealous in opposing the *Pretender*, in *Extinguishing all his Hopes*, and *Defeating all his Measures*, and to be true to the Queen and the Protestant

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constant Succession in the Illustrious House of HANOVER: It was a great Happiness to the Nations, that many of the Gentlemen and Clergy who were so Frolicksome as to gratify *K. James* with their Lofty Addresses, in favor of Arbitrary Power in the Prince, and Passive Obedience in the People, were so honest as to repent, and join in a good Cause. I know of no Party of Protestants who have stuck so close to the Professions they made in favor of the late King *James*, as the *Scotts* Bishops, and their Adherents; who upon the Birth of the Pretender, and the Rumor of the Glorious Design of the Prince of Orange to deliver these Nations, from Popery and Slavery, Address'd the King in these Words,———— ‘ We Magnify the Divine Majesty for Blessing  
 ‘ you with a *So.*, and us with a Prince, whom we Pray Heaven may  
 ‘ Bless and Preserve to Sway your Royal Scepter after you, and that he  
 ‘ may Inherit with your Royal Dominions, the Illustrious and Heroic  
 ‘ Virtues of his August and most serene Parents.

‘ We are Amaz'd to hear of the Danger of an Invasion from *Holland*, which excites our Prayers, for an Universal Repentance, to  
 ‘ all Orders of men, that God may yet spare his People; preserve  
 ‘ your Royal Person, prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, and  
 ‘ give such Success to your Majesty's Arms, that all who invade your  
 ‘ Majesty's just and Undoubted Right, and disturb or Interrupt the  
 ‘ Peace of your Realms may be Disappointed and Cloas'd with shame :  
 ‘ so that on your Royal Head the Crown may still flourish.

‘ As by the Grace of God we shall preserve in our selves an Un-  
 ‘ shaken and firm Loyalty, so we shall be careful and zealous to pro-  
 ‘ mote in all your Subjects an Intrepid and Stedfast Allegiance to your  
 ‘ Majesty, as an Essential part of their Religion, and the Glory of our  
 ‘ holy Profession: Not doubting but that God in his great Mercy,  
 ‘ who hath so often Preserv'd and Deliver'd your Majesty, will still  
 ‘ Preserve and Deliver you, by giving you the Hearts of your Subjects,  
 ‘ and the NECKS OF YOUR ENEMIES.

## CHAP. III.

### *The Loyalty of Presbyterians during the Reign of King WILLIAM III. of GLORIOUS MEMORY.*

**A**FTER all the Tragical Labyrinths of barefac'd *Popery*, and the Prodigious Destructive Mass of *Arbitrary Power*, under which the Nations lay Gasping, ready to breath out their last, with the *Expiring Groans* of a Perishing People; Heaven open'd to us, all of a sudden, the Amazing and Pleasant Scene of the late HAPPY REVOLUTION, *Anno 1688*, which brought us our Great and never to be forgotten Deliverance by King *William* of *Glorious* and *Immortal Memory*. Divine Providence had made him the Great Instrument of Saving the *Dutch* from utter Ruin, and of Preserving the Protestant Religion Abroad; and then sent him to us to Work our Deliverance: The Ballance of *Europe* was put into his Hands, and he became the Restorer and Guardian of our Religion and Liberties; which made the Nations receive him with open Arms and place, with Universal Joy, three Great *Imperial Diadems* upon his Head, and upon that of his Royal Consort Queen *Mary*; a ROYAL PAIR, of such Illustrious Princely Virtues, as added more *Lustre* to the Throne than what they receiv'd from it.

The *Presbyterians* Exerted themselves in the three Kingdoms with

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so much Activity and Zeal for Effecting that *Happy Revolution*, which set him upon the Throne; and behav'd with such Inviolable Regard, and Dutiful Affection to his Person and Government, as leaves no Ground of Doubting their Conscientious Loyalty to him. And to this Day, no People in the World have a Greater Veneration for his Glorious Memory, when others Traduce and Insult it. In *Scotland*, the Restoring and Establishing their Constitution was a *Reward* of their Loyalty. They subdu'd the Rebels that fought under *Duodee* against him; *Preserv'd* that Kingdom in a Peaceable *Subjection* to him, and overaw'd those who were Disaffected to his Government. Their General Assembly never met during his whole Reign, without a Remarkable Testimony and *Acknowledgment* of their *Loyalty* and *Faithfulness* to him, by his Royal Letters. They cheerfully supported his Government, by their *Fortunes* at Home, and by their *Lives* Abroad, and fought his Battles with as much *Bravery* and *Loyalty* as any in his Army. And all Ranks (Ministers and People) took the Oath of Allegiance, and Subscrib'd the Assurance declaring him to be King *de jure*, as well as *de facto*.

In *England*, they were as Early & Active in Loyal Associations for the Support of his Government, as any, discharg'd *all the Places* of Trust both Civil & Military with which they were honor'd, with unshaken Fidelity, and none were more forward in that Kingdom than the Protestant Dissenters, for supplying his Necessities; and advancing Money before hand upon the public Funds. I never heard of *so much as one* amongst 'em, that refus'd the Oaths to him, or was Disaffected to his Government. They were deliver'd from Persecution by the Toleration-Act, and honor'd with many kind Hints in his Majesty's Public Speeches from the Throne, Expressing his *Royal sense* of their *Steady Loyalty* and *Affection* to Him, and his Design to maintain their Legal Liberty of Conscience inviolably: And 'tis well known, that he had so great a Value for 'em, and for the Peace and Unity of Protestants, that he was most desirous of having 'em *comprehended in the Legal Establishment*; Queen *Mary* the *Glory of her Sex*, in whom all the Virtues that cou'd adorn an *Eminent Christian*, a *Great Queen*, a true *Brittain*, and a *good Wife* did happily Center, had that business at Heart, and set the Great and Pious *Tillotson* at Work; but the Almighty soon exalted her to the *Crown of Righteousness*, and at once both Relas'd her from the Cares that attended her Earthly Diadem, and



and depriv'd us, for our Sins, of the Many Great Blessings that might have been expected from the Continuance of so Precious a Life : Mean while, all these things are Undeniable Proofs of the Loyalty of Presbyterians in England to the Great King William.

In Ireland the Presbyterians Exerted themselves with the utmost Vigor, Zeal and Activity for Accomplishing and Maintaining the late Happy Revolution 1688. Their Ministers in the North were so early in Countenancing that Glorious Work as they make Choice of two of their Number viz. the Reverend Mr. Patrick Adair, and Mr. John Abernethy as their Commissioners to wait upon his Highness the Prince of Orange, before he was Proclaim'd King, to Congratulate his Safe Arrival, and Encourage him in the Great Enterprize he had then in View, and which (by the Blessing of Almighty God upon his Endeavors) was brought to pass. The Ministers of that Persuasion had frequent Meetings Anno 1688. with some of the Nobility, and most Eminent of the Gentry of the Establish'd Church, with whom they Concerted joint Measures for putting the Country into a Posture of Defence against the late K. James and his Adherents, and for rendring 'em capable of Asserting their Liberties, and joining with King William the Glorious Restorer of 'em. The Blessed Union of Hearts and Interests, which then show'd it self in the Conduct of all true Protestants in Ireland, was (under God) the happy Means of their Common Preservation and Safety. In Pursuance of the Measures Concerted in their joint Councils, they fought with the utmost Bravery and Resolution, of which their Gallant Behavior in the Siege of London-Derry, and upon many other Occasions, is an undeniable Proof. And 'tis hop'd, That no Honest Gentleman of the Establish'd Church will ever be so much under the Dominion of Blind Prejudice, and Ingratitude as to Disown it.

The Royal Testimony of the Great King William, and the Public Testimony of the House of Commons both in England and Ireland, in favor of the Services, Sufferings and Loyalty of the Presbyterians, are lasting Monuments of this Truth. And from a just Regard to the late Happy Revolution, and from Gratitude to the GLORIOUS MEMORY of King WILLIAM, and from a due respect to those Worthy Patriots in both Kingdoms, I shall here insert some of those Declarations (among many more that might be Nam'd) made by His

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Majesty and the House of Commons, to the Purposes abovemention'd; The first I shall take Notice of is the King's Letter to the Duke of Schomberg, which I publish from a true Copy of it, attested by his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was then one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and gave Mr *Adair* and Mr *Abernethy* the said Attested Copy, for the Benefit of their Brethren. It runs thus;

' To Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin  
' and Counsellor Frederick Duke of Schomberg General  
' of our Land Forces.

' Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we  
' Greet you Well. Whereas some Ministers of the Presbyterian Per-  
' suasion have humbly besought us in behalf of themselves, their  
' Brethren, and their Congregations in the Province of *Ulster*, in our  
' Kingdom of *Ireland*, That We wou'd take them under our Gra-  
' cious Protection, And as an Assurance thereof, That We wou'd  
' please to Recommend them to you or other Our Chief Governor or Chief  
' Governors of the said Kingdom for the time being. And We being  
' ENTIRELY SATISFY'D OF THE LOYALTY, and FIDELITY  
' of Our SAID SUBJECTS, and Commiserating the Sufferings and  
' Calamities they have of Late lain Under; Which We are Desir-  
' ous to put an End to, as far as We can Contribute towards it:  
' We have thought fit to grant their Request. And accordingly  
' We do hereby Recommend to You in a PARTICULAR MAN-  
' NER the said Ministers and their Congregations, Requiring you to  
' give them that Protection and Support that their AFFECTION TO  
' OUR SERVICE DOES DESERVE: And to shew them all fit-  
' ting Countenance, that they may Live in Tranquillity, and Un-  
' molested under our Government; And so We bid you very Hearti-  
' ly farewell. Given at Our Court at *Whitehal* the 9th. day of  
' November 1689. in the first Year of our Reign:

' This is a true Copy of the Letter  
' written to the D. of Schomberg:

' SHREWSBURY

Another Declaration to the same purpose is to be found in his Ma-  
jesty's Order to the Collector of *Belfast* for the Payment of his Roy-  
al

al Bounty to the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland, the true Copy whereof is as follows. Part 2:



## WILLIAM R.

‘**W**HEREAS upon Our Arrival in this Kingdom at *Belfast*;  
‘ We receiv’d a Loyal and Dutiful Address from Our Trust-  
‘ ty and Well-beloved Subjects, *Patrick Adair, Archbald Ham-*  
‘ *ilton, William Adair* and Others in the Name of themselves, and  
‘ the rest of the Presbyterian Ministers of their Persuasion in these  
‘ Northern Parts of our Kingdom: And calling to Mind how Early  
‘ ly they also were in their Address unto us, upon Our Arrival un-  
‘ to *England*, And the Promises We then made them of a Pension of  
‘ Eight Hundred Pound *per Annum* for their Subsistence, which by  
‘ reason of several Impediments, hath not as yet been made Effectual  
‘ unto them. And being *assur’d of the Peaceable & Dutiful Temper of our*  
‘ *said Subjects, and sensible of the Losses they have sustain’d, and THEIR*  
‘ **CONSTANT Labor TO UNITE THE HEARTS OF OTHERS**  
‘ **IN ZEAL AND LOYALTY TOWARDS US.** We do hereby  
‘ out of Our Royal Bounty give and grant unto them the Sum of  
‘ Twelve Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to be paid by Quarterly Pay-  
‘ ments, the first Payment of Three Hundred Pounds *sterl.* to begin  
‘ upon the 24<sup>th</sup> day of this instant *June*, and so forward: And Our  
‘ Will and Pleasure is, That you or the Collector of our Customs at  
‘ *Belfast* for the time being, do make due Payments of the said Pen-  
‘ sion into the Hands of Mr. *Patrick Adair, Alexander Hutcheson,*  
‘ *Archbald Hamilton, Robert Craighead, Hugh Wilson, Robert Henry* and  
‘ *William Adair*, or to the Person which they or any five of them  
‘ shall appoint, to be by them Distributed among the Rest. And  
‘ the Commissioners of our Revenue for this Kingdom are hereby Re-  
‘ quir’d to allow upon your Accounts all such Sum or Sums of Moay,  
‘ as shall appear by you or any other Collector of *Belfast*, to have been  
‘ paid in Virtue of this Our Grant. And for so doing this shall be  
‘ your Warrant. Given at Our Court at *Hillsborough* the 19<sup>th</sup> Day  
‘ of *June* 1690. in the Second Year of Our Reign.

‘ To our Trusty and Welbelov’d Christopher Carleton Esq;  
‘ Collector of our Port of *Belfast*.

Add to these Royal Testimonies of that Great Prince, the Vote of the

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the House of Commons of *England Anno 1698*, which runs thus, 'Resolved, *That the Services and Sufferings at London-Derry were very Eminent and of Great Consequence to his Majesty's Service and the Preservation of the three Kingdoms*'. And the late House of Commons of *Ireland* in their Address to the Lord Lieutenant *May 1705*; with a Remarkable Unanimity (of which his Excellency took Notice in his Answer) express'd themselves in these Words, 'We cannot be either so Negligent of our Common Safety, or Unmindful of the *Heavy Affliction, & Courage which the Dissenting Protestants used in Conjunction with their Brethren of the Establish'd Church against Irish and French Papists, and the happy Consequences of their JOINT GALLANT BEHAVIOUR to the Welfare and Liberties of all Europe, as to think it Reasonable, that those who have hitherto given and shall continue to give all Testimonies and Assurances of being faithful to the Government, and Abjure the Pretender, should be laid under any Uneasiness in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, a Liberty enjoy'd by our most Dangerous Enemies.*

From all which it abundantly appears that the Presbyterians of *Ireland* were as truly in the Interest of King *William*, and as Loyal and Dutiful to him, as any of his other faithful Subjects whatsoever; and what farther demonstrates the Truth of it is, that the King and they had Common Friends and Common Enemies: For the greatest Enemies the Presbyterians had or have to this day where those who were Disaffected to his Government; and his staunchest Friends were their greatest Patrons.

Our Author is forc'd to Acknowledge the Loyalty of Presbyterians during this Reign; and yet he has Advanc'd many Things against 'em and their Behavior, especially in *Ireland*; for in his second Letter, one of the Periods wherein he proposeth to trace the Unainted Loyalty of the Dissenters of *Ireland* (p. 6.) is, *from the Revolution till the passing of the Test-Act*, which includes the whole Reign of *K. William*, and a little of the beginning of the Reign of our present Gracious Sovereign Queen *Anne*; during which time he accuseth 'em of several things, which are either not true in Fact, or, if true are not faults, or supposing they were faults, can't be justly term'd Acts of Disloyalty. Now before I come to examine 'em, I shall consider one Objection he makes in his first Letter against the Church of *Scotland* which

which is the only one he makes in any of his Pamphlets against the Presbyterians in *Great-Britain* during this Reign. His Objection is in these Words, (p. 13) "So it is as certain that they were *Faithful and Loyal Subjects* to that Glorious PRINCE (he means K. William) in that *Turn of Government*, though it be also as Notorious, after all the Concessions he made them, how they pers'd upon him, and teas'd him at last, and how little Regard the General Assembly sitting in *Scotland* (after the Establishment of the *Kirk*) had to the Repeated Letters, He writ to them in behalf of the *Episcopal Dissenters*, who were Rabbl'd and Persecuted there.

That the World may see with how little Reason the Church of *Scotland* is Reflected upon by this Author, and by Men of *his Kidney*, as if they had been Acted by a hot Persecuting Spirit, as their Adversaries were; I shall here show by some Remarkable Instances, their Christian Moderation with respect to their Episcopal Brethren: I find them so Ingeniously and shortly Sum'd up in a Book Enticul'd, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, May 6. 1703*; That I shall set 'em down in the Words of that Author, who proves what he says from the Public Records of that Church and Kingdom. He proceeds thus (p. 89, &c.),

*'An Account of the Ecclesiastical Proceedings in Scotland, relating to the Episcopal Clergy, since the Revolution.*

'To set this Matter in a Clearer Light, it is necessary to give a short Account here of the Re-establishment of our Church, by the Revolution; and of the Proceedings of our Ecclesiastics, according to that Establishment.

'At the Revolution, our Bishops and their Clergy were very Zealous for King James, tho' he had set up Popery barefac'd in the Kingdom, and annull'd all the Laws Establishing the Reformation: The Presbyterians on the Contrary, took Arms in Favor of the Prince of Orange; and when the Convention met, the Estates declar'd Prelacy a great and Unsupportable Grievance to the Nation. Soon after, the Convention was turn'd into a Parliament; and the Estates well knowing the Levity of the Episcopal Clergy, and how hateful the Generality of them was to the Nation, for concurring and complying with the above-mention'd Arbitrary and Bloody Measures, that had been taken in former Reigns, to subvert our Religion and Liberty, did, by their Act of the 6th of June 1690.

lodge,

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‘ lodge the Government of the Church in the Hands of the *Presbyterian* Ministers that had been Outed since *January 1661.* and were then restor’d, and in the Hands of such Ministers and Elders only, as they had admitted, or shou’d admit afterwards: and at the same time, they gave them a Power, either by themselves, or by a Committee, to purge out Scandalous and Insufficient Ministers and to suspend and deprive such as were Contumacious and prov’d Guilty. The first Assembly met *October the 16th 1690,* consisting of an hundred forty seven Ministers, and forty seven Ruling Elders, and proceeded according to this Power, but with such Moderation, as they had *no Pattern* for in the Proceedings of the Episcopal Party, towards them, as will appear by the following Instances.

‘ 1. It is manifest by the *Index* of their Acts not printed, that on the *6th* day of their Meeting, there was a Declaration publicly made by the Moderator, in Name of the Assembly, *That they would depose no Incumbents, simply for their Judgment concerning the Government of the Church, nor urge Re-ordination upon them,* tho’ we have heard before, that by the Influence of the Prelates and their Adherents, Presbyterian Ordination was declar’d null and void by Act of Parliament, and all Preachers that did not submit to Episcopal Jurisdiction, and to take Presentations from Lay-Patrons, were to be punished as Seditious Persons.

‘ 2. In their Printed Instructions to their Committee for Visitations, they Order’d the Commissioners to be *very Cautious* of receiving Informations against the late Conformists; and that they proceed in the Matter of Censure very deliberately, so as none may have just cause to Complain of their Rigidity; and that they shou’d not proceed to Censure but upon *sufficient Probation.*

‘ 3. That if they were intormed of any *Precipitant, or Unarrantable* Procedure of Presbyteries in Processes, which might prove of ill Consequence to the Church, they shou’d interpose their Advice to those Presbyteries, to stop such Proceedings, till either the Synod or next General Assembly took Cognizance of it, &c. as may be seen by the Acts of the General Assembly, Printed at *Edinburgh* by *George Mosman,* in 1690.

‘ 4. In their Letter to his Majesty, they acquaint him, that they had given Instructions to their Commissioners, that *none of the late Conformists*

formists shou'd be remov'd from their Places, but such as are either Insufficient or Scandalous, or Erroneous, or Supinely Negligent; and that such of them be admitted to Ministerial Communion, who upon due Tryal shou'd be found Orthodox in Doctrine, of Competent Abilities, of a Godly, Peaceable, and Loyal Conversation, and who shou'd be Judg'd Faithful to God and the Government.

Thus the Assembly concluded to his Majesty's great Satisfaction, having done nothing against any of the Episcopal Incumbents, but Mr. *James Forsyth*, of *St. Ninians*, whose Deposition they confirm'd for Celebrating an Incestuous Marriage, and they deputed two of their own Number to attend his Majesty, and give him an Account of their Proceedings.

The Assembly, according to the Power vested in them by Law, appointed one Committee for the *South*, of sixty of the most Grave and Experienc'd Ministers, and another for the *North* of forty, to visit the Churches, to Purge out Insufficient and Scandalous Ministers, and to Redress those that they found had been wrong'd by Presbyteries, or other Inferior Judicatories. The Committee for the *South* held their first Meeting in *January*, 1691. and receiv'd several of the Episcopal Clergy into Ministerial Communion, and a Share of the Government of the Church; they Revers'd Sentences pass'd against several others by Inferior Judicatories, and depos'd some who Declin'd their Authority, as they were Impower'd to do by the Act of Parliament.

At the same time, several Inferior Judicatories, *viz.* Synods and Presbyteries began to receive the Episcopal Clergy into Ministerial Communion, and a share of the Government of the Church, even in these Parts of the Kingdom where the Presbyterians were most Numerous, and accounted most Rigid, particularly in the Presbytery of *Irwin*, and in the Synods of *Glasgow* and *Argyle*.

The Enemies of the Revolution and of Presbyterian Government in *Scotland*, perceiving this, knew well enough that their Interest must dwindle to nothing, and that they cou'd make no Figure either at the Court of *St. Germain*s or *England*, if the Presbyterians were suffer'd to go on in this manner. Therefore they first rais'd a Mighty Clamor against 'em, represented the Rash Proceedings of any Inferior Judicatory, tho' the Committee was actually Reversing them, as the Procedure of the whole Church; and

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the Shyness of some Young Ministers, to receive into Ministerial Communion such as they thought they had Reason to suspect, was Complain'd of to Court, as *the Sentiments of the whole Party*. With these Calumnies they post to London, where by the Interest of the High-Church-of-England-men, who are very apt to receive bad Impressions of the Presbyterians, they procur'd a Letter from his Majesty then in Flanders to stop the Progress of the Committees until his return, and a further signification of his Pleasure. This Letter tho' contrary to Law, which Authoriz'd the Assembly to give the Committee that Power, was according to the Method of the *Episcopal Administration* in the two former Reigns, embrac'd by that Party, as a Sufficient Authority to decline the Power of any Church-Judicatory; and they, and their Friends the *Jacobites*, took care to spread it all over the Kingdom.

A Certain Faction in England taking Advantage of the King's Necessities, endeavor'd to put him upon such Measures, as they hop'd wou'd end in a Breach between him and the Scots Assembly, which met at *Edinburgh*, January 15. 1692; to whom his Majesty sent a Letter, ordering 'em to admit into Ministerial Communion, and a Share of the Church-Government, such of the Episcopal Clergy, as shou'd make Application to them, and Subscribe a *Formula* refer'd to in the said Letter, and sent to 'em. The Assembly's Proceedings in this Matter are fully vindicated in the last mentioned Book from p. 98. to p. 106. The Assembly cou'd not Comply with his Majesty's desire in this particular, for two Reasons, 1. Because there was no sufficient Test of the *Orthodoxy* of the Episcopal Ministers, provided for by the said *Formula*: For all it contain'd with Relation to the Doctrine of the Church was in these *Ambiguous* Words, 'And I do further promise, that I will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and larger and shorter Catechisms, now confirm'd by Act of Parliament as containing the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion profess'd in this Kingdom'. Now, any Man might Subscribe the Confession of Faith, according to that *Formula*, and yet deny all the Articles of Faith contain'd in it; for he is not oblig'd by it to Subscribe the Confession of Faith, as *the Confession of his Faith*, but only as containing the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion profess'd in this Kingdom; and in the like Sense, a Man may Subscribe the *Alcoran*, as containing the Doctrine of the *Mahometan* Religion profess'd in *Turky*. The Committee of that Assembly, who were considering of a proper Answer to his Majesty's Letter, did expressly ask the Episcop-



copal Ministers, what they mean'd by this ambiguous Clause of the *Formula*, and whether they were *willing to declare*, that they believ'd the Doctrin of the Church contain'd in the said Confession of Faith *to be true*? but they refus'd to give the least Satisfactory Answer to that Question, insisting on their being receiv'd upon the Terms of the *Formula*, without any Explication of their own Sense and Meaning of it. Part. 2.

2ly. The Assembly thought the *Formula* Defective, because it did not provide any Security against the *Endeavors* of these Episcopal Ministers to overturn the *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, shou'd they be admitted to a share in Church-Government. And they look'd upon this Reason to be so much the stronger, because of the *Ambiguity* of that part of the *Formula* which related to the Doctrin of their Church; concluding, that those who wou'd not plainly declare their Approbation of the *Doctrin*, cou'd be no Cordial friends to the *Government* of the Church; and especially, considering that many of 'em had gone in with all the Measures of the *two former Reigns*, for Persecuting the Professors of Presbyterian Principles, even to the Death. And yet the Assembly, under all these Discouragements, were thinking of Expedients for receiving and Comprehending such of their Episcopal Brethren as were *sound Protestants, good Ministers, and faithful Subjects*: but in the mean time by the Artifices of a *certain Party*, the Assembly was *abruptly* dissolv'd. The Parliament of Scotland finding it necessary and just to Countenance the Assembly, and support their Authority in what they had done, made an Act, June 12. 1693, for *Settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church*, wherein they Enact divers Particulars which are a *plain Approbation* of the Assembly's Conduct with Respect to the *Formula* abovemention'd. And tho' they made divers Laws very favorable to the Presbyterian Government, yet to show their *Moderation* towards all Men of Worth of the Episcopal Persuasion, in their Act concerning the Church, July 25. 1695. they allow all Ministers that were at the time of his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, and have since continu'd Actual Ministers in particular Parishes, and no Sentence either of Deposition or Deprivation pass'd against them, and who shou'd swear the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the same with the Assurance, in the time limited by the said Act; and who shall behave themselves worthily in Doctrin, Life and Conversation as becomes Ministers of the Gospel, to enjoy his Majesty's

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PROTECTION, as to THEIR RESPECTIVE KIRKS, BENEFICES OR STIPEND'S, And this Benefit they had by way of a Civil Comprehension, without being oblig'd to join in Ministerial Communion with the Establish'd Church. And by virtue of this Act; a Considerable Number of 'em enjoy'd the Legal Maintenance during their Lives; and in the Year 1710. above an hundred of 'em continu'd to enjoy their Churches upon these Terms; how many of 'em since are dead, I do not know: Upon the whole, 'tis Evident that greater Instances of Moderation can't be given by any Establish'd Church within her Majesty's Dominions, than those I have already mention'd of the Church of *Scotland* towards the *Episcopal* Dissenters there. And the Reader is refer'd for his farther Satisfaction in this point to the Book Entitul'd *Presbyterian Persecution*.

Having thus examin'd our Author's Complaint against the *Scots* Presbyterians during this Reign, I shall next take a Trip into *Ireland*, and examine the Account he gives of the *Conduct of Dissenters there*, during this Period. The faults he finds with them are reducible to seven General Heads. 1. Their Petitioning the King by their Commissioners in *London* against the Church. 2. Their *Invading of Churches*, and refusing to pay Tyths. 3. Their refusing to pay their Landlords Rent. 4. Their *engrossing* of Civil Power. 5. Their making a *Monopoly of Trade*. 6. The Confinement of their Charity and Alms Deeds to these of their own Persuasion, And 7. Their *unfair Practices* against the Church in the Matter of their *farming*.

As to the first, *viz.* Their *Petitioning the King by their Commissioners at London, against the Church*: Our Author inserts an Account of it (p. 45.) which he says he receiv'd from a Reverend and most Worthy Prelate, as his Lordship had it out of the Secretary's Office in *London*. The whole Narrative of that Prelate runs thus,

SIR,

Dublin, January, 3. 1711:

I do remember, That July 1690. or thereabouts, I heard of some Designs of Dissenters to the Disadvantage of the Church in *Ireland*; upon it I went to the Secretary's Office, and there I understood, that Two Petitions had been presented to the King by the Lord *Massareene*, Sir *Robert Adair*, and one *Abernethy*, in the first there was a Project to Abolish Episcopacy in the North of *Ireland*, according to the Model of *Scotland*. The Reasons for this were, That that Country was entirely *Scotch*, at least of the Presbyterian Persuasi-

‘ on; That they had the whole Charge or Care of the Souls of that  
 ‘ Part, and that they were the great Instruments of Setting up and  
 ‘ supporting his Majesty’s Interest in that Country. This Account  
 ‘ I had of the first Petition, but I cou’d *never get a Copy of it.* Of the  
 ‘ second Petition deliver’d by the same Persons I have a Copy, the  
 ‘ substance of which *I remember* sets out the Parity of their Worship,  
 ‘ and their many Services, the great Weight upon them from the ne-  
 ‘ glected Cures. And for their support in the Discharge of their Du-  
 ‘ ties, they desired, in order to Encourage their Worship and Dis-  
 ‘ cipline, *till their could be a Legal Establishment of both,* that the little  
 ‘ Profit of the Deserted Livings of that Country might be Collected  
 ‘ by them. This they said wou’d encrease Prayer for his Majesty,  
 ‘ and highly advance and strengthen the Protestant Interest and Reli-  
 ‘ gion.

That Prelate has been Misinform’d in several Particulars; For 1.  
 He has mistaken the very Names of the Petitioners: Instead of Sir  
*Robert Adair*, he shou’d have said Mr *Patrick Adair*; And tho’ the  
 late Lord *Massareene* and that Noble Family, were pleas’d to favor  
 Presbyterians with particular Marks of their Friendship, yet his  
 Lordship did not present that Petition. A Second Mistake in that  
 Prelate’s Account of this Matter is, *That two Petitions had been pre-*  
*sented to the King by the Lord Massareene, &c.* Whereas there was  
 none but One Petition presented (not by his Lordship but) by *Coll.*  
*Arthur Upton, Mr Adair, and Mr Abernethy.* His third and great-  
 est Mistake is, in his wrong Recital of the Contents of the Petition  
 it self, as will appear from the true Copy of it, which is as fol-  
 lows.

‘ To the King’s most Excellent Majesty, The Humble  
 ‘ Petition of *Coll. Arthur Upton, Patrick Adair and*  
 ‘ *John Abernethy.*

‘ SHEWETH

‘ **W**HEREAS Your Petitioners did present a Humble  
 ‘ Address to your Majesty from the Presbyterian  
 ‘ Ministers, & others of that Persuasion in the North of Ireland, which  
 ‘ your Majesty was graciously pleas’d to Accept, & they being instruct-  
 ‘ ed Humbly to Request your Majesty’s Protection & Favor in some  
 par-

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‘ Particulars, not yet offer’d to your Majesty’s Consideration: Do most Humbly Pray, That their former and present Sufferings well known to those who liv’d amongst them, as well as their *Continu’d Loyalty* and *Early Appearing* for Your Majesty, may be favorably Consider’d.

‘ That all Sufferings for Non-Conformity may be for the future prevented.

‘ That as by Your Princely Care, Relief is sent to that Languishing Poor Country, which by the Blessing of God, hath already and will further produce Happy Effects; so Your Majesty will appear as a *Nursing-Father*, for Encouraging the Purity of the Gospel in Worship and Discipline, till there be a Legal Establishment of both.

‘ That those Ministers and their Families, some of them having been in *London-Derry* during the late Siege, Others yet remaining in their Places of *Ulster*, And the rest forc’d to fly to *Scotland*, being reduc’d to Insupportable Straits, may for their present necessary support have a Proportionable Share of the Public Charitable Collections, and forthwith Encourag’d to return to their Respective Places by your Majesty’s allowing them a *future Competent Support*, until the Peace and Quiet of these Parts of that *Despoil’d* and *Impoverish’d* Nation enable the Inhabitants to Maintain the said Ministers, in such a Way as your Majesty in your Great Wisdom shall find just. Which will greatly Conduce to the Replanting those Parts of that Kingdom, Augment your Revenue there, increase Prayers for your Majesty’s Success, endear the Affections of your Loyal Subjects, and strengthen your Hands against your Rebellious Enemies.

*Which is your Petitioners daily Prayer &c.*

The Reader will perceive that there is no such Expression in the Petition as that Prelate hath Represented in these Words *viz. That the little Profit of the Deserted Livings of that Country might be Collected by them*; and which our Author (p. 46.) calls a *Petitioning the King for the Church-Livings*. Instead of which, all they Petition’d for, was a share of the *Public Charitable Collections to supply their present Straits*. If there be any such Expression in the Copy which that Reverend Prelate says he has got, it *can’t be a true Copy*: For what I have Publish’d is taken from the Copy which Mr. *Adair*, who presented the Original, hath

hath left amongst his Papers; and the same Reverend Divine kept a Journal of his Proceedings in *London*, wherein he gives the exact History of the Composition and Management of that Petition, and hath left amongst his Papers the very *first Rough Draught* of it that was prepar'd, which I have seen, and which has not any Expression or Phrase in it of the like Import with that set forth in the above Prelate's Account. The first Rough Draught being thought too long, was Abridg'd and put into the Form in which I have Publish'd it. Mr. *Adair* in his Journal gives us the Heads of the Petition, and some of the Expressions which exactly agree with the above Copy. The Original was Presented in *August* 1689, and lodg'd with the Right Honorable the Earl (and now Duke) of *Shrewsbury*, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, who on the 28th day of *September* following deliver'd his Majesty's most *Gracious Answer* to it, to Mr. *Adair* and Mr. *Abercromby*; which his Lordship read out of a Paper he had written from the King's own Mouth.

Before the presenting of the above Petition, there was a Humble Congratulatory Address presented to his Majesty by the same Persons, wherein (as Mr. *Adair* assures us in his said Journal) there was no *Mention* made of any of the Grievances of the Presbyterians in *Irel. n<sup>d</sup>*, nor the least Insinuation of anything that was Petitory; but only Loyal and Dutiful Expressions of their Zeal for the late *Happy Revolution*, for which they Ador'd the Infinite Goodness of Almighty God; and with all possible joy Embrac'd their *Great Deliverer*, and Congratulated his Happy Accession to the Crown, with Assurances of their *Steady and Inviolable Respect* to his Person and Government. And besides that Address and the above Petition, there was no other Paper presented by these Ministers to the King in *London*; and in *neither* of them was their mention made of a *Project to Abolish Episcopacy* in the *North of Ireland*, according to the model of *Scotland*

And there are divers Circumstances (besides what I have said from Mr. *Adair's Journal* all written with his own Hand) which farther Confirm the short History I have given of this Transaction. For these two Ministers got their Commission and Instructions from their Brethren of the *North of Ireland* at *Connor* in the County of *Antrim* *January* 22. 1688; and among all their Instructions there is no mention made of any Project for the Abolishing of Episcopacy. After these Ministers had gone to *London* and presented their Congratulatory Address, before they presented their Petition they waited for  
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farther Directions from their Brethren, who at that time were banish'd from their own Country by the *Irish*; and had taken Sanctuary in *Scotland*, and who all met at *Glasgow* the third *Wednesday* of *June* 1689, and wrote a Letter to their Brethren in *London* which came to their Hands on the 8th day of *July* following, wher ein they gave no such Instructions about *Abolishing Episcopacy*. When the two Ministers came home they gave (as both aver'd) a full and faithful Account of their whole Management in *London*, to their Brethren in the North of *Ireland*; & yet Never Acquainted them with their Proposal of any such Project about Episcopacy; tho' they told them the whole Transactions wherein they had been concern'd: And the Characters of these two Ministers are so well known to many worthy Gentlemen of all Persuasions, that their Fidelity and Sincerity can't be call'd into Question by such as knew 'em: as to Mr *Adair's* Character, the Reader will find it in the 166th page of this Book; And the Reverend Mr *Abernethy* was well known to have been adorn'd with the Happy Conjunction of three Rare Qualities which seldom meet in one Man viz. a *Sprightly Quickness of Apprehension*, a *great Depth* of solid Judgment, & a *vast Memory* justly admir'd for singular *Celerity* and long *Retention*, & these Rich Intellectual Endowments were Replenish'd with a large Stock of acquir'd Knowledge, and accompany'd with 1 *Generous Public Spirit*, *Great Piety* and Remarkable *Candor* and *Integrity*; he was a Man of *Polite Address*, and of that Peculiar Felicity in Conversation as made him fit to be a Companion to Men of all Stations and Persuasions; from whom, the Amiable Beauties of his Mind set off with a Countenance made Venerable with Majestic *Gravity* and humble *Seriousness*, did at once Command both *Awful Respect* and *Endearing Love*. Thus were Mr *Adair* and he pitch'd upon as two of the Brightest Lights, and amongst the fittest of their Brethren, for Managing so *great a Trust*: And 'tis hop'd, the joint Testimony of such Men will be of Weight with all those who are not *Blindly Devoted* to a meer *Party-Interest*.

But to allow (for Argument's sake) that these two Ministers had petition'd the King for a Legal Establishment of Presbytery in the North of *Ireland*, I can't see how that it self cou'd have proved them or their Principals guilty of Disloyalty; For they *Conspir'd not* against the Government, rais'd *no Tumults*, invaded *no Churches* but only petition'd in a humble manner for Establishing that Church and

Form of Discipline and Manner of Worship, which of all others they thought the best; and I will prove in the *Third Chapter* of the *Third Part* of this Book, that any Protestant's having a Principle which inclines him to design and endeavor by all Lawful means to have his *own Religion Establish'd by Law*, does not prove him to be either Disloyal or Intolerable, and thither I refer my Reader. And if it were not so, both the Lord *Inchiquin* and the Lord of *Airds* must have been concluded Guilty either of *Dissimulation*, or *Disloyalty*, or *both*; Imputations, which I am loath shou'd fall upon the Memories of these Noble Peers: For they both declar'd their Inclinations for the Establishment of Presbyterian Government in the North of *Ireland*, in *July 1649*. The first of these Lords wrote to the Presbytery a Letter dated *July 2.* that year, yet extant in their Records, the first part whereof is in these Words,

‘ *Reverend Sirs,*

‘ I have lately taken upon me to Write some things unto you, and fearing they may have Miscarry'd, I do now Assume the Confidence to offer you my weak advice; being a Well-wisher to the *Presbyterian Government*, and honor'd with a Public Trust by his *Majesty*; who, I know, is *Resolv'd* for your Satisfaction, to *Establish the Presbyterian Government in these Parts*, and I believe, it may be in other Parts also, of the Kingdom: And no Man knows whether the whole Number of *Protestants*, may not agree to Embrace it.

And my Lord of *Airds* in his Declaration dated *July 4. 1649.* expresses himself thus, ‘ But lest any shou'd fear that Religion, may hereby be prejudg'd (tho I conceive my Constant Practices might if well ponder'd relolve any such Doubt) I do in the *Presence of GOD* Protest, I shall use my Uttermost Endeavors, whilst I am intrusted with Power, to Countenance and Assist the Exercise of our Religion in this Province, *as it is now practis'd*, and likewise as I have good Ground to hope, with Success I shall solicit his *Majesty*, for a Confirmation under his hand.

Upon his Majesty's Happy Accession to the *Throne*, it was the earnest desire of many sober Protestants of both Persuasions, *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* to have a Coalition, and to have the National Establishment *Enlarged* and *Strengthen'd* by the Comprehension of all the *Pious*,

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*Orthodox and Useful Ministers of both Sides: The Attempts that were made towards it, and by what means they Miscarry'd are sufficiently known. However, the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in and about the City of London thought it their Duty to apply to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, for promoting so pious a Work, and receiv'd a Gracious Answer: Both the Addresses and Answers were Printed May 11. 1689, being publickly Licens'd: And whether Mr. Adair and Mr. Abernethy might not lawfully have Address'd their Majesties in the same manner, is humbly submitted to all who love the Union of Protestants and the Peace and Welfare of their Country. These Addresses of the London-Ministers breath so much of a Catholic Spirit for Christian Concord, and withal contain so much Loyal Affection, that they Challenge a Peculiar Place in this Historical Essay. They run thus,*

‘ An Address of the Dissenting Ministers (in and about the  
‘ City of London) to the KING and QUEEN, upon  
‘ their Accession to the CROWN. With their Majesties  
ANSWER to it.

## To the KING,

*May it please Your Majesty,*

‘ The Series of successful Events that has attended your Glorious  
‘ Enterprize for the saving these Kingdoms from so Imminent and  
‘ Destructive Evils, has been so Visible and Extraordinary, that it  
‘ may force an Acknowledgment of the Divine Providence from those  
‘ who deny it, and raise Admiration in all who believe and reverence  
‘ it. The Beauty and Speed of this happy Work, are the *bright*  
‘ *Signatures* of his Hand, who *creates Deliverance for his People*. The  
‘ less of Human Power, the more of the Divine Wisdom and Good-  
‘ ness has been conspicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been ob-  
‘ tain'd by fierce and bloody Battels, *Victory* it self had been *dejected*,  
‘ and Sad, and our Joy had been mix'd with afflicting Bitterness.  
‘ But as the Sun ascending the *Horizon*, dispels without noise the  
‘ Darknes of the Night; so your Serene Presence has, without Tu-  
‘ mults and Disorders, chased away the Darknes that invaded us. In  
‘ the Sense of this astonishing Deliverance, we desire with all *possible*

*Are*



‘ Ardency of Affection, to Magnify the Glorious Name of God the  
‘ Author of it, by whose entire Efficacy the Means have been success-  
‘ ful : And we cannot without a warm Rapture of Thankfulness, re-  
‘ count our Obligations to your Majesty the happy Instrument of it.  
‘ Your Illustrious Greatness of Mind, in an Undertaking of such vast  
‘ Expence; Your Heroic Zeal, in exposing your most precious Life  
‘ in such an Adventurous Expedition; Your Wise Conduct and Un-  
‘ shaken Resolution in Prosecuting your Great Ends, are above the  
‘ Loftiest flights of Language, exceed all Praise. We owe to your Ma-  
‘ jesty the Two greatest and most valuable Blessings that we can enjoy,  
‘ the Preservation of the true Religion, our most sacred Treasure,  
‘ and the Recovery of the falling State, and Establishing it upon just  
‘ Foundations. According to our Duty, we promise *Unfainting fidelity,*  
‘ & true Allegiance to your Majesty’s Person and Government. We are  
‘ Encourag’d by Your Gracious Promise upon our first Address, to  
‘ humbly desire and hope; that your Majesty will be pleas’d by your  
‘ Wisdom and Authority to establish a *firm Union* of your Protest-  
‘ ant Subjects in the matters of Religion, by making the RULE OF  
‘ CHRISTIANITY TO BE THE RULE OF CONFORMITY.  
‘ Our blessed Union in the Purity and Peace of the Gospel, will make  
‘ this Church a fair and lovely Type of Heaven, and terrible to  
‘ our Antichristian Enemies : This will make *England* the steady  
‘ Centre from whence a powerful Influence will be deriv’d for the  
‘ Support of the Interest of Reformed Christianity abroad; This will  
‘ bring Immortal Honor to your Name, above the Trophies and  
‘ Triumphs of the most Renowned Conquerors. We do assure  
‘ your Majesty, that *we shall cordially Embrace the Terms of Union which*  
‘ *the Ruling Wisdom of our Savior has prescrib’d in his Word.* We  
‘ shall not trespass farther upon your Royal Patience, but shall offer  
‘ up our fervent Prayers to the *King of Kings*, that he will please to  
‘ direct your Majesty by his Unerring Wisdom and always incline  
‘ your Heart to his Glory, and encompass your Sacred Person with  
‘ his Favor as with a shield, and make your Government a Universal  
‘ Blessing to these Kingdoms.

‘ His Majesty’s Answer to the Ministers.

‘ *I take kindly your good Wishes ; and whatever is in my Power shall*  
G g g 2 *be*

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*be employ'd for obtaining a Union among you. I do assure you of my Protection and Kindness.*

‘ The ADDRESS of the *Dissenting Ministers* to the *QUEEN*,  
‘ upon her Accession to the *CROWN*.

*May it please your Majesty;*

‘ **Y**OUR happy Arrival into your Native Country, and Acces-  
‘ sion to the Crown, has diffus'd an universal Joy through  
‘ this Kingdom. 'Tis an Auspicious Sign of the Public Felicity, when  
‘ *Supreme Virtue* and *Supreme Dignity* meet in the same Person. Your  
‘ Inviolable Firmness in the Profession of the Truth, and Exemplary  
‘ Piety, are the most Radiant Jewels in your Crown. The Lustre  
‘ of your Conversation, unstain'd in the midst of Tempting Vanities,  
‘ and Adorn'd with every Grace, recommends *Religion* as the most  
‘ *Honorable* and *Amiable Quality*, even to those who are Averse from  
‘ hearing Sermons, and apt to despise serious Instructions and Excita-  
‘ tions to be Religious. We humbly desire your Majesty will be  
‘ pleas'd by your Wisdom and Goodness, to compose the Differen-  
‘ ces between your Protestant Subjects, in Things of less Moment  
‘ concerning Religion. We hope those *Reverend* Persons who Conspire  
‘ with us in the main end, the Glory of God and the Public Good,  
‘ will *Consent to the Terms of Union wherein all the Reformed Churches a-*  
‘ *gree*. We shall sincerely Address our Requests to God, that he  
‘ will please to pour down in a rich abundance his blessings upon your  
‘ Majesty's Person and Government, and preserve you to his Hea-  
‘ venly Kingdom.

The *QUEEN*'s Answer.

‘ *I will use all Endeavors for the Obtaining a Union that is necessary*  
‘ *for the Edifying of the Church. I desire your Prayers.*

‘ *LICENSED, May 11. 1689.*

A Second fault our Author finds with the Dissenters in *Ireland* and particularly in the *North*, in the beginning of this reign is, Their *Invading of Churches* and refusing to pay the *Clergy* their *Tithes*. Upon these Heads he expresseth himself thus, p. 15, ‘ They began to Seize  
‘ on some parish-Churches in the *North of Ireland* particularly ‘ Mr.

‘ *Nathaniel Cooper* a Clergy-man in the Town of *Lutterkenny*, was by them pulled out of the Church. They in the same Church hinder’d Mr *Craford* to preach. Mr *John Lesly* officiating in the Church of *Rimeghy*, Mr *Lifton* the Presbyterian Minister, tho’ they had a Meeting-house near the Church, came with a Party, forc’d him to give over, threaten’d to kill him, and Mr *Lifton* went up and preach’d; and Mr *Hunter* in the Diocesis of *Derry* had his Gown torn, and was pulled out of his Pulpit.’

‘ About this time the *Northern Dissenters* did generally refuse the Payment of their Tithes with such Obstinacy, that Duke *Schomberg* was obliged to interpose by public Orders and Proclamations.

These Instances about Mr *Cooper*, Mr *Craford*, Mr *Lesly* and Mr *Hunter* Conformist Ministers, and Mr *Lifton* a Presbyterian minister, are very Disingenuously misrepresented by our Author’s Informers. Its Confessed that Mr *Lifton* preached some few Lord’s Days in some Churches; But that he brought any Party that threaten’d any Clergy-man, is a mistake. Mr *Cooper* went into the Church of *Lutterkenny* early in the Morning before the usual time of meeting, and before he had Begun Divine Service, some few Women (*not one man being amongst ’em*) went and spoke to him, and bid him forbear, because Mr *Lifton* was to preach there; and while they were talking together he got between them and the Church door, and the Women moving towards the same door, press’d him out without touching him with their hands; but Mr *Lifton* getting Information of this, sent for the people that were to be his Hearers, to *Castlebanc* where he preached to ’em that very day, and Mr *Cooper* preach’d in Church, without any farther molestation. and where Mr *Lifton* preach’d in any Church, the meeting-House was either quite Ruinous, or very much out of Repair: The whole Circumstances relating to these Stories can be produc’d, but seeing I don’t pretend to Justify, but only extenuate ’em, and show that they were not so bad as our Author makes ’em; I shall not trouble my Reader with any farther Account of ’em.

But what ever might be thought blameable in Mr. *Lifton*’s Conduct, the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* are so far from being Chargeable with it, that they Reprov’d him for it; and from their General Meeting at *Belfast* July 3. 1690. sent him the fol-

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loving Letter, which I publish from the Original now in my Hands, Subscrib'd by the late Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hall* of *Larn*, Moderator of that Meeting, a Man of profound Learning, great Abilities and Piety, and long Experience; whose Subscription can be Attested to be Genuine by many Persons of Unquestionable Integrity. The Letter runs thus,

‘ B. 3. July 1690.

‘ The Brethren here met from *all our several Meetings*, being inform'd that some of our Brethren (in remote *Corners* of the Country, and under some *extraordinary* Circumstances,) have for *some few* Sabbath-days made use of some Churches, by Law belonging to the Prelatical Clergy; and considering, that as this *is illegal in itself*, spoken of to the Reproach and Prejudice of our Interest by our Adversaries, and *unsuitable to our former Commendable Practice*; so likely to *create great Offence* to the Government, and may give occasion for evil Thoughts of all of us and our Way: Have thought fit hereby *earnestly to advise all the several Meetings and Brethren* in them to *abstain from all such Practices in time to come*, and every such Thing or Practice whereby Reflection may be justly cast upon our Way as *Invaders upon the Law, or Right of any Subject*. And further to declare, that it is their Judgment that, if after Intimation to the several Meetings of this our Advice, any Brother shall *insist in these or the like Practices*, that they are in that Case liable, as to *Civil Punishments by the Law of the Land, so to Ecclesiastical Censure*, as giving great Scandal and Offence thereby.

THO. HALL *Modr.*

I'm persuaded the above Letter will be allow'd by all Impartial Sober Church-men, to be an Undeniable Proof of the *Peaceable and Friendly Temper* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*.

That the *Northern Dissenters did generally refuse the payment of their Tithes with Obstinacy*, is a very unfair Account. While the Calamities of the War had destroy'd Corn, Cattle and the People's substance, the Tithes cou'd not be expected, where the People had little or nothing to themselves; When Duke *Schomberg* came to the Country, he publish'd Orders and Proclamations for settling and restoring People's Rights whether Clergy or Laity, and kindly and favorably Protected Protestants of all sorts, but found no Obstinacy in Dissenters (and far less any General one) to occasion such Orders, as our Author Represents.

Doctor

Doctor King (now Archbishop of Dublin) gives a juſter Account of this matter than our Author, and when their Teſtimonies are Confronted, I believe few men will be at a loſs which ſide to fall in with, or which of the two Authorities is moſt to be regarded. The Archbishop in his *State of the Proteſtants of IRELAND.* &c. p. 260. relates the matter thus, ' Many Clergy-men were forc'd to remove, ' becauſe they had nothing left to live on, their Pariſhioners were ' as poor as themſelves, and utterly unable to help them, I do confeſs that there was no Reason to complain of the People's Backwardneſs ' to maintain the Clergy; on the contrary, they Contributed to the ' utmoſt of their power, and beyond it, and made no Diſtinction of ' Sects; MANY DISSENTERS, of all Sorts (except Quakers) con- ' tributing liberally to this good end, which ought to be REMEMBERED ' TO THEIR HONOR.

A Third fault our Author finds with Presbyterians during this Reign is, their Refuſing to pay the Landlords Rent, which he repreſents with very ſevere Reflections (p. 15, 16.) in theſe Words, ' Nor did ' the zeal of theſe *untainted Loyalists* only reach the Property of the ' Church; but it may ſeem, Numbers of them thought they had a ' Title, not only to what they call'd their *own Inheritance* of Church ' Revenues; but to the *Inheritance* of Lay-Proprietors, which as it ' was then expreſs'd they had preserv'd when their Landlords de- ' ferted them, of which take the following Inſtance.

' The Earl of *Donegal* hath a Conſiderable Eſtate in the County of ' *Antrim*, call'd the *Six Mile-Water*. At the late Revolution, when ' the *Iriſh* had been beaten quite out of thoſe Parts of the Kingdom, ' his Lordſhip was inform'd, that the whole Body of his Tenants at ' *Six-Mile-Water* being all Diſſenters, had refus'd to pay any Rents, ' his Lordſhip with a Great many Gentlemen of the Country, went ' as it were to Repoſſeſs himſelf of his Eſtate; the Tenants roſe ' againſt him, in a body Arm'd with half-Pikes, Pitch-forks, &c. ' and had it not been for reaſonable and prudent Advice given to ' his Lordſhip by ſome of his Company, it is generally believ'd, that ' many of them had loſt their Lives; they wounded ſeveral of ' thoſe Gentlemen, which my Lord had brought with him, par- ' ticularly Sir *Thomas Dancer*, & Mr. *Tisdale* of *Carrickfergus*, who came ' up to expoſtulate with the Tenants, and advanc'd nearer them than ' the reſt, & his Lordſhip was oblig'd before he cou'd bring them to Reason

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Reason, to procure some of the standing-Army to be sent against them, commanded by Captain *Sterling*, who brought several of them to *Carriksfergus* Goal.

What a Groundlets Buffle our Author has made about this story, and how wretchedly he has mangl'd and misrepresented the whole matter will appear by the following true Relation of it, subscrib'd by two Gentlemen who have an Interest in the Parish where that Riot was committed, were particularly acquainted with the whole Passage, and are Gentlemen of good Reputation in their Country; The first of them *William Shaw* of *Bush* Esq; commanded a Company of the *Militia*, and did good Service against the *Irish* in the late happy Revolution, had the honor to be *High Sheriff* of the County of *Antrim* where he lives, and to be a Justice of the peace for many years. The Narrative is this;

*An Exact Account of the Riot Committed at Priest-Town on the Six-Mile-Water &c.*

It wou'd seem the Author was scarce of Arguments to prove the Disloyalty of Presbyterians when he advances this Story, which is neither true in Fact, as he relates it, nor any thing to his purpose, were it ever so well Attested; both which will appear by the following Candid Narrative of the whole Matter. It must be own'd that some of my Lord *Donegal's* Tenants made Opposition first to his Servants and then to Himself in their Distraining for the Rents due in the Year 1689. but then that Opposition is so far from being Chargeable on the whole Body of Presbyterians on the *Six-Mile-Water*, that there were but about forty Persons concern'd in it (whereof a good number were Women) and those of them that were the most Active, not of the Presbyterian Communion, but a People call'd *Houfstonites*: The only Place it fell out in, is a Farm call'd *Priest-Town*, and what Encourag'd the People to that Foolish Unjustifiable Undertaking was,

1. They apprehended the Landlord cou'd not justly Crave any Rent where the Tenant was not kept in Peaceable Possession, which every Body knows they were not that Year, having very little but their Lives left, that the Enemy cou'd take from them.

2. That a *Danish* Colonel quarter'd at *Belly-Clare*, wou'd not suffer the Bayliffs to Distrain for Rent, but Order'd his Soldiers to

Oppose them; Tho' Capt. *Shaw* of *Belly-gelly*, & several other Presbyterian Gentlemen us'd all the Interest with the said Colonel not to interpose in that Matter, but without Success.

3. That one *John Guest* an Attorney at Law fill'd the Country with Expectations that either the Parliament of *England* or *Ireland* wou'd by a Law free the Protestant Subjects of this Kingdom, on Account of their Sufferings, from paying any Rent for a certain Term; which *Guest* had so far won on the Credulity of the People, by a Proposal which seem'd so very Reasonable in it self, that they afterwards employ'd him to go to *England* to Manage that Affair for them at the Parliament, and for his Encouragement and Support Advanc'd a Sum of Mony to him. But the People that made that Resistance being a handful of *Ignorant, Headstrong* People, apprehended whatever their Neighbours cou'd say to the contrary, that there was already a Law in their Favor, but that the Landlords for their own Ends suppress'd the Publication of it; and thence concluded, That if they Rescu'd their Cattle, they cou'd not be in Danger of any Legal Prosecution. It's true, the Conjecture was ill grounded, but what Party looks upon themselves Accountable for the Folly of a Mob?

How weak soever these Reasons were, *Alexander Wallace* of *Priest-town* refus'd to pay Rent to Mr. *Benjamin Adair* his Immediate Landlord, nor wou'd he suffer him to distrain, whereupon Mr. *Adair* made Complaint to my Lord *Donegal* (the chief Landlord) who sent Sir *Thomas Dancer* with some of his own servants to assist, but came not himself, as the Author Alledges; then it was that the Opposition was given, Sir *Thomas* wounded slightly with a Pitchfork, and the Cattle rescu'd. The next day indeed, Sir *Thomas's* Expedition being successles, My Lord himself came out Accompany'd by Capt. *Lesly*, Capt. *Shaw* of *Belly-Gelly*, Capt. *Shaw* of *Bush*, Mr. *John Crafford* of *Belly-Savage*, Mr. *Robert Crafford* of *Hale Stone*, and several other Gentlemen of Distinction in their Country, tho' the Author, for Reasons best known to himself, thinks fit only to take notice of Corporal *Tipton* of *Carrickfergus*; his Lordship was pleas'd to bring with him a Company of foot Comanded by Captain *Stirling*, who strictly charg'd his Men to do the People no harm, but only if they oppos'd driving the Cattle to fire upon them with Powder, which they did, and there was

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no more Opposition given either then or any time after ; but what will sufficiently vindicate the Presbyterians from any Imputation of Disloyalty in this Matter is,

1. That the chief Actors, as I observ'd before, were Separatists from them, as well as from the Establish'd Church, such particularly as *Alexander Wallace, Thomas Lindsay* who wounded *Sir Thomas Dancer*, and *James Thompson*, &c.

2. My Lord *Donegal* was so far from Judging *Lindsay* Disloyal, that he employ'd Mr *James Craford* to persuade him to enlist in his Regiment.

3. That the Presbyterian Gentlemen of best Note did joyn with my Lord *Donegal*, and went to the place where the Riot was committed, to have Aided him if there had been need ; nor wou'd it be forgot that my Lord himself did so far own the Justice of their Cause (tho' every wise Man will Condemn their foolish Proceedings,) as afterwards to *forgive one Quarter's Rent* in consideration of their Losses by the *Irish*. But what will demonstratively prove that my Lord *Donegal* had no such Opinion of the Presbyterians of the *Six-Mile-Water* or of any other in the Kingdom, as the Author wou'd have the World to have of them, is, that my Lord did on all Occasions appear for them in Parliament, and constantly affirm'd 'em to be good and loyal Subjects ; and none had better Reason to know them than his Lordship.

After all, we can't imagine how this Instance serves the Author's Design, or how he comes to found a Charge of Disloyalty upon it. As the People made no Pretensions to any Right of Inheritance, what ever the Author Alledges, so my Lord *Donegal* made no Demands on behalf of the Government, only was endeavoring to recover his own Right : He may as well say, every Man is Disloyal who refuses to pay any other just Debt, and it must be a *prodigious* large Notion of *Disloyalty* that takes in every Case of that sort. Given under our Hands *August 7. 1713.*

*William Shaw*  
*James Crafford.*

'Tis known to all Men of Sense and Intelligence in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, that in consideration of the Losses sustain'd by the Tenants, during the War, the Landlords generally forgave some of the bygone Rents,



Rents, some *one year*, some *two*, more or less in Proportion to their Losses; and that before the said Abatements cou'd be well adjusted, their happen'd several Debates between Landlords and Tenants in that *Unsettled Condition* of the Country, the *former* Distraining, and the *latter* resisting; which was done without any Distinction or Regard to the Diversity of Persuasions in *either*: For Mr. *Upton's* Tenants in *Templepatrick* resisted him, tho' he was and is still of the Presbyterian Persuasion. And in the Year 1691, divers Tenants in the *Falls of Belfast* (most of 'em being Churchmen) refus'd to pay the Rent due to the Family of *Daragil*, and made a very brisk Opposition to *James Macartney Esq*; who was demanding the said Rents in behalf of that Noble Family, and was oblig'd to take several Persons out of the Town of *Belfast* to his Assistance. And many other Instances of the same kind can be given: Which shows our Author's Reflections upon this Fact to be very *Uncharitable and Partial*.

A fourth fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Reign is, their *Ergraffing of Civil Power*. He Ushers in his Account of this Fact with this solemn Preface p. 18. 'No sooner was the *Oath of Supremacy* (the greatest Impediment in their Course) remov'd, but they drove on at so furious a Rate, that they bore down all before them: Perhaps there can be no Instance given of a Design wrought with *more Subtlety*, & carry'd on with *greater Harmony*, than that of the Dissenters of *Ireland*, to *sink the Church Interest* in the North: the whole Machine was so Uniform, that there did not appear the least Jar in the Movement.' His Historical Mistakes in this point are *Gross*, and the Consequences he draws from these *Fancied* Facts are *Wide and Uncharitable*. He remarks severely upon the Progress of the Presbyterians in the Corporations of *Belfast*, *Londonderry*, *Colerane*, and *Carrickfergus*; adducing these Instances to prove his General Charge; the Unreasonableness whereof will appear by the following just and true Account of the Management of *Presbyterians* in these Corporations.

And first as to *Belfast*, all the Dissenting Burgeesses who are now alive and were in that Office at the Commencement of the *Test Clause* (except one *viz.* Capt. *Brice*, who being at present out of the Kingdom had not the Opportunity of Subscribing the following Paper) have Subscrib'd a Vindication of themselves in these Words,

' *A VINDICATION* of the late Burgesses of the Corporation of Belfast, of the *PRESBYTERIAN* Persuasion.

' Whereas the Author of a late Pamphlet Entitul'd the *Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland &c.* hath thrown divers groundless Aspersions upon those of the Presbyterian Persuasion, who had the honor to be Burgesses of the Corporation of *Belfast*, from the time of the late *Happy Revolution* in 1688. to the Commencement of the *Test-Clause* in the Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery; We do therefore, in Behalf of our Selves and of the Rest of our Persuasion who were Burgesses of the said Corporation during that Period or any part of it, beg leave to set our Innocence in a true Light with Respect to the Facts misrepresented, to our Prejudice, by the Author of the said Book.

' The Author (p. 19) lays down this Conclusion, *Within the Compass of a very few Years after the Revolution, the Dissenters manag'd matters with such Artifice and Success, that they had obtain'd a Majority of Aldermen, Burgesses or Freemen through all the Considerable Corporations of the North of IRELAND.*

' The Instances he gives to prove his Assertion are four, viz: the Management of Dissenters in *London-Derry, Belfast, Colrane and Carrickfergus.* What he advances concerning *Belfast* is in these Words (*Ibid.*) ' *IN BELFAST, the Election of Magistrates and Representatives is by Charter vested in the Burgesses of that Corporation, of which at the beginning of the late Revolution, there were Ten to Two of the Twelve Burgesses, who were Conformists, and before the passing of the Test-Act, the Dissenters had gain'd a Majority of Eight to Four.*

' When he has finish'd his Account of these four Instances, he treats the whole Dissenters and their Managements in these Corporations with the following Calumnious Misrepresentation p. 22. ' *These Instances, which I have given, shall serve to discover the Advances made by the Northern Dissenters in our most considerable Corporations. The difficulty remains to know the steps they made towards it, which I freely own is a Mystery I cannot perfectly unfold. 'Tis plain, so great a Majority of Dissenting Aldermen, Burgesses &c. cou'd not succeed by the Death of their Predecessors within so short a Compass of Time; it was Effected with the same quickness and dexterity, that Jugglers play their Tricks, and in a great Measure by the same Amusements, viz. by Appealing with the*

greatest

greatest Confidence to those very Senses, which they intended that Moment to Deceive and Impose upon. Part 2:

For during the Interval before mention'd, the Dissenters express'd the greatest Tenderness and Regard for their Episcopal Brethern; they were all true Protestants, there was little or no difference betwixt them; — By such Amusements as these, supported by the Influence of Public Funds, it is very probable the Northern Dissenters made this Progress in our Corporations, and wrought upon the Credulity, Ignorance and Poverty of many of the Conforming Burgesses, and to resign to them.

It is Evident the Author design'd that a Part of those heavy Reflections shou'd fall to our share in Belfast; but with how little Truth or Candor, any of them can be charg'd upon us, will appear from the following Account. Those of our Persuasion, who were elected to be Burgesses of Belfast, between the Year 1682 and the Commencement of the Test-Clause in 1703. were William Craford, William Lockhart, James Buller, David Smith, Arthur Macartney, John Chalmers, Captain Brice, David Buttle, Isaac McCartney, and Neil Mc Neil. The persons in whose Room they were elected, the Times of their Respective Elections, and the Persons who were Magistrates when they were chosen, are exactly as follows (for the Truth whereof we appeal to the Public Town Book of Belfast). Mr Craford was Elected March 24. 1685. in the Room of Mr. John Hamilton Merchant, Capt. Robert Leaths being Sovereign of the Town. Mr. Lockhart was Elected May 7. 1687. in the Room of Lieutenant Todd, Capt. Leaths being Sovereign. Mr Buller was Elected Feb. 25. 1689. in the Room of Mr Thomas Walcoat, Capt. Leaths being Sovereign. Mr David Smith was Elected May 26. 1690. in the Room of Mr. Francis Thetford, Capt. Leaths being Sovereign; Mr. Arthur Macartney was Elected June 1. 1691. in the Room of his Father George Macartney Esq; Mr. Lockhart being Sovereign. Mr. Chalmers was Elected, Apr. 8. 1693. in the Room of Ensign Leaths, Mr. Craford being Sovereign. Capt. Brice was Elected December 17. 1697. in the Room of Tho. Knox Esq; the Right Honorable the Earl of Donegal being Sovereign. Mr. Buttle was Elected October 4. 1700. in the Room of Capt. Edward Harrison, Mr. Black George McCartney being Sovereign. Mr. Isaac Mc Cartney was Elected April 26. 1701. in the Room of the Honorable Capt. Charles Chichester, Mr. Black George Mc Cartney being Sovereign, Mr. McNeil was Elected February 6. 1702. in the Room

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Room of Mr. *Buller*, Mr. *Buttle* being Sovereign. All the Persons in whose Room any of our Persuasion were chosen Burgesses were Dead before they were chosen in their Rooms, except *Thomas Knox* Esq; who having Purchas'd an Estate worth near 1000 *lib. per Annum* in and about *Dungannon*, went to live upon his Estate, and Resign'd in favor of Capt. *Brice*, his Brother-in-Law.

Let the World judge whether the Author has not been as injurious to Truth, as to our Reputation, when he has asserted that *all this Majority of Dissenting Burgesses* cou'd not succeed by the Death of their Predecessors in so short a time; and whether it be not a gross Abuse put upon us, and an Imposition upon his Reader, to tell the World, that this was Effected with the same Quickness and Dexterity, that Jugglers Play their Tricks, and in a great Measure by the same Amusements, viz. by Appealing with the greatest Confidence to those very Senses, which they intended that Moment to deceive and impose upon. And let all who know Mr. *Knox* (the only Person who resign'd in favor of a Presbyterian) judge whether he be Chargeable with either *Credulity*, *Ignorance* or *Poverty*. And we put the Author and all his Abettors to Defiance to prove, that there was the least unfair and indirect Method taken by us or any of our Persuasion to procure our selves to be Elected into the said Offices; and as a farther Confirmation of the truth of what we alledge, we assert and are ready to prove, that all of us were Elected not only with the Consent, but by the Interest and Recommendation of the Right Honorable Family of *Donegal*, except two viz. Mr. *Chalmers* whom the Burgesses Elected according to the Rules of their Charter which oblige them to chuse a Burgess in seven Days in the Case of any Place become Vacant by Death: In which time, as matters were then Circumstantiated, there was not an Opportunity of knowing the Inclination of that Noble Family; tho' all this Respect was paid to 'em in the Election of any Dissenting Burgess, without any Obligation by vertue of the Charter. And my Lord *Donegal* was so well satisfy'd with Mr. *Chalmers* being Elected Burgess, that by his Lordship's Interest and Recommendation he was afterwards chosen and serv'd Sovereign of the Town for one Year, and press'd to serve a second Year, tho' Mr. *Chalmers* declin'd it. The second was Mr. *Buller*, who was Elected when the Family was abroad in the time of the troubles, but was in good Reputation with them. And we do Aver, that 'tis utterly

false

“ false, that we ever had the Benefit of any Public Fund for providing  
 “ or promoting the said Elections: Nor do we believe nor know,  
 “ that ever there was any *Public Fund* rais'd or apply'd to such Uses  
 “ either in *this Corporation* or any other in this Kingdom by any of our  
 “ Persuasion; And we are confident, that considering our Station and  
 “ Circumstances, we wou'd have been told or consulted with about  
 “ such a *Fund*, had there been the least *Realty* in what the Author  
 “ Advances concerning it.

“ And whereas divers of our Persuasion had the Honor to serve in  
 “ the Office of the Magistracy of this Corporation, *viz.* Mr. *Crafford*,  
 “ Mr. *Lockhart*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Black George McCartney*, Mr. *Chal-*  
 “ *mers*, and Mr. *Buttle*; We Appeal to all our impartial Conformist  
 “ Neighbours, whether we did not Impartially Punish these of our  
 “ Persuasion, when Convicted of any Crimes against the Laws of the  
 “ Kingdom, as well as others; and whether we did not carry with  
 “ all Peaceable and friendly Temper towards those of the Establish'd  
 “ Church, without the *least Contempt* or *Disrespect* to the National E-  
 “ stablishment, unless our frequenting the Public Worship of God  
 “ in the way most agreeable to our Consciences may deserve that  
 “ Name.

“ The Author (p. 20.) casts some more groundless Reflections  
 “ upon us and those of our Persuasion in *Belfast*, in these Words ‘ There  
 “ was one *Pottinger* a Profess'd *Presbyterian*, an Inhabitant of *Belfast*,  
 “ who when King *James* was in *Ireland*, prov'd a zealous and avow-  
 “ ed *Jacobite*, and made Interest to have the Old Charter of that  
 “ Town broken, and a New one granted. Upon what Motives this  
 “ was done, I will not Determine, but thus far I affirm to be Fact,  
 “ That at the time, when that Charter was broke, there were but  
 “ One or Two of the Twelve *Burgesses*, who were Dissenters; but  
 “ by the New Charter the Number of *Burgesses* was Augmented to  
 “ *Thirty four*, whereof, by the best Computation I can make, there  
 “ were *Eleven* or *Twelve* Dissenters & *Nineteen* Papists; so much greater  
 “ Credit had the Dissenters at that time with King *James* than the  
 “ Conformists. It is further Remarkable, that this same *Pottinger* left  
 “ *Belfast* some time after the Troubles, and liv'd for many Years in  
 “ *London* a known and Profess'd Factor and Solicitor for the *Jacobites*  
 “ there, and that he has lately return'd to *Belfast*, during Mr *Mac-*  
 “ *Bride's* Prosecution for his Refusal of the *Oath of Abjuration*, and  
 “ still

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“ still continues his Constant Hearer, has been kindly receiv’d without the least Mark of Disesteem from any Person of Consideration, or the least Popular Resentment, as might be fear’d for his Treacherous Behavior to that Corporation.

“ The Author has mistaken his Computation of the Number of Dissenters who were inserted in the late King *James’s* Charter as Burgesses, for there were none such, but those *viz. James Shaw, Will. Leckhart, John Eccles, William Craford, Henry Chads, David Smith, and John Chalmers*; which are at least four or five short of the Number Alledg’d by the Author; and it’s hereby declar’d by such of us Subscribers as were inserted in the said Charter in behalf of our Selves, that our Names were made use of without our Knowledge, Consent or Privity, and that we never accepted of, nor serv’d in the Office of Burgesses in *Belfast*, by Virtue of the said Charter: And ’tis hereby Certify’d and Declar’d by all of us, that we have heard (and do verily believe) all the Rest of our Persuasion who were Nominated Burgesses in the said Charter *solemnly protest and Declare*, that their Names were likewise inserted and made use of without their Knowledge, Consent or Privity; and we know and Certify that none of them did ever Accept or Serve in the Office of Burgesses in this Corporation, by Virtue of the said Charter, the said *Thomas Pottinger* only excepted. And we look upon our selves to be oblig’d by the Rules of Common Justice, and Friendship due to our Brethren of the Establish’d Church, to declare and farther Certify that we do not know nor believe that any of their Persuasion were Nominated Burgesses in the said Charter, with their Knowledge or consent. And that we neither know nor believe that they Accepted of or Serv’d in the said Office, by Virtue of the said Charter.

“ The Author is very Unwary in Reflecting upon us and these of our Persuasion for not shewing some *Mark of Disesteem or Popular Resentment* of Mr *Pottinger’s* Behavior against the Liberties of the Corporation: Because if there be any Ground of Reflection, it must rather fall on those of the Communion of the Establish’d Church; for when Mr *Pottinger* return’d to *Belfast*, none but Conformists were Burgesses; and it being proper for them as the Representatives of the Corporation, to Resent the Injuries done it, if there was any blame; the Author’s Paper wou’d fix it upon them: But

‘ to do them as well as our selves Justice, the true Reasons why none  
 ‘ of us have mov’d in the Matter were, because Mr *Pottinger* having  
 ‘ been a Considerable Dealer in Town, and now in Declining Age  
 ‘ (near 80) as well as Circumstances, and being marry’d in a Family  
 ‘ of good Respect, Interest, and Loyalty, Protestants of all Per-  
 ‘ suasions wou’d taking any Notice of the Matter, further than De-  
 ‘ claring in all Companies, and upon all Occasions, and frequently  
 ‘ to his face, that they did not Approve, but Condemn the said Practice.  
 ‘ And we humbly conceive it were time enough to make this Objecti-  
 ‘ on against us, when all those who betray’d the Liberties of *England*,  
 ‘ by surrendering Charters there, shall be first call’d to Account and pu-  
 ‘ nish’d.

‘ And we can’t but Observe. that ’tis a Considerable Vindication  
 ‘ of these of our Persuasion, that this Author is not Able (after all  
 ‘ the Pains he has taken) to produce any but one single Instance of  
 ‘ any of our Persuasion in this Kingdom, who cou’d ever be tax’d  
 ‘ with the like Practice. Given under our Hands at *Belfast* this 2d  
 ‘ of September 1713.

|                          |                     |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>William Crafford,</i> | } Isaac Mc Cartney. |
| <i>John Chalmers.</i>    |                     |
| <i>David Buttle,</i>     |                     |

Our Author’s Misrepresentations and false Reasonings are so fully  
 Detected in the above Vindication, that I have no occasion to add any  
 thing to it. I shall next give an Account of the Management of  
 Presbyterians in the Corporation of *London-Derry*, as I had it in the  
 following Narrative from a Gentleman who was Intimately acquaint-  
 ed with all their Transactions there, Appeals to the *Records* of the  
 City for the Facts he represents, and offers to prove the Truth of the  
 whole, shou’d any point be contested.

‘ In 1688. the *Irish* Government had Arbitrarily Dissolv’d the Pro-  
 ‘ testant Corporation of *London-Derry*, and Introduc’d a *Popish* one,  
 ‘ which continu’d till the shutting of the Gates against the *Irish* Ar-  
 ‘ my. The Dissenters that were Members before the *Irish* Corpora-  
 ‘ tion came, were but a few, not for want of such who were fit for  
 ‘ those Stations, but because the *Oath of Supremacy* then in force, hin-  
 ‘ der’d all Dissenters who Scrupled the taking it, & those who cou’d Dis-  
 ‘ pense with the taking it, & were in at that time were these *viz* *Job*  
 ‘ *Campsie*.”

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*Campsie, John Craig, William Smith, and Alexander Lecky Aldermen, and John Burnside, James Fisher, James Coningham, William Kyle, Henry Long, James Sympson, David Cairnes Esq; John Ewing, and Robert Shennan Burgesses; Horace Kennedy, and Edward Brooks Sheriffs: Thus it was 1688.*

*The Siege soon follow'd which dispers'd most of the Members of the Corporation, as well as other Citizens, some few Surviv'd it, viz. Ger: Squire, Matthew Cockain, and James Hobson, Aldermen; John Mogridge, Robert Shennan, and James Strong Burgesses, all the rest were either Dead or gone into South or North Britain. Alderman Cockain went immediately after the raising the Siege into England and Died. The other five taking into consideration the Deploable State of the City, and seeing it absolutely necessary for the good thereof that the Body of the Corporation shou'd be fill'd up to at least such a Number, as by their Constitution they might act as a body Politic, for the Support and Comfort of the Inhabitants: And by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made at Westminster in the first Year of K. William and Q. Mary, Intitul'd, *An Act for the better Security and Safety of their Majestie's Protestant Subjects of Ireland: They the said five, of whom only Robert Shennan was a Non-Conformist, call'd together all the most Eminent Citizens that were then on the spot, either such as had been in the Siege, or such as had return'd from beyond Sea, and out of them made choice of 14 or 15 into the Office of Burgesses, and this was done without any Regard either to Conformist or Non-Conformist: But according to what they judg'd most for the Public Good. And as an Incorporate Body they made Application to their then Majesties King William and Queen Mary of ever GLORIOUS MEMORY for some Relief to the many poor Perishing Widows and Orphans that were then in the place, and obtain'd a Royal Bounty of Provision and Firing, by which the Lives of many were preserv'd. As the Old Members return'd from beyond Sea, they join'd the rest, and Elected others into Offices for the Public Good of the Place.**

*It is by Custom Inmemorial, that out of the Gentlemen that had serv'd Sheriffs, the Corporation ever chose the Burgesses, and out of the Burgesses the Aldermen, and out of these Aldermen the Mayor; and their Choice was made by the Rule of Seniority, thus he that first had serv'd Sheriff or Fin'd for not serving (as several had done*

be-



before the Revolution as *Fred. Coningham, Alexander Gordon, Hugh Eadie, James Lenox, &c.*) they were held to be the first Elected into the Office of Burgesses. Then he that was first Burgess, became capable of being first Elected an Alderman, and so the eldest Alderman to be Mayor. This Rule was observ'd in all Elections, where there was not a Visible Cause of Exception, as some who had serv'd Sheriffs fell afterwards so low by some cross Accidents, as render'd them rather *Objects of Charity* than fit for Offices. The Office of Sheriff was very Chargeable, and had often prov'd very Fatal to severals, wherefore it was always laid on such Citizens as were thought able to bear the Charge best. And after the Revolution, the Corporation fill'd up the Body out of those who had serv'd or had been fin'd, and out of the most able Citizens who had not serv'd, and made Choice of Sheriffs, *Hen. Ash, William Newton, Hen. Ash, Thom. Moxcreff* and *Samuel Leeson* all Conformists, who all soon became Aldermen.

At that time and for some Years none were in Town of the Conformists who were able to bear the Office of Sheriffs, but who were Elected and had their Turns of Offices, as occasion offer'd, but the Number of such in the City was but smal, the Dissenters being much more Numerous till at last there was scarce A Conformist to be had capable to serve, and the Persons who had served or fin'd for Sheriffs being the Nursery as it were out of which to Elect to the Office of Burgesses was the sole Cause of the prevailing Numbers of Dissenters coming into these Posts, and all this while the Affairs of the City were well manag'd, yet even then Misrepresented by some of their Conformist Neighbours, which the Government took so much Notice of, as to appoint Commissioners *viz.* the then Bishop of Derry now Archbishop of Dublin, and *George Philips Esq;* to examine Witnesses on both Sides; and upon a full hearing; the Conduct of the Corporation was approv'd and Applauded. This began to sour the Minds of the one Party against the other, and till then no Parties had been known amongst 'em. Then the City having a Lease from the See of Derry, of certain Lands which of right belong'd to the Society of London, the Corporation made Application to the Bishop for a Renewal on the same Terms upon which he renew'd to other Tenants, but he delayed it a long time, at last utterly refus'd it; and the Term by the Lease from the See expiring, the Society's

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Agent entered on the Lands as a Vacant Possession, and set them  
 to a Member of the Corporation who held them for the Society.  
 This greatly exasperated the Bishop; and several of his Tenants or  
 Adherents, tho' Members of the Corporation, sided with him. This  
 broke out into a great flame, and engag'd the House of Lords both of  
*England* and *Ireland* in the Quarrel, which running so high made  
 the Faithfulness of some *Con's* to stagger, & to be much suspected by  
 the *Non-Conformists*; as for example *G. T.* being Sheriff with  
*J. D.* both Conformists, yet *G. T.* wou'd at the Cut of *Coltrane*  
 have put the Bishop into Possession of the Society's Estate without  
 a Writ for it, on the bare Word of the Bishop, had not *J. D.* op-  
 posed it vigorously. So that either Party took their Advantage as  
 far as they cou'd. Yet still the *Non-Conformists* kept close to  
 the Fundamental Rules of bringing in Burgesses, Aldermen and  
 Mayors according to their Seniority: But when a *Non-Conformist*  
 was Elected to the Mayoralty, some of the Conformists made  
 Objections against it at the Council-board, and put the Corporati-  
 on to great Expences in defending their Rights. The first *Non-*  
*Conformist* Mayor since the Revolution was *A. L.* who came in  
 thus. The Corporation had Elected *G. S.* a Conformist; yet  
 the Bishop &c. objected against it at the Board, and the Election  
 was not approv'd, then the Corporation on a New-Election  
 Elected *A. L.* Such was the good Management of the *Non-Confor-*  
*mists* in the Corporation, that altho' they got it in 1690, in or about  
 400 *lib.* in debt, yet they left it in 1704. with 1000 *lib.* in Cash, which  
 the present Corporation well Improve, and do manage with a  
 great deal of Evenness of Temper, following the Example of the  
 late Members in distributing Justice and Charity equally to *Non-*  
*Conformists* as to *Conformists*, and continue still to say that the City  
 has no real Advantage by the Change, and that the Members laid  
 aside by the Test-Clause were as fit and Worthy to do the City  
 business as any others in it. But the Clamorous *High-flying*  
*Clergy* in their heat of Zeal raise Crys against their *Peaceable*  
*Neighbours*, and sail not both publicly and otherwise to Arraign  
 and Condemn the present for their Moderation, as much as they  
 did their Predecessors, using the utmost of their Endeavors to  
 widen the Breach; But, Blessed be God, without Success as  
 yet.

‘ If the Records of the City be look’d into, all that is above Narrated will be found evidently true.

This plain Narrative shows that the Presbyterians came *fairly and honestly* into the several Offices they enjoy’d in the City and Corporation of *London-Derry*: For they came in according to the *Stated Rule* that had been observ’d in Elections there, which very well accounts for their *gaining such a Majority* of Numbers, and Demonstrates the Author’s Account of it to be Calumnious, and that there was no *Juggling Tricks nor Appealing to Mens Senses with a Design to deceive and impose upon ’em*, as our Author with as little truth as Charity suggests: And if our Author had been at a little more pains to inform himself, his *own Senses* wou’d not have been so much impos’d upon. He has been so careless as not to inform himself right of the Number of Presbyterian *Aldermen and Burgesses* in *London-Derry* at the breaking out of the late Troubles; for at that time, there were four Presbyterian Aldermen there, *viz. John Campsie, John Craig, William Smith and Alexander Lecky*; tho’ he says there were but three (p. 19.) and he Asserts (*ibid.*) that of the 24 Burgesses there were but *five* of them Presbyterians at that time, whereas there were NINE, *viz. David Cairnes Esq; James Fisher, James Cunningham, James Sympson, Robert Shennan; William Kyle, John Ewing, Henry Long, and John Burnside*. This List is return’d by the same Gentleman that gives the above Narrative.

I have been the larger in Vindicating the Election and Managements of Presbyterians in the Corporations of *London-Derry* and *Belfast*, because they had more Power and Interest in these two Corporations than in any other whatsoever within the Kingdom of *Ireland*: And ’tis reasonable to believe, that if they behav’d well in them, there can be very little laid to their Charge in other Places. For if they did not abuse their *Power* where it was *Greatest*, and where they had the greatest Opportunities of doing it, can any body believe that they wou’d abuse their Power where it was *lesser*, and where it cou’d be so readily check’d and control’d? And therefore I shall make but some short Remarks upon what he offers with respect to *Colrane* and *Carrickfergus*.

With Respect to *Colrane* he publishes a Certificate, which, he says, was given him by one of the most considerable Members of that Corporation (p. 19.) But I don’t find any thing in that Certificate, to our Author’s purpose; for there is not a Syllable in it, which so much as insinuates that

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that the Presbyterians us'd any *indirect* or *unfair* Means to procure Offices to themselves in the Corporation, or that they behav'd unjustly or unfriendly towards their Conforming Neighbours. While the Law made 'em Capable, 'twas no fault in them to use lawful Means for getting into the said Offices: For there were several Merchants there of the Presbyterian Persuasion, who were as *public-Spirited*, and made as good a *Figure* for their Worldly Circumstances, and had *deserv'd* as well of the Corporation, as any of their Neighbours; and were short of none of 'em, in their Fidelity to the Government; and consequently were very fit for such Employments.

As to the Corporation of *Carrickfergus*, our Author's Account of it is a little extraordinary; he begins it thus (p. 21.) In *Carrickfergus* the Election of Representatives and Magistrates &c. lies in the Voices of the Freemen of the Corporation. I cannot at present see the true Proportion betwixt the Numbers of *Dissenters* and *Conformists* before the late Revolution, who were Freemen; But thus far is manifest, that the Dissenters have encreas'd to a vast Disproportion, and have entirely sunk the Church-Interest in that Place, in so much that at this time there are near *four to one* of the Inhabiting Freemen, and at least *six to one* of the Foreigners Dissenters.

'Tis hard to guess, what our Author wou'd be at in this Passage unless he wou'd have all Dissenting Freemen Dissanchis'd for fear of their *sinking the Church-Interest*; and that wou'd be a very hard Case, and the Height of Persecution; for 'twou'd be the taking away a Man's bread, *meerly because he is a Presbyterian*: If Men can't get Liberty to follow their Trades (which they can't in Corporations, without being Freemen) they must starve. And if the Number of Conformist Freemen in *Carrickfergus* be lessen'd, that has not happen'd by any *unjust* or *unkind* Treatment they have met with from their Presbyterian Brethren. And considering the great Decay of that Antient Corporation, which is still poor enough after all that the Inhabitants of all Persuasions can do for supporting it, let the World judge whether our Author hath the Prosperity of that Corporation very much at heart, when he wou'd discourage *four parts of five* of the Inhabiting Freemen; and whether 'twou'd be any Credit to the Church, to *advance* her Interest by sinking that of the Corporation. If the Church cou'd persuade a great many of her Communion to go & live in *Carrickfergus*, and follow Trade and Business, and

and spend their Estates there, the Dissenters wou'd rejoice in it, and promote it as a public Good; and they can't but think, that the Church shou'd, and will so far consult the *Common-Interest* of the Place, as to return their Compliment.

But our Author seems to be much upon the fret, when he tells us (*Ibid.*) ' There is one unhappy, and indeed Preposterous Circumstance of this Corporation, which I can't help mentioning, with some Peculiarity. There are of the Inhabitants of *Belfast*, who are Freemen of *Carrickfergus* and generally Dissenters about *one hundred and Forty*, and the Number of Church-Freemen, who are Inhabitants of *Carrickfergus*, are but *forty*; by which Means the Dissenting Inhabitants of *Belfast* who can ne'ther choose their own Representatives nor Magistrates, do actually govern all the Elections of *Carrickfergus*, and this you may judge by the following Specimen, of what Choice they have made of Magistrates for these many Years past.

This Objection will appear to be very frivolous, to all who consider that the Inhabitants who were made Freemen of *Carrickfergus* had that Honor conferr'd upon them by the Mayors of *Carrickfergus*, of the Communion of the Establish'd Church, no Dissenter having been in that Post, or in the Office of an Alderman there since the late happy Revolution; and the Dissenters of *Belfast* did not court their Freedom there, but were generally courted to accept of it: and the most of 'em were made Freemen, not by any of those whom this Author is pleas'd to Dignify with the Titles of the *Quadrumvirate* and the *Rota-Government*, but from others who were not esteem'd to be very much in that Interest, and who were never suspected of, being Enemies to the Church. What he says of four Aldermen of that Corporation is full of personal Reflections, which are brought in with a Design to blacken the Dissenting Freemen, for making Choice of 'em to the Office of the *Mayoralty*. But 'tis a sufficient Answer, that the Government approv'd of these Elections; which, according to our Author's Reasoning, wou'd have been as Criminal in them as in the Dissenters who made 'em; and it is a shrewd Evidence, that our Author was Conscious to himself he had little to say to the Disadvantage of these Gentlemen's Character, when he begins his furious Attack with upbraiding 'em, that they had been *private men in the late Lord Donegal's Troop*; whereas some of that *Noble Lord's* nearest

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est Relations rode as private Men in his Troop, as well as they ; and 'tis very well known, that all these four Aldermen are *Gentlemen* descended of Creditable Families.

But I must not omit a Remark upon the *Unreasonable Jealousies* our Author endeavors to foment, in the Conclusion of his History relating to *Carrickfergus*, in these Words (p. 22.) ' It is here with the greatest Diference humbly submitted to the Legislature, whether a Place of that vast Importance, being a Fortify'd Town, a Harbour Scituated in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, in the very Center of the Northern Presbyterians, the Queen's great Magazine for the Northern Parts of *Ulster*, ought to be entirely in the hands of such Magistrates at this Juncture ; and whether the Posture of the Present Affairs wou'd not require an Establish'd Governor of experienc'd Abilities and sound Principles, to command in a place of that Importance'. It is highly Uncharitable and tends to promote Misunderstandings and National Quarrels between her Majesty's Protestant Subjects to insinuate (as our Author does here) that it's dangerous to live in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland* ; as if that People were Enemies to her Majesty's Government, and dangerous to the Peace and Liberties of *Ireland*. If what he insinuates of them be understood of a *certain Party* there who are avow'd *Jacobites*, and who adhere to the Principles and Address of the *Scotch* Bishops to the late King *James*, what he has said is very true ; but then it can't reflect on the Establish'd Church there, who are unanimously opposite to the *Pretender*, and Cordial Friends to her Majesty, and the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, as shall be made appear in it's proper Place. As to the Northern Presbyterians, in the Center of whom our Author asserts *Carrickfergus* to be Scituated, and to be the Queen's great Magazine for the Northern parts of *Ulster*, and for those Reasons offers his Opinion against *it's being intirely in the Hands of such Magistrates* ; this carries in it a very Groundless Suspicion, as if the Northern Presbyterians were so Unpeaceable and Unneighbourly, as to put the Government under a necessity of keeping 'em in Awe with *Garrisons* and *Military Force*.

Our Author closeth his History of the Presbyterians unfair Engrossing of Civil Power, with a very palpable Mistake, in these Words, p. 23. ' No sooner had they obtain'd a Majority, than they acted like Tyrants, with respect to the Minority of *Conforming Burgesses* or Free-

‘ Freemen of such Corporations, they fortify’d themselves by firm  
 ‘ Alliance and Confederacy, never to admit any more *Church*. Alder-  
 ‘ men, Burgesses or Freemen, than they cou’d controul and govern  
 ‘ in all their Elections’. But let us hear what the Presbyterians offer  
 in their own Defence in their first Apology to her Majesty (*vide Pre-  
 sent State of Religion in Ireland* p. 23.) ‘ And whereas their Lordships  
 ‘ have been inform’d, that whenever we obtain’d the Majority in Cor-  
 ‘ porations, we excluded all such as were not of our Persuasion : We  
 ‘ can produce Undeniable Instances in several Towns, particularly  
 ‘ in *London-Derry* and *Belfast* (the most considerable in *Ulster*) where  
 ‘ the Dissenters chose those of the Establish’d Church to the chief Of-  
 ‘ fices in Corporations, when they had Interest enough to have Elec-  
 ‘ ted those of their own Communion’. The truth of what is offer’d  
 here is Confirm’d from the Narratives already given of their Behavi-  
 or in *London-Derry* and *Belfast*, wherein Men were chosen to Offices  
 according to their *fitness*, Abstracting from their Persuasion. And  
 no Dissenting *Mayor* or *Sovereign* in either of these Places refus’d to  
 make any *Church-man* a *Freeman*, who was an Inhabitant in the Place,  
 and wou’d comply with the Rules of the *Charter* and Laws of the *Cor-  
 poration*. And there being many more Presbyterian than Episcopal  
 Inhabitants in these places, the Presbyterian freemen must of Necessity  
 be *superiour* in number to the Church-Freemen, in proportion to  
 the number of Inhabitants. And therefore ’tis a very unhandsome  
 Expression in our Author to say that the Dissenters *Acted like Tyrants,  
 and fortify’d themselves by firm Alliance and Confederacy* &c.

The *Fifth* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland*  
 during this Reign is, their *making a Monopoly of Trade*, which he ag-  
 gravates in very Indecent Terms (p. 23, 24.) ‘ The natural and  
 ‘ immediate Consequence of this *Monopoly* of Power prov’d a *Monop-  
 oly* of Trade, which was effectually compass’d by the Dissenters  
 ‘ at the same time, tho’ by a different Artifice. It seems to me, that  
 ‘ the *Church-Traders* dealing promiscuously without respect to Per-  
 ‘ sons, did thereby sink their Money into *Presbyterian* Hands, which  
 ‘ never was permitted to return to them, except for such Necef-  
 ‘ saries, as could not be so easily procur’d by the Dissenters a-  
 ‘ mongst themselves. The Dissenters at the same time confining  
 ‘ their Commerce (as much as possible) to themselves, were qualify-  
 ‘ ed upon several Accounts to Underlive, by which Means they  
 ‘ cou’d also Underfel them; however this might be, the different  
 ‘ Movements of each Party were Visible to the least Discerning Eye;

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‘ the *One* rising from Pedlars to Merchants, the *Other* sinking from Merchants to Bankrupts: insomuch that at this present time it is a rare thing to see a Thriving Dealer in the *Northern* Parts of *Ireland*, except he be a Profess’d Dissenter or an Occasional Non-Conformist. I profess, I cannot recollect, that there is one at this time in that part of the Country where I live, tho’ the most Populous and Trading Part of the *North*, and where, before the late Troubles, Church-Traders were Considerable both in Number and Business. I speak with greater concern in this point, from the repeated complaints made, and the common cry which I have heard from the church-Dealers, Farmers, Tradesmen and even Laborers, for (I had like to have said) the Persecution they lay under for their Conformity to the Church Established by Law, and that from the Dissenters; who only subsist by a Connivance.

‘ If any Presbyterians have been so Unneighbourly as to confine Commerce to those of their own Persuasion, it is more than I know of, or than can be charg’d upon the Bulk & Generality of that Persuasion. Our Author seems to think, that he can charge this home upon the Presbyterians in *Belfast*; for he speaks of that Part of the Country where he lives, and calls it the *most Populous and Trading Part of the North*, which Description can agree to no other but *Belfast*; and if I prove that he has Misrepresented this Fact in the very Place of his own Residence, which of all places he had reason to know best, let the World judge whether the Account he gives of other Places is *wholly to be rely’d upon*. At the desire and for the Vindication of the Presbyterian Inhabitants of *Belfast*, their Brethren of the Establish’d Church there have been so just and honest as to Subscribe the following Certificates, which I Transcribe from the Original.

‘ WE do hereby Certify that the Presbyterian Inhabitants of *Belfast* Deal and Trade with Us as freely and readily, as they do with one another, tho’ we are all of the Communion of the Establish’d Church, that we have the greatest part of our Trade from them; and that we do not perceive, know, nor believe that they use any unfair Practices in Confining Trade amongst themselves: Given under our Hands at *Belfast* September 8th 1713.

Henry Ellis.  
Nich. Garnet:

Nicholas Thetford.  
George Portis.

ROB. LEATHES.  
Nath. Byrth.



|                   |                    |                      |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Robert Domglafs.  | Alexander Legg.    | Barth. McNaghten.    |
| Thomas Taverner.  | Edward Turley.     | Francis Thetford.    |
| Richard Lamb.     | Joshua Turley.     | James Harrison.      |
| John Pamer.       | Hugh Sherwood      | Israel Cotes.        |
| John Stuart.      | Nicholas Brooks.   | Michael Gregson.     |
| John Anderson.    | George Lacels.     | James Ratcliff.      |
| John Worthington. | Edward Gardner.    | James Whitlock.      |
| Ephraim Wills.    | John Imbly.        | William Babie.       |
| Brian Mercer.     | Matthæw Philips    | Hen. Kelly.          |
| Henry Douglafs.   | James Wilfon.      | James Ogins.         |
| Thomas Henderson  | William Beaty.     | Robert Skirries.     |
| Elias Audett.     | Charles Ward.      | George Kerren.       |
| George Mankin.    | Thomas Graham.     | George Kempson.      |
| John Mankin.      | William Salters.   | Will. Johnson Junior |
| Francis Mankin.   | John Joy.          | Richard Crutchby.    |
| Patrick Allen.    | Israel Clotworthy. | William Dormont.     |
| John Mc. Goun.    | Barnaby Mc. Curdy. | John Mc. Cahy.       |
| John Langdell.    | John Riddagh.      | Thomas Witnal.       |
| Henry Bulhatchet. | Robert Story.      | Edward Mullan.       |
| Edward Harris.    | Pat. Phipps.       | John Burns.          |
| Richard Wilfon.   | Robert Ainsworth.  | David Leathom.       |
| Thomas Parker.    | William Ashmore    | John Nowland.        |
| Robert Potter,    | Robert Whitfield.  | Roger Slemons.       |
| George Turley.    | Sampson Dixon.     | Alexander Imbly.     |
| John Rice.        |                    |                      |

Tho' I am no Dealer in Town I am an Inhabitant, and never did Observe any Distinction made by the Dissenters in Matters of Dealing so far asl have been there- in Concern'd.

Richard Hodgkinson.

We do Verily believe the Certificate on the other Side of this Paper True. Given under Our Hands Sept. 12. 1713.

GEO. MACARINEY.

ROGER HADDOCK.

GEO. MACARINEY Junior.

TheSubscribers of the above Certificates are eight of 'em Burgeses, some of 'em Gentlemen of the best Station in Town, some of 'em among the Wealthiest Dealers, and Keepers of Public Houses, & the rest are generally such as respectively follow the handicraft Trades of Tobacco-Spinners, Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, Saddlers, Glovers, Butchers, Carpenters, &c. And there is no sort of Goods to be Sold or work to be wrought by any of theseSubscribers, but what the Presbyterians in Belfast can buy or have done for 'em by those of their own Persuasion. And 'tis remarkable that some of theseSubscribers are among the Oldest Inhabitants of the Town & Parish of Belfast, one of 'em being near an hundred Years of Age, divers of 'em eighty, and particularly the first

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Subscriber Capt. *Leathes*, an honest Gentleman, who has been a Burgess in the Town of a long time, has been often *Sovereign*, is at present *Deputy-Sovereign*, and Elected *Sovereign* for the Ensuing Year. There are indeed very few in *Belfast* of the Communion of the Establish'd Church, who are considerable Dealers; but then this cannot be in the least imputed to any unfair Practice in the Presbyterians, who were still ready to join in Partnership in Trade with Churchmen as well as with one another, as can be made appear by Instances of the most considerable Merchants of that Communion, and particularly in the Case of Mr *Knox*, *George Macartney* Esq; and Mr. Black *George Mc. Cartney*. And there can be no other Reasons why there are not now such considerable Merchants there, of the Establish'd Church, as there were at the time of the late Troubles, but these; Some of 'em are dead, and their Children Educated to other Employments; or, that their Children are of the Communion of Dissenters, which some of 'em selves embrac'd *viz.* Mr. Black *George Mc. Cartney*, some Years before he Died; or, that others have quit their Employment and live upon their Estate in the Country, as Mr. *Knox*; And few or none of the Establish'd Church, of any considerable Station or Wealth, have apply'd themselves to Merchandizing since. But the Dissenters never discourag'd any of 'em from attempting it, or from the Prosecution of Trade and Business amongst 'em: and if any of 'em have sunk from Merchants to Bankrupts, (which our Author alleges, tho' there are few or no Instances of that in *Belfast*) this was not owing to any *Severity* or *Unkindness* in the Dissenters; They gave 'em Credit, as much as they did to one another, they never Rigorously and Unseasonably put hard to 'em for exacting their own, which sometimes may sink a Merchant of good Credit.

How the Dissenters shou'd be qualify'd upon several Accounts to *underlive*, and by that Means to *undersel* their Conforming Neighbours, is a Mystery which he hath not *unfolded*, and perhaps *cannot*. The Dissenters live suitable to their Stations and Circumstances, and some of 'em (as our Author very well knows) are both Capable and Willing to give Gentlemen of all Persuasions (Clergy and Laity) as Generous & Liberal Entertainments in their houses, as their Neighbours. And if any of 'em have *risen from Pedlars to Merchants*, they have no Cause to be ashamed of it, being the Effect of the Blessing of God upon their honest Commendable Industry. And why such an Industrious

dustrious Trading People as the Dissenters of the North of *Ireland*, should be discourag'd and reproach'd, I see no Reason. Trade has been always justly look'd upon as one of the great Means to make a Nation flourish : It makes Money Circulate thro' Town and Country ; and Men of all Stations reap the benefit of it. And therefore all wise People have ever made it their business to support and encourage it, and to countenance the Promoters of it.

But before I leave this Head, I must take Notice of another Reason our Author gives, why the Presbyterians have so great a stroke in the Trade of the Kingdom ; It is in these Words, (p. 17, 18.)

• The failure of our Woollen Manufactory sunk the Church interest  
 • of *Ireland* in the same proportion that the Encouragement of the Lin-  
 • nen Manufactory did raise the Interest of *Presbytery*. The Weavers &c. of  
 • the former being generally Conformists, who were oblig'd to return  
 • for *England*, or disperse themselves in the *Low-Countries*, as those of the  
 • latter were as generally Dissenters, who came from *Scotland* since the Re-  
 • volution. 'Tis evident the Dissenters seem at present to be almost in  
 • full Possession of that Considerable Branch of our Trade, and  
 • what has mainly conduc'd to it, is this Revolt of the French Pro-  
 • testants from the Church ; of which the Principal Directors and  
 • Managers in that Manufactory, with a very Considerable Colony,  
 • have settled at *Lisburn*, in the Center of the Northern Presbyterians,  
 • and have all declared for *Presbytery*, and chosen a Teacher, who  
 • will not receive Episcopal Ordination. From whence it is evident,  
 • that Matters have been so Concerted in favor of the Dissenters ; that  
 • the French Refugees distinguished with such Marks of Favor by the  
 • Government, and the Established Church, which might have in-  
 • fluenc'd a grateful People to be true to our Establishment, have  
 • now proved a dead Weight against it in the Scale of *Presbytery*.

The Causes of the failure of the Woollen Manufactory in *Ireland* are so well known, that no body can justly impute it to the Dissenters : And tho' the Linnen Manufactory be chiefly promoted by Presbyterians, the Parliament of *Ireland* have made several Acts to encourage it, which shows that they believed it to be for the Public Interest of the Kingdom : And it can't be denyed that the French in *Lisburn* have been highly serviceable to the Nation, by their frugality and Skill in Managing, and much improving that Manufactory ; whereof the House of Commons were so sensible, That they cheerfully recommended 'em to the Government for their favor, tho' they very well

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well knew that they retain'd the Principles and followed the Practices of the Famous Protestant Church in *France*. And in their Choice of a *Minister* who will not receive *Episcopal Ordination*, they have done nothing but what the Laws of the Kingdom allow 'em to do, they having the benefit of a Legal Toleration; which being an Act of Pity to the Persecuted, ought not to raise the envy of any good Protestant; And when that same Government that hath distinguished 'em with such Marks of Favor, hath Indulged 'em in a Liberty of Dissenting from the National Church, our Author's Imputation of their being *Ungrateful* for taking the benefit of it, is an *Unreasonable Accusation*; especially considering, that they behave 'emselfes with all the *Loyalty* and *Modesty* that becomes *Dutiful Subjects*, and in the Matter of Trade, promiscuously employ and deal with People of all Persuasions, without Distinction.

But he can't get off this *Imaginary Crime*, about the *Monopoly* of *Trade*, until he runs into one Mistake more in these Words (p. 25.) ' At the same time that the Dissenters made this *Monopoly* of the ' Trade, they laid a lasting Foundation to perpetuate the same in ' their own hands. They wou'd take no Apprentices without demanding solemn Assurances both from Parents and Children of ' Church-men, to quit the *Establish'd Church*, & go constantly to *Meeting*. Which Agreement they were sure to see punctually perform'd. ' I am credibly informed, that there are several Instances can be ' given, where they have had Clauses of this Nature inserted in the ' Indentures; by which Means many Church men both of Figure ' and Fortune in the *North of Ireland*, have been reduced to this ' fatal *Dilemma*, either of giving up their Children to Idleness and ' Poverty, or to *Presbytery*. But let us hear what the Presbyterians have offer'd in their own Defence against this Accusation, in their *first Apology to her Majesty*, vide *Present State of Religion in Ireland* (p. 23) ' Their Lordships proceed to charge our People, that in ' many Towns they refuse to take Apprentices that will not covenant ' to go to their Meetings. The true State of which Case is this: ' Some Merchants of our Persuasion having had their Goods imbez- ' zeled by their Apprentices on the Lord's Day, when they were ' at our Meetings, and their Apprentices, upon the pretence of ' being at Church were ill employed else-where (which they do not ' impute to their Persuasion, their being some such profligate Youths ' of all Persuasions) were obliged for their *own Safety* to take such ' as they could have under their Eye at the time of Public Worship. ' But wherever they can, meet with Apprentices of known *Probity* and

‘ and *Honesty*, they take them without any Distinction of Persuasions  
 ‘ in all the Trading Towns of this Kingdom; of which many Instances  
 ‘ may be given.

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I don't believe that there are such Instances as our Author is informed of, of inserting the Clauses he speaks of in the Indentures; nor do I believe there is any Church-man of *figure or fortune in the north of Ireland*, but who may have his son bound Apprentice to a Presbyterian, if he pleases, without being oblig'd to change his Principles: For the most Considerable Presbyterian Merchants both in *Derry and Belfast* have taken such to be Apprentices, without *any such* previous Articles or Conditions put upon 'em.

As a Conclusion to his rare Discoveries about Trade, he falls foul upon some Dissenting *Post-Masters* for acting as Deputies to those in that Office, tho' they have not occasionally Conform'd, which he calls a *scandalous eluding of the Act of Parliament for Excluding Dissenters from Places of Trust*, and he says, this seems to have its Effect in their General Scheme of this Monopoly of Trade, and then he descants upon it thus (p. 26.) ‘ I desire to know, whether any instance can be  
 ‘ given of this Nature in any Nation, that the whole Business,  
 ‘ Secrets and Correspondence of those, who are Conformable to the  
 ‘ Establishment, should be left in the Power of such who are Dissenters  
 ‘ from that Establishment.

‘ Is it reasonable, that at a Critical Juncture, when Faction and  
 ‘ Intreague are so far advanc'd, the Conformists shou'd be put under  
 ‘ such necessary Jealousies and Confinement in their Correspondence;  
 ‘ that the Secrets and Business of Persons, who by the Laws of our  
 ‘ Nation are only qualify'd for Public Trusts, shou'd be left in the  
 ‘ Power of those, who by the same Laws are excluded from any share  
 ‘ in that Trust'. I shou'd have been far from thinking it worth while,  
 to have taken the least Notice of this *Trifling Accusation*, were it not for the sake of one Observation, which can hardly escape any Man of Common Sense that reads it. It is this, that our Author and *those of his Temper* are dispos'd upon all Occasions to *Magnify and Aggravate* things beyond Measure, and to raise a *Hideous Outcry* for little or nothing. For here are but about four or five Men or at most *half a score*, acting but as *Servants* in some *Post-Offices* under *Qualify'd Conformists*; and yet this must be call'd a *Matter of the last Consequence*, as if it were ready to Sap the Foundations of Church and State; and these poor  
 men

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Men represented as ready to betray their Trust, as if they would Knawishly open or keep up the Letters of Conformists that come to their Hands: For he asserts the Conformists to be put under *necessary Jealousies, and Confinement in their Correspondence, by having their Business and Secrets left in the Power of those Dissenting Deputies*, which insinuates his believing them to be Knaves; this is a way to Dissolve all Confidence among Protestants: But I hope there are so many wise and good Men among 'em of all Persoasions, as to prevent the Success of this *Uncharitable Hint*.

The *Sixth* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* is, the *Confinement of their Charity and Alms-deeds to those of their own Persuasion*, which he represents in these Words, (p. 24, 25.) ' Nay, I am Credibly inform'd that the *Northern* Dissenters have Confin'd their very Charity to Circulate amongst themselves, whilst the *Conformists* deal it promiscuously. And an Instance can be given, that in the most Considerable Parish of the *North of Ireland*, whereby a List of the Poor in the Church-Books subsisted only by the Weekly Collection; *Eighteen* in *fifty five* are Dissenters. And by a List of the Dissenting Poor in the same Parish, Subscrib'd by eleven Ruling Elders, only *six* in *Ninety-seven* are Conformists: That Proposals have been made by the Establish'd Minister and Church-Wardens to the Dissenting Elders, to join the Charity-Money of *Church and Meeting-House*, and deal it out to the Poor of the Parish, and that they were utterly Rejected by the Dissenters of the Parish. Frequent Instances of this can be given in the Case of the Collections for *Lisburn*, both Notorious and Scandalous; and particularly Mr. *McCrackan* and Mr. *Maxwell* of *Drum* a Ruling Elder, have been publicly Tax'd, and Informations given upon Oath of Unfair Practising in the *Clandestine* Manner of Raising the Collections for the poor Inhabitants, who suffer'd by the Fire, and Applying it wholly to the use of the Presbyterians; whereas the Collection pursuant to the *Queen's* Letters Patents was to be *General*, and dispos'd of by the Commissioners (who were part *Church-men* and part *Dissenters*) to the Inhabitants, according to the Proportion of their Losses, without respect to Persons.

As to the General Charge against the *Northern* Dissenters, that they have Confin'd their very Charity to Circulate among themselves, 'tis utterly deny'd; and the few Instances our Author pretends to give of it in

two places only. were they true, as they are not, can never affect the Body of the *Northern* Presbyterians. And these pretended Instances show the Groundlessness of his General Charge. The two Places he refers to are *Belfast* and *Lisburn*. He does not Name the first, but by calling it the most Considerable Parish of the North of *Ireland*, he sufficiently declares 'twas *Belfast* he had in View. He tells a Story of it, that *Eighteen* in *fifty five* Subsisted by the Weekly Collection of the Church are Dissenters, and by a List of the Dissenting Poor in the same Parish, Subscrib'd by *Eleven* Ruling Elders, only *Six* in *Ninety-seven* are Conformists. The true State of which Case is this; the *Sovereign* of *Belfast* usually returns every Year a List of the Poor of the Parish who are exempted by Act of Parliament from paying *Hearth Money*, to the Quarter-Sessions: And for his better Information, the Establish'd *Minister*, *Curate* or *Church-Wardens* Acquaint him with those who are Subsisted by the *Alms* of the *Church*: And the Presbyterian *Minister*, or *Ministers*, or *Elders* give him the like Information with respect to their Poor; according to which Scheme, the above List of *Ninety-seven* was Subscrib'd by these Ruling Elders; And the Reason why there might be only *Six* *Churchmen* return'd in that List was, because no more of 'em Apply'd to the Elders, but went to their own *Minister*: But 'tis a very Unreasonable Inference from hence to conclude, That the Presbyterians Confine Charity among themselves, and 'twou'd equally conclude that the Conformist *Minister* and *Church-Wardens* are Partial in the Distribution of their Charity; for *Eighteen* in *Fifty-five*, which that Author says was the Proportion in the Church-Book, is not the just Proportion of the Poor of the Parish at large, there being at least *Two* Dissenters for *one* *Churchman* in the Parish, that are Subsisted by Public Alms.

As to the Proposal which he says was made by the Establish'd *Minister* and *Church-Wardens* to the Dissenting Elders, to join the *Charity Money* of *Church* and *Meeting-House*, and deal it out to the Poor of the *Parish*, the Elders might very well reject it, without incurring the Censure of Partiality in the Distribution of their Charity; for they believe that the Poor of the Parish, both *Churchmen* and *Dissenters*, are very well supply'd according to the Methods that have been still follow'd in the Respective Congregations to which they belong. And I suppose the *Minister* and his two *Church-Wardens* wou'd hardly submit the Distribution of such a *Common-Stock* to the Majority of

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Voices of the Presbyterian Ministers and Elders, acting in Conjunction with 'em. He has represented these Elders so odiously from p. 52, to p. 55. of his *second Letter*, and set off a supposed Conflict he has there insinuated between the *Establish'd Minister* and his *two Presb'd Men* on the one part, and the *Dissenting Minister* and his *Eighteen Volunteers* on the other part as so *very Unequal an Engagement*, that I believe he will scarce venture any Ecclesiastical business upon the Issue of their Common Suffrage: But shou'd he be so good-natur'd after all as to do it, when he produces some *Canon* or *Order* of the *Establish'd Church* whereof he is a Member to Warrant it, his Proposal shall be consider'd.

The true Regard which the Presbyterians in *Belfast* have been still dispos'd to show to such of the Episcopal Communion as are Real Objects of Charity, can be made appear by many Instances, were it needful; of which I shall only mention two, that were very Remarkable. About thirteen Years ago one Mr. *Fairfoul* who assisted the Reverend Mr. *James Ecclesin* as his Curate in *Belfast*, fell into a Languishing Disease, and during his Sickness was reduc'd to Poverty and Want, which mov'd the Charitable Compassion of the Presbyterian Minister and Elders of *Belfast* to that Degree, as they sent him at once the intire Sum of *five pounds sterl.* And such was the Respect paid to Mr. *Fairfoul's* Character in the manner of doing it, that the Minister went and deliver'd it to him out of his own Hand. the Reverend Person who gave it, Dr. *Ferguson* who attended Mr. *Fairfoul* as his Physician, beside others to whom Mr. *Fairfoul* gratefully own'd the favor, are living Evidences of this Fact. The second instance is express'd and attested in the following Certificate.

WE do Certify that having on *Monday April 21. 1707.* seen the Ruinous Condition of *Lisburn* by a Dreadful Fire which happen'd on the Day before, and Commiserating the Case of many of it's Inhabitants, thereby reduc'd to the last Extremity for want of *Bread* and *Houses*: We the Subscribers, with Mr. *Henry Chads* Deceas'd, did on *Tuesday* the *22d* of said Month go thro' the Town of *Belfast*, and represented the same to all our Neighbours we cou'd meet with, and in less than *12* hours Collected about *54 lb.* for supplying the present Straits of said Distress'd Inhabitants of all Persuasions without any Distinction, tho' of the said Sum there was *51 lb. 15 shil.* given by those of the Presbyterian Persuasion.

That the said Sum was immediately carry'd to *Lisburn*, and by



‘ Order of the Bishop of *Down* and *Connor* and Dean *Wilkins*, paid to the two Church-Wardens and two of the Elders of the Presbyterian Congregation, to be distributed as aforesaid.

‘ That some time after, in Pursuance of her Majesty’s Letters Patents for a Collection to *Lisburn*, the Presbyterians of *Belfast* gave near 47 lb. to the Minister and Church-Wardens, as by the List may appear, tho’ their Proportion was never intended to be Computed, nor their Charity to be Publish’d till now, That their Candor and Impartiality, as well as Loyalty are Arraign’d by a late Pamphlet, Entitul’d, *The Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland &c.* Given under our Hands at *Belfast*, September the 10th 1703.

*Isaac Mc. Cartney.*  
*Alexander Adair.*

Having disproved our Author’s Allegations of the Dissenters Confining their Charity amongst themselves in *Belfast*, I come next to show, that the Instances he pretends to give of that kind in the Case of the Collections for *Lisburn* are very *Unlucky* Mistakes, tho he is pleas’d to call them *both Notorious and Scandalous*; he calls them *frequent Instances*, but mentions only two, relating to and fixing this supposed Guilt upon *Arthur Maxwell* of *Drumbeg* Esq; and *Mr Alexander McCrackan* Presbyterian Minister in *Lisburn*. *Mr Maxwell* is known to be a Gentleman of that Probity and worth as sets him above such Calumnies, which are so much the more Inexcusable, because *Mr Maxwell* had the honor to be one of her Majesty’s *Trustees* (in Conjunction with several other Gentlemen both Episcopal and Presbyterian) Nominated in her *Letters Patents*, for the Distribution of that Public Charity. I have seen a Letter from him to his Friend, fully vindicating himself from this Aspersion, the true Copy whereof is as follows.

*Sir.*

‘ The Author of the *Conduct of Dissenters in Ireland &c.* page 25th suggests against me, That I Apply’d the Collections raised for the Poor Inhabitants of *Lisburn* who suffered by the Fire, wholly to the Use of the Presbyterians, Whereas the Collection pursuant to the Queen’s Letters Patents was to be general, and disposed of by the Commissioners to the Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their Lessees without Respect to Persons.’ To which I answer, that the very reading of the

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Letters Patents will Discover this to be an imposing upon his Reader, for the Queen's Letters Patents require the Minister and Church-Wardens to raise the Collections within their several and Respective Parishes: How then could Mr *Maxwell* Apply the Money raised by them to the Use of the Presbyterians or of any Else, unless the said Minister and Church-Wardens had given the same to him, contrary to their Duty and the Direction and Appointment of the said Letters Patents; which I believe, for their sakes, he will not affirm.

All the Colour the Author can have for this Calumny, is that there were some Private Charitable Collections raised from the Dissenters only, for Rebuilding the Meeting-House of *Lisburn* that had been burnt, and accordingly Apply'd to the said Use, as other *Voluntary* Subscriptions at the same time from the Churchmen were to the Rebuilding of the Church, without any Relation to the Letters Patents and before they had any Existence; his Censure (like what he says of his Charity) shou'd have been bestowed on both promiscuously, to avoid keeping of *divers Weights and Measures*, and calling that Unfair on the one Side of the *Lagan-Water* which was very fair on the other side of it; but after all, tho' I contributed, yet I never Collected one farthing for any of the said Uses.

Sir, I never heard and I cannot believe that ever any such Information upon Oath was given as he affirms, because 'twould have been plain Perjury, and I cannot avoid either the suspecting his Veracity or admiring his Credulity, rather than believe any Man guilty of so great a Sin. When he says that Mr *Maxwell* was publicly taxed, he should have told *when, where, and by whom, what* he answered; he should have set down the Copy of the Information upon Oath, and have told what Event it had, and why he was not obliged to Refound the Money so Misapplied by him, but general Terms were the fittest for his Purpose for *Dolus Latet in generalibus*; he is a true Disciple of him who taught, *Calumniare Audaacter aliquid adhaerebit*; can I expect better Measure from him than he affords to her Majesty's Letters Patents, which he either Disingenuously or Ignorantly Misrepresents, while he says, that by the same the Collection was to be dispos'd of by the Commissioners to the Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their Losses; as if there were no Charitable Design in the Letters Patents, which order the Money to be dispos'd of to the Inhabitants according to the Proportion of their

' *Losses* and *Circumstances*, so he leaves out the most Material Word  
 ' of the two viz. CIRCUMSTANCES; I call it the most Material, be-  
 ' cause no Man's *Losses* either do or can make him an Object of Charity,  
 ' but the *Circumstances* that by his *Losses* or otherways, he is  
 ' brought unto. What if a Man had lost 20000 *lib*, can that make  
 ' him an Object of Charity, if he have 60000 *lib*, left behind? If it  
 ' be said, a man has lost all he had, *Ergo* his *Losses* makes him an Ob-  
 ' ject of Charity; the answer is obvious, viz. that Proposition in-  
 ' cludes his *Circumstances*, as well as his *Losses*, whilst it implies that  
 ' he has *nothing left him*.

' Sir, I can't but observe a strange Spirit of *Animosity* and *Bigotry*  
 ' running thro' the Writings of this Author, and he seems to me to  
 ' have been Industriouslly watching for *Men's halting*. He falsely repre-  
 ' sents the Presbyterians as a people who Assume the Power of *An-*  
 ' *nulling the Laws of the State*; whereas, had I a mind to Recriminate,  
 ' I wou'd tell him that there has been a late Instance of some  
 ' Person or Persons in *Bilfast* who have indeed exercis'd such a Pow-  
 ' er, upon pretence of Zeal for the Church; and seeing this Author  
 ' has Describ'd the Place of his Residence to be the most *Populous and*  
 ' *Trading Part of the North*, I must conclude him to be an Inhabitant  
 ' there, and if he be neither the Author nor Abettor of the Printed  
 ' Paper, I am going to mention, I hope he will fairly and honestly Dis-  
 ' countenance those who are. There was a Paper Printed (which  
 ' I now have before me) and publicly Posted in *Bilfast* bearing date  
 ' the 27<sup>th</sup> of *March*, 1713. *Advertising the 3d of April then next en-*  
 ' *suing, viz. Good Friday to be observ'd with all due Solemnity by Shops*  
 ' *being Shut &c.* and affirming that the same is appointed by the *Laws*  
 ' *both of the Church and State*; and yet notwithstanding this Confi-  
 ' dent Affirmation, if you'll please to peruse and consider the Sta-  
 ' tute *Anno Regni Septimo Gulielmi Tertij*, Enticul'd, *An Act declaring*  
 ' *which Days in the Year shall be observ'd as Holy-Days*, you'll find that  
 ' the said Day is not only not appointed, but forbidden to be ob-  
 ' serv'd, whilst all the Holy Days to be kept are there Enumerated  
 ' and mention'd (*of which Good Friday is none*) and all other Days not  
 ' there mention'd *forbidden to be kept*.

' Sir, I have purposely avoided Recrimination against any Party  
 ' and have medled with none but the Author, lest I might offend  
 ' Persons *E Meliore Luto* than his own self, and yet if I had been  
 ' dis-

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dispos'd to imitate him, I cou'd have produc'd my *Quibusam positis* and have strain'd an Universal Conclusion from particular Premises, as my *Conductor* does, contrary to the Old maxim *Conclusio sequitur Partem Debiliorem*: His Insinuations against the late Lord Chief Justice *Broderick*, a Gentleman Honor'd by her Majesty, amidst the Glories of her Reign, and by his Country who know him best, from whom he Adventures to Detract, and whose Character is beyond the Malice of his worst Enemies and the Praise of his best Friends, puts me in mind of Sir *Teague O Regan's* Bell, that had an empty Pate and a loud Tongue, I am,

Drumbeg, 11th of  
August 1713.

Your very Humble Servant.

ARTH: MAXWELL.

As to Mr *McCraekan*, and what the Author says against him as if he had been guilty of Unfair Practises about the Public Collections for *Lisburn*; I have seen a full Narrative not only of that Matter, but of the other Facts laid to his Charge by this Author, under his own hand; of which I shall give a short Abstract as they come to be consider'd in their proper Places. The Presbyterians in *Ulster* were so far from being Partial in their Collections for *Lisburn*, that the Author cou'd hardly have fix'd upon an Instance that cou'd have done 'em *more Service*, for demonstrating that they did not *Confine* their Charity to those of their own *Persuasion*. For immediately after the burning of *Lisburn* the Church-People and Presbyterians there entred into A Concert, that both Church and *Meeting-house* shou'd be Rebuilt out of the Public Collections, and the Remaining Part of the said Collections shou'd be distributed amongst the Distress'd Inhabitants, without *any Distinction of Persuasions*; And in Consideration hereof, that each Party shou'd use their best Interest with those of their own Persuasion both in *England* and *Ireland* for exciting 'em to make liberal and *Generous* Contributions for these Ends; which Agreement was entred in their Books. And in Pursuance of it, The Dissenters of *Lisburn* Applied in *June* following to the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* then met in their *General Annual Meeting*, who Approved of the Christian and Amicable Agreement between the Protestant Inhabitants of *Lisburn* of all Persuasions, and accordingly us'd their best Interest with their own People at home and with their Friends in *England*, for encouraging the Collections; which is a Demonstrative proof that they *Did not Confine their Charity to those of their own Persuasion*.

Upon this Encouragement, the Dissenters of *Lisburn* fell presently to work, Rebuilt their Meeting House, and borrowed money for defraying the Expence, hoping to be enabled by the Public Collections to repay it, but they soon found themselves Miserably disappointed: for when the Collections came in, the *Trustees* finding that they were far short of what was expected, did not think it Expedient that either *Church* or *Meeting-House* shou'd be Rebuilt out of that Fund, & allow'd 'em only the Proportion that wou'd have fallen to them as *Private Houses in Connulo* with the rest. In this Case the Dissenters of *Lisburn*, being disabled by the Fire to Defray the Expences of their Meeting House, were obliged to *Apply again* to their Friends for Assistance; but most of 'em having given so liberally before to the Protestants of *Lisburn* at large, were Uncapable of giving more for that End; tho' some People of better Circumstances Contributed Towards it.

In the mean time, while the Dissenters in *Lisburn* were Receiving & Procuring from their Friends what Assistance they cou'd, some were pleas'd to take *Umbrage* from this Practice, as if they had in a *Clandestine* Manner got into their Hands some of the Money that was Collected upon the foot of the *Public Brief*, and Appropriated it to the Rebuilding of their Meeting-House. But after several Conferences between 'em and their Neighbours, for removing all ground of Suspicion, the *Principal Managers* and *Overseers* about the *Meeting-House* gave their Voluntary Oath, the true Copy whereof I shall here insert, taken from the Original *all written with the Bishop's own hand*, and subscribed by those who took it; which is likewise subscribed by *four Gentlemen* of the Church, to show that they were not guilty of any Unfair Practises in that Matter, at the End of each of *their four Names* I have added the Letter (C.). And the Order of the Trustees upon the said voluntary Oath is likewise Copy'd from the Original, subscribed by seven of 'em, whereof the first four are of the Establish'd Church *viz.* the Bishop of *Down and Connor*, Dean *Wilkins*, Dr. *Lefly*, and Mr *Haltridge*.

*Lisburn* 26th September 1710.

‘ I do swear, that I will pay to the Treasurer for the time being  
 ‘ any sum or sums of Money whatsoever, that came to my Hands for  
 ‘ the Use of Sufferers in General by the late Dreadful Fire at *Lis-*  
 ‘ *burn*. That I will discover to the Commissioners for the benefit  
 ‘ of *Lisburn* or any Person Authoriz'd by them any Money that I *know*  
 ‘ or shall hereafter know to be Collected for the said Sufferers, in whose  
 hand

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‘ *hands it is, how much there is, or was of it, and to what use it was*  
 ‘ *or is to be Apply'd, if it has not been already paid, or shall not*  
 ‘ *be hereafter paid to the said Treasurer. That whatever Money has*  
 ‘ *been Collected, or shall be hereafter Collected for the said Sufferers,*  
 ‘ *and has been or shall be Apply'd to any other use whatsoever,*  
 ‘ *I will faithfully and honestly make a Discovery thereof immediately.*  
 ‘ *That no Money rais'd for the said Sufferers, has to my Knowledge been*  
 ‘ *Apply'd to the Meeting-House, or any Buildings about it, or any use*  
 ‘ *relating to it ; And if it shall be hereafter so Apply'd, to my*  
 ‘ *Knowledge, I will make an Immediate Discovery of it to the said*  
 ‘ *Treasurer. That if any Money has come to those of my Persua-*  
 ‘ *sion in General, or to me in particular, I will declare it to the*  
 ‘ *Treasurer. That in Order to have the Money given to the said*  
 ‘ *Sufferers fairly Apply'd according to the Intention of the Donors,*  
 ‘ *I will use my best endeavors to know the design of such Donors,*  
 ‘ *and to see the Money given by them Apply'd accordingly. And all*  
 ‘ *this I Swear Voluntarily and freely upon the Faith of a Christian,*  
 ‘ *without any Evasion, Equivocation or Mental Reservation, So*  
 ‘ *help me God.*

|                       |                          |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Ralph Smyth C.</i> | <i>Edward Mc. Comfey</i> | <i>Daniel Kenley.</i>    |
| <i>Val. Jones C.</i>  | <i>William Rothell</i>   | <i>John Charters</i>     |
| <i>E. Wogan C.</i>    | <i>Alex. Taylor</i>      | <i>Richard Grainger.</i> |
| <i>Ed. Obrey C.</i>   | <i>Will. Livingston</i>  | <i>Jo. Martin.</i>       |

‘ *At a Meeting of the Trustees for Lisburn Brief this 26th day*  
 ‘ *of September 1710: Concluded for the ending of some Susptions and*  
 ‘ *Disputes about Private Collections, That the Oath in the annexed*  
 ‘ *Leaf taken voluntarily by every Person concerned shall intitle him*  
 ‘ *so taking it to his Proportionable Share and Part of all such Money*  
 ‘ *that is already come in, and shall hereafter come in for the Use of*  
 ‘ *the Sufferers in General, and that such as refuse to take the said*  
 ‘ *Oath shall be excluded from such Share and Part till further Or-*  
 ‘ *der.*

|                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Arth. Maxwell</i> | <i>Edw. Doun and Connor</i> |
| <i>Edwa. Brice.</i>  | <i>Jos. Wilkins</i>         |
| <i>John Chalmers</i> | <i>Hen. Lesly.</i>          |
|                      | <i>John Haltridge</i>       |

It must be own'd, that there can not be a more Solemn vindication of the Innocence of the Dissenters in *Lisburn*, with respect to this Matter, than what is contain'd in this Oath, which gave full Satisfaction to the Bishop and the rest of the Trustees; and no Man ought to tax 'em with any Unfair Practices about the Public Collections, unless he allow himself the Uncharitable Liberty of calling 'em Perjur'd. And seeing no Money cou'd be hid out for the Meeting House, but what must come thro' the Hands of these Men, and be narrowly enquir'd into by 'em, their Oath amounts not only to a Personal Vindication of themselves, but also of Mr *McCracken* and of all the Dissenters in *Lisburn*. I would fain believe, for our Author's Credit, that when he wrote his Book he was Ignorant of the History I have given of this Oath and the Order of the Trustees upon it; otherwise he cou'd not have been so hardy, as to have published a Mistake in a point wherein a public Record doth so plainly refute him.

A seventh fault our Author finds with Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Reign is, in the Matter of their Farming; and here he *RALLIES A CRT* against the Numbers of Presbyterians who swarm'd from *Scotland* after the late Revolution, by whom he represents the Conformists to be sunk in their Farming (p. 26.) and he endeavors to unfold this Mystery in these Words, (*Ibid*) 'These new Adventurers were in many Respects able to out-bid the Old Tenants, who had been in a great Measure ruin'd in the late Troubles.

First, Because they were upon many Accounts able to under-live 'em, Secondly, Many of them came over born in the Habit and Quality of Beggars, who with their whole Families were subsisted by the Charity of the People; stroling through the Country, till they had fix'd themselves, where either they were directed, or where they liked, and then open'd their Rags, in which they had quilted considerable Sums of Money, and were qualify'd to stock their Lands, and grew able Tenants, before the Old Tenants cou'd Recruit, after the Desolation of the War'. I believe our Author wou'd be hard put to it to prove that there were one hundred Families that brought considerable Sums of Money out of *Scotland*, and came over in the Habit and Quality of Beggars; and shou'd he be able to make it out (which I despair of) that wou'd have but a small Influence upon the whole Conformists in the North of *Ireland*, nor cou'd it ever sink 'em or their Interest in Farming: And seeing of the Old Inhabitants that were in the North of *Ireland* during the late Trouble, many more

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~~Conformists~~ were Presbyterian than Episcopal, the *Old Presbyterian* Inhabitants must suffer more, according to our *Author's* Argument, than the *Conformists*, by this New Accession from *Scotland*; for our *Author* Acknowledges (p. 27.) that *many of the Old Presbyterian Tenants were and still are Industrious and Substantial Tenants, and had follow'd the Example of the English Colonies in their Improvements and Plantations*: And consequently, the *New Scotch* Incomers had all the Advantages and Opportunities of *sinking 'em* in their Farming which they had in *Sinking Episcopal Tenants*. And if so, this cou'd never have been done with a design to sink the Church-Farmers more than Presbyterians, which *intirely destroys* the Foundation of all his Reasoning on this Head.

And let the *Gentlemen*, whose Desolated Estates were seasonably Replanted by many of these new *Scotch* Tenants, declare, whether their coming into a Ruinous Country was not an Accession of Strength to the Protestant Interest, and Beneficial for Improvement of the Landlords Rent. 'Tis true, our *Author* calls it *Imprudence and Avarice in the Church-Proprietors to prefer these New Scotch Presbyterian Tenants for some small Advance in the Rent of their Lands*; but 'tis certain, that in many Places 'twas the Landlord's Real Interest to receive 'em as Tenants, and had they not found it so they wou'd not have done  
 .ii

Our *Author* is aware that the Objections he has been making against the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland*, and the Representation he has given of the low Condition into which the *Church-Interest is sunk by their means*, can't but make people believe that the *Conformists in the North* are a very Inconsiderable Part of the Protestants; and therefore he seems to be under some Difficulty, how to preserve the Reputation of his own Party as *Considerable and Numerous*, without Contradicting his own *History* of the Presbyterians. He says the *Conformists in the North* are *much more Considerable in their Numbers than they are represented by the Dissenters and their Abettors*, that they have *Considerable Congregations in most Towns & in great Numbers of Country Parishes throughout the whole Province*. But seeing our *Author* does not inform us what Representations or Computations the Dissenters have made of their Numbers in Proportion to Church-men, his Reader can make no Judgment of the Truth of what he says; and yet, after all, I think 'tis not quite so easy to *Reconcile this Account* with what he had said before; for he Assures us that the Church-men perceiv-



ed themselves at once undone, their Farmers sunk, their Freemen less'n'd, their Merchants Bankrupt, and their Tradesmen out of Business and Employment, scarce a Thriving Dealer among them in the North: And if all this be true, I wou'd fain know what sort of members those considerable Congregations are made up of, which he says they have in most Towns and in many Country Parishes thro' the whole Province? For surely Bankrupt Merchants, decay'd Traders, Ill employ'd Tradesmen, and sunk Farmers will hardly ever make considerable Members of any Congregation.

But our Author has found out another Reason for sinking the Church-Interest in the North, in these Words, (p. 28.) 'The Conformists, how-  
'ever united in Principles of Religion, are most Miserably divided in  
'Principles of Policy, in which one part joins intirely with the Presbyte-  
'rians: So that really the Church-Interest in the North is sinking not so  
'much from the Dead Weight of Presbytery, as from that false Bil-  
'lance of Occasional Conformists, and of those Constant Conformists who  
'are Political Dissenters.

I am heartily sorry that the Conformists are so Miserably divided in Principles of Policy (as our Author represents 'em,) and I'm con-  
fident that such of the Conformists, as join intirely with the Presbyte-  
rians in Political Principles, are in the Right: And had they not join'd  
for promoting the Late Happy Revolution, the Protestant-Interest had  
been ruin'd. The Dissenters have no Political Principles but what are  
founded upon and Agreeable to the Happy Civil Constitution and Li-  
mited Monarchy of Great-Britain and Ireland; which they look upon  
to be one of the best in the World; and therefore 'tis an Abuse put upon  
'em, to call them Political Dissenters: For tho' they are Religious Dis-  
senter, they are Political Conformists; And all such Conformists as a-  
gree not with them in Principles of Civil Policy, are Political Non-Con-  
formists.

Our Author concludes his Account of this Period with a Represen-  
tation he gives of an Attempt made by the Presbyterians for procu-  
ring a Repeal of the Penal Laws, which he Describes in these Words  
(p. 28.) 'It is evident, that the Dissenters of Ireland, conscious of  
'their growing Power and Trade, and having Cultivated a strong  
'Interest with some Leading Members of the House of Commons, be-  
'gan to think themselves so Formidable, not to be disoblig'd in the  
'Refusal of any Demand they should make. And a Tryal was made in an

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‘ Affair of no less Consequence, than that of a Motion in the *House of Commons*, for a *Repeal of all the Penal Laws against Dissenters for a time*.

‘ This Dispensing Motion was made by Coll. *Cunningham* in an Evening after a tedious Sitting, when the *House* was thin, and was warmly and strenuously oppos’d, particularly (as I am inform’d) by Mr. *Dopping*, and thrown out with Indignation by a great Majority.

The Dissenters were resolv’d (and are still) to make no Unreasonable Demands, and never demanded any thing of the Government but by way of Humble Petition, and with all suitable Modesty and Decency. He gives a Wrong State of the Case; for he distinguishes between the *Repeal of the Penal Laws against Dissenters*, and the *Toleration which they were desiring*: For he brings in (p. 29.) a Dissenting Burgeſs discourſing a Parliament-Man thus, *We scorn their Toleration and will accept of nothing less than a Repeal of the Penal Laws*.

Our Author loves dearly to pick up a little private Chat and to represent it as the sense of a Party. But I confess he must have a very Metaphysical Head, who can have an Idea of a *Legal Toleration*, without a *Repeal of the Penal-Laws* that have been Enacted against the Party *Tolerated*: For without such a Repeal there can be no Toleration; & therefore the *English Toleration* repeals *all the Penal Laws* against the Separate Congregations of Dissenters there. And at the time-mentioned by our Author, there was no Motion made either by Coll. *Cunningham* or any other Gentleman, for any other Repeal of the Penal-Laws than what is *Essential* to every Legal Toleration as such; all that was debated at that time was, not whether they shou’d have a Toleration and a Repeal of the Penal Laws necessarily included in it (for that was not oppos’d) but whether a *Toleration-Act* shou’d be Clog’d with the *Sacramental Test*: Upon which Occasion, the *Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence* was publish’d, shewing the Reasonableness of such a Toleration as should not Disable the Dissenters from serving their King and Country. The Point came to be Debated in the House of Commons: But the Debate was Adjourn’d from time to time, the Sessions concluded, and the Business dropt, without any Resolution of the House upon it. What our Author offers concerning the Pamphlets published on that Occasion, shall be considered afterwards; and what he advances in general Terms concerning the frequency

of *Presbyteries* and *Synods* and their raising *Public Funds* during this Period, shall be fully answer'd when I come to consider in the *third Part* of this Book the more particular Account he gives of *these Facts*.

Part 2.



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## CHAP. IV.

*The Loyalty of Presbyterians, from Her Present Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne, to this present Year 1713.*

WHEN Almighty God afflicted these Nations with the Death of that *Illustrious Hero* and *Incomparable Prince*, King WILLIAM the GREAT, of *Immortal Memory*; He supported at the same time the Sinking Spirits of a Sorrowful People with New Joys, upon the Accession of her Present Majesty to the Throne of her *Royal Ancestors*. The Presbyterians in the three Kingdoms paid her all the *Dutiful Homage* of *Loyal Subjects*, and approached the Throne with their *Humble Addresses* of *Congratulation* and *Condolance*. They considered her Majesty's Government as one of the *great Blessings*.

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*ings* secured to these Nations by the *late Happy Revolution*; and 'twas not possible that they who had been so Active in promoting it, should be D'soyal to a Queen that had Acted so great a Part in it her self, and who was now come to be possess'd of that Royal Dignity which was *owing* to it, and to defend our Holy Religion & Liberties, which that Glorious Enterprize had Reset'd from *Popeery* and *Slavery*.

The Happy Union of Hearts and Interests, which the Protestant Dissenters in *England* cultivated and chearfully Improv'd with their Conformist Brethren for advancing the Glories of her Majesty's Reign, to the *Terror* of her Enemies, *Comfort* of her Allies, the *Joy* of her good Subjects, and the *just Amazement* of all *Europe*, is a Demonstration of their Loyal Affection to her Majesty. And they defy their Worst Enemies, to show wherein they have done any thing *Unbecoming* their Duty to her Sacred Person & Government, or to forfeit her Royal Protection & Favor. And not only her repeated *Gracious Answers* to their Humble *Addresses* fill'd with her Royal Promises to Protect 'em, but her public Speeches from the Throne are as *Ample* and *Honorable Testimonies* of their Loyalty, as they themselves cou'd desire.

The General Assemblies of the Church of *Scotland* have been, from time to time, honored with her Royal Letters expressing her Satisfaction in their *Conduct* & *Loyalty*. And Her Majesty's Letter to the very last Assembly (to mention no more) is a convincing proof of this, it runs thus,

*Her Majesty's Most Gracious Letter to the General Assembly held at Edinburgh the 30th day of April 1713.*

ANNE R.

*Right Reverend and Well-beloved;*

WE Greet you Well. We have had so many Proofs of Your Good and Prudent Managements in former Assemblies, and particularly in the Last, that we have Chearfully by our Authority appointed this your Meeting, and we doubt not but you will take it as a particular Mark of our *Regard to you*, that we have appointed our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Councillor *John Duke of Athol* to be Our Commissioner, who We persuade

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our selves will be Acceptable to you. Our concern for promoting true Piety and Godliness, the great End of the Gospel, is such that you may be fully Satisfied it shall be Our Care to Employ such, as shall be faithful in Executing the Laws, in punishing all such Practices as are a *Scandal* to the *Christian Profession*, and against which We have signify'd our Displeasure in our Proclamations. We are sensible that a *Pious* and *Learn'd Ministry* is under God, the Great Support and Ornament of Christianity; and therefore We are Resolv'd to *Countenance* you in your Endeavors to Promote it, and to employ Our Power and Authority for Advancing of it to *your just Satisfaction*. We take this solemn occasion to Renew the Assurances We have formerly given you of Our *firm purpose* to *Maintain* the *Church of Scotland* as *Establish'd by Law*. The Address of the late General Assembly did so much MANIFEST THEIR LOYALTY and AFFECTION to Our Royal Person and Government, and their *true Concern* for the Succession in the Protestant Line of the House of *HANOVER* as *Establish'd by Law*, that it cou'd not but be very Acceptable to Us, and your *Moderation* and *Unanimity* amongst your selves is not more for your own Good, than it will be for Our Satisfaction. And We *assure our selves* that there will be nothing in your Procedure, but what shall be *Dutiful to us*, and shall Manifest the Wisdom of your Conduct, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at St. James's the 15<sup>th</sup> day of April 1713. in the 12<sup>th</sup> Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,  
DARTMOUTH.

There can't be a greater Demonstration of Loyalty to Her Majesty, than to Oppose a *Popish Pretender* to her Crown, and to use all possible endeavors for supporting and Maintaining the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*; wherein the Assembly have shown themselves so Zealous as to recommend it to all Ministers of that National Church with all possible *Earrestness*, to *pray heartily* for the *said Succession of the HANOVER-FAMILY*. And in Regard there are no *Jacobites* within her Majesty's Dominions that are so Open and Barefac'd in venting their *Pernicious Principles* as some of the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, that Church have taken all possible Precaution and Care for preventing the spreading of that Contagion, and for

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for Preserving their own Members from being infected with *Jacobitism*; as will appear by two excellent Papers Published by the Commission of the General Assembly, both which I shall here insert, the first runs thus,

At Edinburgh, December 5. 1712.

‘ The Commission of the General Assembly considering how much  
 ‘ it is the Interest of all Protestant Churches, and of the Church of  
 ‘ Scotland, in particular, that Her Majesty’s Title to the Crown  
 ‘ of these Realms, and the succession to the Crown in the Illus-  
 ‘ trious Family of HANOVER, upon which under God, the Pre-  
 ‘ servation of our Religion and Civil Liberties do’s depend, be IN-  
 ‘ VIOLABLY MAINTAIN’D; and that there is ground to think  
 ‘ that not a few are industrious in spreading and propagating  
 ‘ Prejudices against the same, and to dispose People to have  
 ‘ favourable thoughts of the Pretender; Therefore, the Comis-  
 ‘ sion of the General Assembly being HEARTILY CONCERNED  
 ‘ for the Maintenance and support of Her Majesty’s Title and  
 ‘ Government, and for the Preservation of the Protestant succes-  
 ‘ sion in the *foresaid Family*; and entertaining An *utter Aversion*  
 ‘ to the said Pretender, do UNANIMOUSLY & seriously recommend  
 ‘ to all the Presbyteries, Ministers and Members of this Church  
 ‘ in their Respective Stations, to the UTMOST OF THEIR  
 ‘ POWER to use all prudent and proper Methods, for discouraging  
 ‘ and disappointing all Designs and Attempts of that kind, by  
 ‘ Popish and other *Jacobite* Emisseries, and to confirm and establish  
 ‘ the people in their Loyalty and Duty to the Queen, their aversion to  
 ‘ the Pretender, and Zeal for, and affection to the said Protestant  
 ‘ succession; and for that end, The Commission recommends to all  
 ‘ Ministers and Members of this Church, that they continue in fre-  
 ‘ quent Prayers for the Queen, and for the Protestant Succession in  
 ‘ the Illustrious House of *Hanover*. And appoints Copies hereof  
 ‘ to be sent to the several Presbyteries.

Extracted by

JOHN DUNDASS *Cler. Eccl. Scot*

The second Paper of the Commission is much larger, and contains a most solid and judicious Contutation of the Arguments made use of by the *Scots Jacobites* for poisoning the Minds of the People, the

the People, the whole Paper runs thus,

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*A Seasonable Warning by the Commission of the General-Assembly,  
Concerning the Danger of Popery.*

At Edinburgh 19th August, 1713.

WE the Ministers and Elders met in the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, taking to our serious Consideration, the inveterate Malice of Papiſts againſt the true Reformed Religion, and their Reſtleſs Endeavours, particularly at this Time, to Ruin the Proteſtant Intereſt in Britain and Ireland, the great Multitudes of their Prieſts, and other Emiſſaries now Trafficking, for carrying on this Pernicious Deſign in ſeveral Parts of this Country, whereby many are already Perverted; their ſetting up openly in divers Places their Idolatrous Worſhip, notwithstanding of the Penal Laws which ſtand in Force againſt them, and of Her Majesties Royal Proclamations, and what the Judges have done in their Circuits. And their behaving themſelves with as great Inſolence as they have ever ſhewed ſince our Reformation from Popery. And likewiſe conſidering the bold Attempts of other Adverſaries to our preſent Conſtitution both in Church and State, who do openly in our chief Cities, and through the whole Country promote the Intereſts of a Pretender to the Crown, who has been educated in all the Maxims of Popiſh Bigotry, and French Tyranny. And we being touched with a juſt and deep Senſe of theſe dangerous Evils, do judge it our Duty, from the Zeal we owe to the Glory of GOD, the Preſervation of our Holy Religion, the Safety of Her Majesty's Government, and the Welfare of our Country, and in Purſuance of the Truſt committed to us by the laſt General-Assembly, to give this Publick, Solemn and Serious Warning to all Ranks of Perſons, of the imminent Danger which doth ariſe from ſuch Pernicious Practices, not only to Our Pure and Holy Religion, but to Our Civil Rights and Liberties: And therefore we do *EARNESTLY OBTEST* all good Proteſtants and Lovers of their Country, That they look diligently to themſelves, that they be not deluded by the ſubtile Devices of a Popiſh and Jacobite Party, who ſo manifeſtly deſign to bring us under the Yoke of the ſaid Pretender, and thereby to deprive us of

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these most valuable Blessings, which the Great and Gracious GOD did so remarkably restore unto us by the Late Glorious Revolution. To preserve the Members of this National Church *from being Imposed upon* by the cunning Artifices of such Enemies, We beseech them to Advert how deceitfully many of these, who are Notoriously disaffected to Her Majesty's Government; do with great Appearance of Zeal, Esponse and Promote the Ceremonies and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, a Yoke which neither We, nor our Fathers were able to bear, and which this Nation would never submit to, even in the Times of Prelacy; but altho' the *Jacobite* Party do now so earnestly contend for that Form of Worship, to impose upon, and Ingratiate themselves with the Church of *England*, and to strengthen themselves under her Protection, their Zeal for the Pretender is such, that they generally omit the Prayers in that Liturgy for our Sovereign Queen *Anne*, and the Illustrious Princess *Sophia*, upon whom the Succession to the Crown is settled, which Succession we cannot but esteem to be, under God, the *GREATEST SECURITY*, not only to the Protestant Interest in these Lands; but also to the *Reformed Churches abroad*, in whose Safety we are confident, That *all good Protestants* will find themselves deeply concerned, both in Point of Duty and Interest.

It's also very common with that Party, to make a great Out-cry, especially at distant Places; where the Matter is not so well known, of their having suffered grievous Persecution, meerly because of their being of the Episcopal Persuasion. This is *another of their Artifices*, to procure unto themselves the more Favour and Countenance from others, whose Protection they abuse, to Prosecute their Malicious *Designs against the Revolution-Settlement*: But this their Clamour and Noise is altogether groundless; and blessed be GOD, we can Appeal to the Consciences of all who know our Conduct, That we have never since the late Happy Revolution, in the least returned the Severities, and unparalleled Cruelties which we met with, when they had the Ascendant; and which we from their present Temper, as well as their Behaviour, may reasonably conclude, they want nothing but Power to Renew against the Ministers and Members of this Church. Moreover, That they may diminish the *just Aversion of the People of this Land to the Pretender*, and engage them to his Interest, they do Artfully suggest, and with the utmost Confidence assure them, That

were



were he once advanced to the Throne, he would procure the Dissolution of the Union. But we intreat all Persons to consider, That whatever be the Inconveniencies, and dangerous Consequences of the Union to our Civil Interests, or the Grievances of this Church under it, against which last, both the Commission and General Assembly gave solemn and seasonable Testimony, particularly, in the Tenth Act of the General Assembly held *Anno 1712*, Entitl'd, *Act approving the Representations and Addresses by the Commission, concerning the Toleration and Patronages*; yet to expect a Remedy to these Grievances from the Pretender, is a MOST GROSS DELUSION, and a Bait which we cannot think will catch any, but such as are very simple and credulous; yea, supposing there were Ground, as there is none, to expect that the Pretender would dissolve the Union, if he should come to the Throne; yet that could not be at all a sufficient Compensation for the Dreadful Train of the far greater Evils of Tyrannical Government, and the Abominations of Popery, which we could not but meet with, if a Person of his Principles and Education should be advanced to the supreme Authority; any Remedy that can be looked for from him would prove so much worse than our present Disease, that we cannot but be confident, there is none who have any just Concern for our Religion and Civil Liberties, which ought to be dearest to us, as Protestants and free-born Scots Men, will suffer themselves to be deluded with such an absurd and ensnaring Insinuation.

We find it necessary also, to Guard People against another Artful Contivance of the *Jacobite Party*: These of them that profess to be Protestants, that they may the more easily engage People into their Measures, do frequently declare, That they are for a Protestant Succession, and with great Assurance advance as a thing to be relied upon, That the Pretender hath declared, or will declare himself to be a Protestant, But this is an Artifice so gross that it can take with none who do consider, That the Pope doth dispense with the fairest Profession of the Protestant Religion, and the most solemn Oaths to maintain it, for advancing that hellish Design of extirpating the Protestant Religion, under the opprobrious Name of the *Northern Heresie*; and which all Papists by their cruel and bloody Principles, are obliged to endeavor to the utmost of their Power, upon Pain of Damnation; and likewise that a Prince who is a Papist at Heart, may

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the more securely and easily work the Ruin of our Religion and Liberty, that his Designs are covered with the *Mask of a Protestant Profession*. Such therefore, as are imposed upon with the fond and groundless Expectation of the Pretender's being Protestant, and would thereupon intrust him with all our valuable Concerns, must needs bewray the greatest Ignorance of the Principles of Papists, and the many obvious Instances of their Dissimulation; nay, bring upon themselves not only the Brand of *Weakness* and *foolish Credulity*, but the heinous Guilt of Treachery to God, from inexcusable running into Measures, which so manifestly endanger our holy Religion, and the happy Constitution of this Church, Founded upon and agreeable unto the Word of God.

Wherefore we do with the GREATEST EARNESTNESS Recommend to all the Ministers of this National Church, that they endeavor by Public and private Instruction to impress the People of their Respective Charges, with a due Sense of the Evil of Popery, and extreme Danger these Lands would certainly be brought into, of being overrun with it, and ruined with Oppression and Tyranny, if ever the LORD should for our Sins permit the Pretender, Educated and confirmed in the Popish Religion, and instructed in all the Principles of Arbitrary Government, to bear Rule over us: And we do seriously exhort all the Ministers and Members of this Church, to testify all Duty and Loyalty to our only rightful and lawful Sovereign Queen *Anne*, and a zealous Concern for the Protestant Succession settled upon the most Excellent Princess *Sophia* Electress and Dutches *Dowager* of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants; And we judge it proper at this Occasion to put them in Mind, That this Illustrious Princess is the Grand Daughter of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England* by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, for whom and her Children our worthy Predecessors did publickly pray in their Churches, and whose Husband was descended of a Family which was remarkably zealous for the Glorious Work of Reformation, and who himself did endure great Tryals of Affliction for his stedfast Adherence to the Protestant Interest.

When we therefore consider, how much both our present and

future Safety, under GOD, doth depend upon that Family's succeeding to the Crown, and how necessary the Preservation of that Succession is, for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and of all that is dear to us as men and Christians; we cannot forbear at such a Juncture as this, to Excite our selves, and all of our Communion to Testifie, as blessed be GOD THEY HAVE HITHERTO DONE, a firm and steady Adherence thereto, under *whatever Discouragements may happen*; and in the Bowels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we do seriously obtest and beseech all Ranks of Persons, to hear the Voice of God's Dispensations to us in these Lands, and to humble themselves deeply under the many sad Causes and Tokens of the LORD'S Anger, to prepare to meet our God by turning unto him with all their Hearts, by unfeigned Repentance and Reformation of Life, fleeing to the Blood of Sprinkling for Reconciliation and making known our requests to God with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, That he would continue, strengthen and perfect what he has wrought for us, disappoint the Designs and Hopes of a Popish and *Jacobite* Party, preserve the happy Constitution of this National Church, sanctifie and remove our present Grievances, and teach us to profit by all his Dispensations; That he would prosper and bless our Sovereign Queen *Anne*, direct Her Councils and prosper Her Government; That He would preserve and maintain, against all it's Opposers, the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and Eminently bless that Illustrious Family; That He would give Wisdom to all Ranks to Understand the Times; that he would pour out a Spirit of Love, of Power and of a sound Mind upon Ministers, That with one Heart and Mouth they may strive together, in Defence of the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of this Church, as now settled; That he would bless them with Meekness, Wisdom and Zeal, to avoid all Divisions that bring a Scandal upon Religion, Endanger our Constitution, and expose us to the Scorn of our Enemies, and give them Advantage over us; That the LORD would give to all of us, to reflect seriously on the many Troubles which have afflicted our *Sion*, and to shun carefully all those Sins which procured them, That he would keep up in our lively Remembrance, the great Danger our Religion and Liberties were in, when in his Infinite Goodness he surprized these Nations, with the late happy Revolution, a mercy never to be forgotten, without the highest Ingratitude to GOD

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and the greatest Injustice to the Memory of the late glorious King *William*, which ought always to be savory to all good Protestants; That he would enable us to make a right Improvement of that Gospel Light and Purity, which we now enjoy; and work in us a Temper of Spirit suitable thereto; That he would make serious Godliness and Christian Charity to flourish amongst us, and give all Ranks one Heart, and one Way to fear him, and keep his Commandments always, That so our gracious God would dwell in our Land, and that it may be well with us, and our Posterity after us.

The above written Warning and Exhortation having been read at sundry Dyets of the Commission, and fully considered, was this Day voted and UNANIMOUSLY APPROVEN BY THEM. And they appointed the same to be forthwith Printed, and Copies thereof to be sent to the Respective Presbyteries, and recommends to them to take the most effectual Way to publish the same to the several Ministers and Members of this Church. *Subscribed by*

WILL. WISHEART. *Modr.*  
JO. DUNDAS *Cl. Eccl. Scot.*

It will be acknowledg'd by all *Sound Protestants*, who adhere to the late *Happy Revolution*, that a more *Seasonable Paper* has not been publish'd by any Church within her Majesty's Dominions. It favors so much of a most *Heartly Concern* for the Queen and House of *Hanover*, and so effectually lays open the Cursed Artifices us'd by the *Scotch Jacobites* to delude the People, that it clearly proves the Church of *Scotland* to be Acted by the utmost of Loyal Affection to her Majesty, and by a just Detestation and Abhorrence of the Traiterous Designs and Practices of her Enemies. So *Noble a Christian Temper*, as well as so *Loyal a Disposition* is the more *Remarkable in the present Conjunction*, when so many things have concurr'd of late to try the Patience and *our* the Temper of that *Establish'd Church*, as may be seen in the Public Papers both of the *Assembly and Commission*, occasion'd by the *Patronage and Toleration Bills*. Yet that Church has behav'd with the *greatest Modesty* under these *Pressures*, and Apply'd her self with all the *Exrnestness and Vigilance*, to the promoting of the Public *Peace* of their *Country*, and the Honor and Safety of the Government, as if they themselves had met with no Discouraging Treatment.

But

But let us take a View of the Presbyterians in *Ireland* during this Period; of whom it may be justly observ'd, that there is not *any one* Denomination or Party, amongst all her Majesty's Subjects, that is more *firmly United* in Principles of *Loyalty* to her Majesty, and more link'd into the Interests of the *Hanover-Succession*, and the Liberties of their Country, than they. They have during her Majesty's Auspicious Reign, steer'd the same Course, and 'Acted by the same Principles they follow'd in Assisting our *Great Deliverer* to Retrieve our *Violated Liberties* in 1688. Her Majesty hath express'd her satisfaction with their Dutiful Behavior and Conduct, by her *Gracious Answers* to their *Loyal Addresses*, and by her *Continuation* of her Royal *Courtesy* and *Protection* to 'em; Blessings, which the Ungenerous *Envy* of their Enemies wou'd willingly blast, and which themselves thankfully improve for the Service of their Queen and Country.

But I shall farther Illustrate the Loyalty and Peaceableness of their Behavior, by Answering our Author's Objections against it, which consist of a parcel of Stragling Disjointed Stories; and for Order's sake, I shall reduce 'em to these five Heads, 1. Their *Evading* the Force of the Test-Act, and continuing in Offices in *Contempt* of that Law. 2. Their refusing to Inlist in the *Militia*, and to take the Oaths, on the Army appointed by the Government when the *Protender* Attempted to Invade these Kingdoms. 3. The Insolency of their Address to the *Queen*, upon that occasion, and the Unfair Methods they took to procure Addresses from Others, to that purpose. 4. Their Joining with the *Town of Belfast* in Defending a suit aginst the Interest of the Church. 5. Their Insolent Behavior about the *Turkes*, instanc'd in the Case of Archdeacon *Ford's* Proctor, & the People to whom he was setting his Tiths.

As to the first *viz*, Their *Evading the force of the Test-Act*, and continuing in Offices in *Contempt of that Law*, he affirms that Numbers of Dissenters evaded the force of this Law by *Conforming Occasionally*, and taking the *Sacrament to Entitle them to Places of Trust and Profit*. Were this *true* in fact, it ought not to be turned to the *Reproach* of Dissenters by any who Approve of the Test-Act, and are so fond of it as this Author seems to be; because that Law allows the Receiving of the Sacrament to be a Legal Qualification for Civil and Military Employments. But what he asserts is not Fact: For in *Ireland* there are *very few Occasional Conformists* amongst the Dissenters. But our Author complains (p. 30), ' There was another Rank, who wou'd not Prof

' titude their Consciences, but had the Hardness against the Letter  
 ' and Construction, and in Contempt of that Law, to continue *Bur-*  
 ' *gesses* and *Aldermen* of Towns, without ever qualifying themselves'.  
 He aggravates this Matter thus, ' And in all likelihood had continu'd  
 ' so till this day. Had it not been for a Resolution of the *House of*  
 ' *Commons*, obtain'd in their Debates upon a Petition prefer'd by the  
 ' Lady *Donegal*, charging Mr. *George Macartney* with some Irregu-  
 ' larities in the Government of the Corporation of *Belfast*. How that  
 ' Affair was Drop'd and Miscarried in the *House*, I know not; but  
 ' this is certain, that it produc'd the Sense of the *Commons*, with Rela-  
 ' tion to the *Test-Clause*, which seem'd of vast Importance to the In-  
 ' terest of the Church, *viz.* That all the Burgesses of *Belfast* were  
 ' obliged by that Act to take the *Sacramental-Test*; and consequent-  
 ' ly the Places of those Dissenting Burgesses, who had refus'd to  
 ' Qualifie themselves were void. No sooner was the sense of the *house*  
 ' of *Commons* given in this point, than Mr. *Macartney* call'd an As-  
 ' sembly and filled all the Places of the Unqualify'd Burgesses with  
 ' Churchmen.

' It was then expected, when all the Corporations in this King-  
 ' dom, in the same Circumstances with *Belfast*, wou'd follow that  
 ' Example: But to the Amazement of all Men, who reflected upon  
 ' the thing it self, and the Consequences, which might follow, there  
 ' was scarce one of the Inferiour Corporations of this Kingdom,  
 ' that thought fit to follow that Precedent; but most of all the places  
 ' of the Unqualifyed Dissenting Burgesses are kept Vacant to this  
 ' Day, without the least Regard to the Letter, Intention or Con-  
 ' struction of that Act of Parliament, to what End is much more  
 ' easy to see than to be well accounted for by the Magistrates of  
 ' such Corporations, who were obliged to put the Laws in Exe-  
 ' cution.

*Ans:* The Protestant Dissenters of *Ireland* did indeed believe (and  
 do still,) That that Law put a *hardship* and *Mark of Infamy* upon 'em,  
 which they had not Merited, and which will be set in a farther light in  
 the last Chapter of this Book; but they were not guilty of the Con-  
 tempt of that or any other Law. And their Conformist Neighbours,  
 who continu'd in the several Offices in the Corporations since the Com-  
 mencement of the *Test-Act*, were so sensible of their *Loyalty* and Peace-  
 able Behavior, that they delay'd the filling up of their Places (in di-

vers Corporations) as long as they cou'd ; and when the *Restless Impertunity* of some *Zealots* extorted from 'em the Execution of that Law, 'twas with some Aversion and Uneasiness they comply'd with it : And 'tis very observable, that a certain Set of Men on the other Hand, are much more *keen* for the *Rigorous* Execution of the *Test-Clause* against Protestant Dissenters, than for the Execution of the substance of the *Act to prevent the farther Growth of Popery*, against the Papists; for what Reasons, they themselves best know.

It is hard to conceive what our Author's Intention cou'd be in Misrepresenting the Proceedings of the House of Commons in the Case of *George Macartney* Esq; Council at Law, and at that time Sovereign of *Belfast*, by telling his Reader, *that that Affair was Dropt and Miscarry'd in the House* : Tho' it be notorious, that between thirty and forty Witnesses were summon'd by the *House*, and most of 'em went from *Belfast*, attended the Tryal, divers of 'em were examin'd, and after a Tryal which lasted near eight or ten hours, Mr. *Macartney* was clear'd by a Vote of the House *Nemine Contradicente*, as will appear from the Printed Votes of the *House*.

Veneris 24 die Oct. 1707.

**T**HEN the House according to Order, proceeded to hear the Matter of Complaint on the Petition of *Arthur* Earl of *Donegal* a Minor, by *Catherine* Countess of *Donegal* his Mother and Guardian, in behalf of himself and divers Inhabitants of the Burrough of *Belfast*; against *George Macartney* Esq; a Member of this House; and having heard Council and Witnesses on both sides, and they being withdrawn. Ordered, That Candles be brought in. Ordered, That the Key of the Gallery-door be brought, and laid upon the Table.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That *George Macartney* Esq; hath fully Acquitted himself of the several Matters alledged against him, in the Petition Preferr'd against the said *George Macartney*, to the Satisfaction of this House.

I am not in the least imbarc'd on either side of the Unhappy Debate which occasioned the above Proceedings and Vote, and what Account I have given of the Matter is, purely to Caution my Reader against taking things upon Trust from our Author.

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*A second Fault* our Author finds with Dissenters in Ireland during this Period is, their refusing to enlist in the Militia, and to take the Oaths, on the Array appointed by the Government, when the Pretender Attempted to invade these Kingdoms. There are several particular Circumstances in his Relation of this fact, which reflect upon particular Persons, and from which he draws general Conclusions. I shall first give the Reasons why some of the Presbyterians refused to enlist in the Militia at that time, or to take the Oaths upon that Occasion; they are represented in their *second Apology* to her Majesty (*vide Present State of Religion in Ireland p. 35, 36.*) in these Words,

The Convocation seem to lay great stress upon what they say in these Words, *Not can it ever be forgotten what Numbers of them (meaning Presbyterians in the North) positively refused the Oath of Allegiance when the Militia was to be Arrayed in this Kingdom for opposing the Invasion of the Pretender.* But those who consider the true State of that Matter, will readily perceive that this Practice of theirs did not proceed from the least Disloyalty, but from different Reasons in different Persons. The Common People who can't be supposed to understand the Niceties of the Law, were afraid that the Test-act would reach 'em if they shou'd be enlisted in the *Militia*, especially if carry'd abroad and brought under Pay, which some Eminent Lawyers suppose, or at least doubt of: And therefore they had no mind to lay themselves open to every ill-natur'd Informer, in whose power it might be to ruin 'em: especially under this Discouragement, that they must not have *one single Officer* of their own Persuasion in the *Meaneft-Post*, and must *never hope for Advancement* nor any other Reward from the Government, shou'd their services prove ever so great.

Some of 'em imagined that if they shou'd take the Oaths publickly before the Commissioners of *Array*, that wou'd have been an enlisting of 'em in the *Militia*, and a running the Risque of the Penalties of the Test-act; And therefore refus'd 'em, not that they had any Scruple against Them upon any other Account.

This was indeed a Mistake, but it was such an one as their Education and Knowledge was not able at that time to correct, and which was very consistent with Loyalty and Affection to your Sacred Majesty's Person and Government. Others, who had more



Understanding, took the Oaths, but desired for the above Reasons to be excused from serving in the *Militia*. Others having only heard the Oath of Allegiance & Declaration against *Popery* and *Foreign Jurisdiction* read publickly, and having never heard 'em before did not understand 'em, and for want of time to be informed of the Meaning of some Expressions in them, which tho' earnestly desired, was refus'd 'em, could not conscientiously take 'em at that time. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are **INTIRELY UNANIMOUS** in *Opposition to the Pretender*; notwithstanding of this or any other Insinuation to the Contrary.

Every Impartial Man must be satisfy'd, that these Reasons sufficiently prove the Conduct of the Dissenters in the Matter of the *Militia* to be very consistent with Loyalty & Duty to the Queen, and with a just Abhorrence of that Attempt of the *Pretender*, which was over before the *Militia* was array'd. Our Author publisheth farther Accounts of the said *Array* subscribed by two Gentlemen, that were concerned in it *viz.* Mr *Spencer* and Mr *Waring*, wherein there are several things Misrepresented; and upon which mistakes our Author builds his severe Reflections upon *Dissenters* in general, as well as upon particular Persons. He speaks very indecently of a very Worthy Gentleman *viz.* *Clotworthy Upton* of *Castle-Upton* Esq; whose *Candor* is Acknowledged by his *Worst Enemies*, and was particularly known to the late House of Commons in *Ireland*, whereof he was a Member, having had the Honour to be one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Antrim*. I have seen a Letter from Mr *Upton* to his Friend, wherein he Vindicates himself from the Calumnies of this Author, a true Copy whereof is as follows.

Sir,

*Castle-Upton, Feb. 14th. 1712. 13.*

So many Concurring Circumstances have happen'd, since the Publication of that Pamphlet, Intitul'd the *Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland &c.* to delay my Answering what relates to me; that while now I have not put Pen to Paper. And now that I am begun, I am so far from making any further Apology for my Delay, that I am in doubt whether I ought to take any Notice of what is said of me.

I assure you the Credit of the Author, whether Clergy or Layman, shou'd by no Means Engage me to regard it, as being above his Malicious, Vindictive, False and **Contradictory** Glosses. And clearly

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to show that he has not the least Regard to his own Credit, or the Credit of the Church he pretends to Write for, I am persuaded he do's not believe what he Insinuates of me, viz. *That I am a JACOBITE, and COMMONWEALTH's-MAN*; an Undeniable Contradiction; and were it possible to be true, no ways Conclusive against Presbyterians: More than that because the Author is Malicious, Vindictive, without Regard to *Truth*, or *Christian Charity*, therefore the Church of which he is a Member is Malicious &c.

The only Reason why I take Notice of what this Pamphleteer says of me is, the Credit of his Informers, being both of late Justices of the Peace; and from that Character only, what they Inform may have some Weight with those that know neither of us; but this I may say, without Vanity, that where the Author, his Informers and I are known, what they Alledge will have little Effect to my Prejudice.

But I shall not detain you longer from the Consideration of the Particulars charg'd on me. The first is in Mr. Waring's Letter dated at Belfast, May 25th, 1710. p. 36, 37. which runs thus, *When we came to render the Oaths to the Dissenters, they shew'd themselves Averse to take them, very unwilling to serve in the Militia for the Defence of the Country; and those of them that did take the Oaths, seem'd to take them thro' fear of Punishment, and by Compulsion, and with an Apparent great Reluctancy, and many of 'em Absolutely refus'd to take the said Oaths, or to be enlisted in the Militia, particularly when I Array'd the Inhabitants of the Parish of Temple-patrick, all or most of them being Tenants to Clotworthy Upton Esq; wou'd nor take the Oaths, or be Enlisted Mr. Shaw and I committed fourteen of 'em whom we had pitch'd upon for the Service, upon their Refusal to take the said Oaths, or to serve in the Militia, the Names of those Persons are John Jackson, John Green-hall &c. before the Mittimus for those Persons to send the a to Goal, cou'd be drawn, they Petition'd to be Bail'd till the first of June following being the next Meeting of the Commissioners upon Adjournment; Alleging they were Unacquainted with the Nature of the Oaths, and that in that time they wou'd inform themselves from their Landlord Mr. Upton, and the Presbyterian Teacher, in the said Parish of Templepatrick, of the Signification, and Import of the said Oaths, and wou'd be advis'd with 'em about taking the said Oaths &c.*

I desire to be Resolv'd in some plain Questions I shall put, 1. What

‘ was Mr. *Waring’s* D sign in Writing that passage, and the Author’s **Part 2.**  
Design in Printing i. 2. Why Mr *Waring* Names me, and my Tenants so particularly, when he owns many *Dissenters* absolutely re-

‘ *refused to take the said Oaths*, or to be inlisted in the *Militia*? I will  
‘ take upon me to give an obvious Answer to both, that must occur to every Reader at first View, *viz.* That those two Gentlemen  
‘ design’d to mark me out as a *Jacobite*, and an Enemy to her Majesty, Tho’ I am persuaded neither of them in their Conscience believes me so, and I am sure dare never say it. 3. By what law  
‘ cou’d any man be compell’d to inlist in the *Militia*? 4. What  
‘ Law empower’d the Commissioners of Array to press the  
‘ Oaths upon all who were Summon’d upon that Occasion?  
‘ 5 By what Law could the Refusers be sent to Goal? In other  
‘ parts of the Country, tho’t was thought the necessity, our Constitution, & the Protestant-Interest were then under, oblig’d ’em to Array  
‘ the Country, yet generally they did not see that necessity for a general Tender of the Oaths, for which they cou’d produce no Law.

‘ But I shall with great Sincerity tell you the true Master of Fact.  
‘ I acknowledge that all the fourteen Persons nam’d, except one, were my Tenants, & most of ’em my Day-Laborers, some of them  
‘ so to my Father between 30 and 40 years; some of ’em and other  
‘ of my Tenants came to me the Evening before, and told me they  
‘ were Summon’d to appear next Day at the *Array* in *Belfast* and desired of me to know what they should do; my Answer was, if they  
‘ were summon’d they ought to appear, but for Directions what  
‘ they should do when there, I wou’d give ’em none, but bid ’em do  
‘ as they thought best.

‘ I have since discoursed several of ’em who all say they were in a  
‘ House for some Hours under the Care of a Constable, or the High-  
‘ Constable then Mr. *Alexander Adair* of *Belfast*, that they were  
‘ advised to Consult me, but they told the Adviser, they did that  
‘ before they left Home, but that I wou’d give ’em no Advice, that  
‘ they never petitioned, to be Released, on any Terms; much less on  
‘ the Terms mention’d; that they were in Custody while *Twenty Mitimus’s*  
‘ might have been wrote, that they heard *James Craford* the  
‘ Constable of *Templepatrick* had entred into Bail for their appearance, but not with their Consent which they are ready to  
‘ swear. And further to shew the Falshood of the Information,  
‘ there was then no Presbyterian Minister belonging to the Parish  
‘ of *Templepatrick*.

‘ Now I shall give you the Reason why I did not advise ’em;

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and it shall be the same I gave in the House of Commons, as one Argument against passing the *Sacramental-Test-Clause*; I declar'd it then as my opinion, and do now, that every *Private Centinal* & every *Militia-man* by that Law is oblig'd to take the Sacrament according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Ireland*; the reason of my opinion then, and now is, because Centinals and *Militia-men* have that great Trust repos'd in them, of being the preservation of *Garrison and Camp*; many instances may be given, where the Treachery of such has ruined both Army and *Garrison*: therefore I did not give my advice. And I must confess, were there nothing in it, but the Methods that have been sometimes taken to get Grand and petty Juries to find Riots, Trespassts, nay Treason, to serve a turn, when they have not had the tenth part of the Color of Law, as in this Case they have: it will make me more Cautious, how I Act, or Advise a thing whereby Men may be led into that, which may Ruin them by a pack'd Jury, of which there have been many Precedents in former Times.

This the Author calls p. 21. a *Distinguishing themselves in all Marks of Passive-Obedience to the Pretender, upon his expect'd Invasion, of which more hereafter*. I may without any Force on that Expression hereafter, say it refers to Mr. Waring's Letter; but I think I may say with greater Justice and Truth, that it's a distinguishing my self in all Marks of *Passive-Obedience to the Law*; and if my obedience to the law, happens to promote the *Pretender's* Interest, he reflects on the Legislature that made such a law, whereby Men are involv'd in such Difficulties: yet after all the Difficulties, I dare be bold to affirm on sure and certain Grounds, that where the *Pretender* has one Friend amongst the *Presbyterians*, he has twenty amongst those of another Persuasion. May God of his infinite Mercy to these Kingdoms, her Majesty's Person, and our Happy Constitution, prevent the Experiment.

The next place I am attack'd in is p. 41. where the Author, to show the Intenfeness of his Malice, must Usher in his Invective against me, over Head and Shoulders, with a *Probability*, and such a *Probability*, that it's not in his power to give the least ground for. The Passage is this, *Mr Charles O Neile when Commissioner of Array, was Expostulating with such of the Dissenters, who had raised their Set of Scruples against taking the Oaths, and asked one of 'em whether*

‘ther he would not swear to be true to the Queen? Sir, Reply’d the Fellow in the Face of the Country, we’ll be true to the Queen as long as she will be true to us. Then the Author proceeds thus,

‘It is Probable this Conditional Subject was a Disciple of a Celebrated Elder and Patriot in that Country who had the Hardynesse to drink at a Public Table to his Sovereign Lord the People. But such Untainted Loyalists would do well to Consider, That our Monarchy is not yet reduced so low, to be insulted in this Manner with Impunity, &c.

‘I own my self the Person here describ’d, because I did drink at a Public-Table to our sovereign Lord the People. I am glad to find the Author obliged to own, that I am a Celebrated Patriot; a Title I am proud of, and what I will ever endeavor to deserve of my Country, but I desire to know how I can be that Patriot he describes me, and yet insult the Monarchy, for certainly no Person can be a Celebrate Patriot that wou’d insult that well-Ordered Government, Under which he lives, as I take the Limited Monarchy of these Kingdoms to be the best in the World.

‘I desire to know of the Author, whether he looks on the Constitution of the *English* Government to be a *Limited* or an *Absolute* Despotic Monarchy? What ever his Thoughts, or Wishes may be, I suppose he will say the *first*; If then the Constitution of the *English* Government be a Limited Monarchy, I desire to know how that can be supported without a *Conditional Subjection*, which in Truth is the very *Basis* of the *Revolution*, and own’d by the present Lord Chancellor, vide D: *Sacheverel’s* Tryal p. 109. But because *Necessity*, when the whole Frame and Constitution of the Government is Overturned; is a Condition in the *English* Monarchy, that makes void Subjection, therefore *this Fellow* it’s probable is a *Disciple of mine*, this is really strange Philosophy: and yet I dare be bold to say, he cannot produce a better Argument to prove his Probability. I know not the *Fellow* to this day, and never heard of this Passage but by this Author.

‘I must beg your Patience while I give you an Account, how it came that I drank this health, in as short a manner as possible, and refer my self to the Informer Mr *Spencer* and the rest of the Company present, whom I shall name as far as I can remember, for the Truth of what I shall now relate, at least the Substance of it; for I will not pretend to be particular in every Circumstance, and

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Expression after so long a time: But do solemnly declare, that as I will not add to what I remember then past, so I will not diminish from the Truth.

I remember the Bishop of *Down and Connor*, Dean *Wilkins*, Dr. *Henry Lefly*, Mr. *Walkington*, Mr. *Magill*, Mr. *Spencer*, Capt. *Brice* Mr *William Craford* and my self, with two or three other Clergymen, & some others whose Names I can't remember, were in company; but the Occasion of the Health happening after Dinner, and some of the company going out and in, I cannot say they were all present at the whole Discourse. The Occasion of this Meeting was the Distribution of the Money Collected for *Lisburn*, most of 'em named being Commissioners for that Purpose.

After Dinner, One of the Company and I fell on the two General Topicks, then of Conversation; viz. Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, and Hereditary Right; he alledg'd there was no Resistance made to the late King *James*; which oblig'd me to Instance the *Glorious Behavior* of our most *Gracious Queen*, when the whole Constitution was like to be overturn'd; the Bishop of *London's* being at the Head of a Troop of Horse, and Blood-shed in Skirmishes &c. I desir'd him to Reconcile Absolute Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to the *Revolution*, and *Hereditary Right* to our *Glorious King William*, who had no such Right when made King, and to the Succession in the *Illustrious House of Hanover* who now has none, and I had done. I alledg'd if the *Queen* had not a *Parliamentary Right*, her *Hereditary Right* wou'd be much weakened, I alledg'd that if we had not had King *William*, we shou'd not have had the Happiness of our *Gracious Queen Anne*: that 'twas the *People* made King *William*, King, and by the same Act Queen *Anne*, Queen; THEREFORE I drank to our Sovereign Lord the *People*, as the *Original*, under *God*, of *Government*; by which Words I attributed no more Power to the *People*, than what the *Lords* and *Commons of England* have asserted in their Vote of the 28th of *January* 1688. in these Words, 'Resolved, that King *James II.* having endeavored to Subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the ORIGINAL CONTRACT between King and People, &c. has ABDICATED the Government.

As to the Substance of the Discourse, I appeal to the whole Company for the truth of it, and for the Innocency of the Expression,

as it was Connected in my Discourse, I appeal to all the Lovers of our Constitution; and let them judge, whether I insulted *The Monarchy* (as this Author falsely asserts) by using an Expression, which imported no more than an Approbation of the late *Happy Revolution*, which restor'd our *Monarchy to it's Glory* and the *People to their Liberty*; and therefore instead of insulting the Monarchy, I have shown an hearty Concern for the Preservation and Happiness of it. And I defy Mankind to lay to my Charge, from any thing in my Conversation or Behavior, the least Inclination or Tendency to *Commonwealth Principles*, as this Author wou'd seem to insinuate against me. I believe Mr. *Spencer* was the Author's Informer, because soon after it happen'd, Mr. *Spencer* spoke of it in *Dublin*, which made a great Noise; for the Story went then with a gross Addition, and occasion'd a Friend of mine then in *Dublin* to speak to Mr. *Spencer* about it, who denied the Addition, but own'd he did say, I Drank the Health, which I likewise own, in manner above.

The next place I am Attack'd in is p. 84. and here I must observe, that the Author rather than miss me, will take up with a *second-hand* Informer, tho' the Original Informer was within seven Miles of him. The Passage in Mr *Waring's* Letter, I own to be in Substance true. I did accost Mr *Spencer* at *Carricksfergus* in the familiar manner therein express'd, by calling him *honest Brent* &c. for there was no Reserv'd Conversation between us for several Years, we mutually us'd friendly Freedoms with each other of all kinds, he was as Welcome, and free in my house as in his own, and I apprehended I was the same in his; But now I find I was Mistaken: I wish I had been Undeceiv'd in a more Gentlemanly Manner, than by revealing Private Conversation.

The whole Passage is not worth inserting; the only Use that the Author and his Informers seem to design it for, is, to insinuate that I am a *Jacobite*, because I'm a Friend to Mr *McCrackan* who hath not taken the Abjuration-Oath: To which I answer, that my having a very Particular Friendship for Mr *McCrackan* (which I freely own I have) do's not prove me to be a *Jacobite*: because I am so sure that Mr *McCrackan* himself is no *Jacobite*, that I am ready to Oblige my self to the Value of what I am Worth, for his Loyalty to the Queen, his Opposition to the *Fretender*, and for his being heartily in the Interest of the Protestant Succession in the House of

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*Hanover*. And I offer to find undeniable Security for forty thousand pounds for the Loyalty of all the three *Non-Jurants*, whom this Author groundlessly Accuseth of *Jacobinism*. And I can say it from my own Knowledge, and prove it by others, That that Great and Noble Patriot my Lord *Dougal* offer'd to be bound for Mr *MacBride*. to the Value of his Estate, which may answer the last Paragraph of Mr *Waring's* letter p. 8).

Tho' this Letter has exceeded what I at first thought it wou'd, yet I must beg your Patience while I make one Observation, *viz.* That since this *Word-Catching* Author has been at so much pains in examining my Public Actions, and us'd so great Industry as to pry into my *Private* Conversation, and after all is Capable to make no greater Discovery of my Disloyalty, *Jacobinism* and *Commonwealth Principles*, this proves me beyond Contradiction a most Loyal Subject, a true *Hanoverian*, and real Lover of our present Happy Constitution, as Restor'd by our Glorious King *William*, and Preserv'd by our Gracious Queen *Anne*, in which Principles I'm resolv'd to live and die. I am, Sir,

Your very Humble Servant, CLOT. UPTON.

In Mr *Spencer's* Account of the Array, there is a Passage told of Mr *Grainger*, and the Elders and other Presbyterians in *Lisburn*, which plainly insinuates 'em to be *Jacobites* (p. 35, 36.) in these Words, Upon the Call of the Roll of such Persons, who were judged best Qualify'd to serve, one *Richard Grainger*, Merchant at *Lisburn*, at the Head of several Ruling Elders, and other Presbyterians, upon the said Mr *Spencer's* rendering the *Oath of Allegiance*, absolutely refus'd to take the said *Oath* to her Majesty; in which they all concurr'd to a Man, saying that there was something in that *Oath* relating to the *Prince of Wales*, and that God forbid, they shou'd swear, That he was not King *James's* Son; upon which they desired time to consider of it, and went immediately out of the Court and in a short time returned again, and said they had considered of it, and finding nothing in it relating to the *Prince of Wales*, were willing to take it, and accordingly did.

To this Mr. *Grainger* hath Reply'd in a Letter to his Friend as follows:



Lisburn, September 8th. 1713.

Sir,  
 According to your Desire, I here send you what I can Remember, at such a distance of time, with Respect to what concerns me in the *Conduct of Dissenters*. (p. 35. 36.) especially considering that I never Dream'd the Passage shou'd be Printed: Upon the calling the Roll in the Market-House of Lisburn, I do perfectly remember, *James Whittell* who Lives in this Town and I were call'd, and we desir'd time to consider the Oath before we took it, which was easily granted by Mr. *Spencer* and Mr. *John Peers*: if there were any Elders while I was in Court, I do not remember that I saw them: but this I can say as if I were upon Oath, That my Neighbour *James Whittell* and I only sought time to consider the said Oath, and about half an hour after, we came and pleasantly took the Oath, and I declare I am as free to take the Oath against the pretended Prince of Wales, as any: I am,

Sir, Yours &c.

RICHARD GRAINGER.

Sir, I let *James Whittell* see the Above, and if necessary he will put his Hand to it, R. G.

Mr. *Spencer* has been Misinform'd about *John Young*, one of those who refus'd to take the Oath at Lisburn upon the Array, when he says that the said *Young* was Married to Mr. *Mc. Crackan's* Sister; Mr. *Mc. Crackan* having had no Sister these Sixty Years past, and the said *John Young* has given it under his Hand in a Certificate which I have in my Custody, that he is neither Married to Mr. *Mc. Crackan's* Sister, nor that he refus'd the Oath with the least degree of Insolence or Impudence, and that he spoke to Mr. *Spencer* in these Words, as for to Swear against Pope or Popery, I'm very Wiking, and to Maintain the Queen & the Protestant Religion as far as Life & Ability will go, but as to this Oath, I have never seen it before, do not understand it, and therefore cannot now take it. This honest Man was just offering to Swear all that was in the Oath, which was the Case of divers who refus'd it at that time.

Our Author insinuates that the Presbyterian Ministers discourag'd the People from taking the Oaths, and that they did it from Disaffection and Disrespect to her Majesty's Service; of this he pretends to Name but two Instances; and tho' both of 'em be false, he draws a general Conclusion against the whole, which wou'd not follow, even tho'

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the two Instances had been both true. The first Instance he mentions is (p. 39.) that of the Reverend Mr. *Patrick Adair* Presbyterian Minister at *Carrickfergus*, of whom Mr. *Mathews* Curate of that Place tells a Story of Mr. *Adair's* going out of Town on the day of the Array in *Carrickfergus*, tho' the Mayor had desir'd him to stay, and advise the People to take the Oath. This is a mistake in Fact, as will appear by Mr. *Adair's* Letter, and the Certificates he has obtain'd for disproving Mr. *Mathews's* Narrative; which I will insert under the following Head, because the Letter has some things in it relating to that, as well as the *second Head*, which I am now upon. His *second Instance* is of Mr. *McCracken* whom he Accuses in these Words (p. 41.)

Mr. *McCracken* the *Non-Juring* Teacher of *Lisburn*, at a Communion held in the Parish of *Anahilt*, in the County of *Down*, about 2 or 3 Years ago, Preached a Sermon upon a Text out of *Galatians*, Chap. 5. Vers. 1. His Method of speaking to it was, *First*, He Enlarg'd upon the Slavery of the Jewish Yoke of Ceremonies; *Next* he descended to the *Papish* Yoke; and then fell to a *Third* Yoke, in the manner following, *viz.* *There is (says he) another Yoke, as bad as any of the former, I mean the Yoke of Common-Prayer, of Kneeling, of the Sign of the Cross, of the Surplice &c. That is the Devil's Yoke, and they that bear it are in the way to Hell. I see a great many of you here that go that way, I tell you again it is the Devil's Yoke; but Christ's People they say are to be tryed by it; but I say, they that are Christ's People will never submit to it; and for my part I think the Government have no Good in their Eyes.*

Mr *McCracken* owns that he preach'd at *Anahilt* on *Galatians* 5. 1. and that the Scope of his Discourse was to describe true *Christian Liberty*, & the Obligation the Church lyes under to maintain it, & that he took Occasion to discourse of a *six-fold Yoke*, from which Christ hath made us free, *viz.* 1. From the Law as a Covenant of Works, by bringing in a better *Heb.* 8. 6. 2ly From the Curse of the Law by being made a Curse for us *Gal.* 3. 13. 3ly, From the Dominion of Sin in our Souls and Bodies, *Rom.* 6. 11, 12. 4ly From the Tyranny of Satan, 2 *Tim.* 2. 16. *Heb.* 2. 14, 15. 5ly From the Ceremonial law injoining Priestly Sacrifices and Levitical Ceremoniss, *Acts* 15, 15 *Gal.* 4, 4, 5. *Col.* 2. 14. 6ly. From the whole Train of human Inventions; as parts in, or of the Worship of God: This takes in, 1. The Doctrines of Men, and Church-Traditions brought in as Rules to or parr

parts of the Worship of God *Matt. 15. 9. 1ly,* That High Priestly Hierachy, supported now by the *Pope* and his *Subordinate* Prelates, he taking on him that of a *Head* to the Church, of which we know of none but our Lord Jesus, *Eph. 2. 21, 22.* nor are we left to be Subject to a *Lordly Domination*, which he hath not appointed. *1. Cor. 22. 25. 26. 1. Pet. 5. 3, 3ly,* We are free from the Yoke of Unjustified, Significant Rites, and Ceremonies, such as *Bearing, Kneeling, Gossing, Observation of Saints-days &c* : This he owns, but that he find the Common-Prayer, Kneeling, Cross, Surplice were the *Devil's Yoke*, he denies; and is willing to Appeal to any 4, 6. or 10. Judicious Hearers then present, nor doth he believe any such will say it. And He declares he was so far from saying it, that to his Knowledge he had never any such Thought in his mind, nor never remembers to have read or heard of such an Expression, but from this Author. He also denies, that he said those *who bear it* (if this be understood of *Common Prayer, kneeling, surplice &c*) *are in the way to Hell* : Tho' he do's not deny that he said so of *all those who bear the Devil's Yoke indeed*, and who *are under his Tyranny* : which he believes every true *Christian*, and every sound *divine* do's allow to be true. And he Absolutely denies, that he spoke these undecent and uncharitable words of the Government, *viz. that they had no good in their Eyes*; and says that the uttering of these or any such like words was what he always hated, as being very inconsistent with the duty and Gratitude he owes to *them*, for their great *lenity* towards him.

A *third* fault our Author finds with Presbyterians during this Reign, is, the Insolency of their Address to the Queen upon the *Pretender's* design'd Invasion, and the unfair Methods they took to procure addresses from others, upon that occasion. In the beginning of the year 1708, while the Nations were alarm'd with an Invasion design'd by the *Pretender*, The Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* drew up a most Dutiful and Loyal Address to Her Majesty, with *fresh Assurances* of their stiddy Resolution to adhere to Her Majesty's Interest, and to *that* of the *Protestant Succession* against the common Enemies of both; This is the Address our Author quarrels with for *having most exalted Encomiums of their own great Merit from Her Majesty and the public* p. 3 3. That part of the Address he refers to and seems to Confute for it's Vanity is in these words ' Our untainted Loyalty in *all turns* of Government, our early zeal for the late



late happy Revolution and the repeated proofs we have given of the great warmth and concern for the support of it, the security of Your Royal Person and of the Protestant Succession, are the *Natural Consequences* of our known Principles both from Duty and Inclination. If all this be true, (as this Book will make it appear to be) I think it was very reasonable to assert it, when a bold Pretender with a French power was about to attempt the utter ruine of these Nations. But our Author Adds his farther Censure upon this Address, in these *Ironical* words. And afterwards with great Modesty and Deference give Her Majesty to understand, that they deeply regret, that the Gentlemen and People of their Persuasion are deprived of serving her Majesty and their Country. Meaning this or nothing; That while the *Sacramental Test* continues, neither the Gentlemen, nor Common People of their Persuasion shou'd serve Her Majesty, if she commanded their Assistance either upon an Invasion or upon an Insurrection of Her Subjects. For it is plain, when they say both the Gentlemen and people are deprived of serving Her Majesty and their Country, they must mean, that they are deprived either of the power or of the will of serving; they are indeed cautious not to mention either, and only say they are deprived of serving &c.

Our Author spends more than a Page, in pretending to prove that the Ministers cou'd not mean that their People were depriv'd of a Power of serving Her Majesty; and thence concludes, that seeing there was no *Medium* between the *Power* and *Will* of Serving Her Majesty; it must be the *Latier* they mean'd, and consequently were *unwilling* to do Her Service. But all this fine reasoning of our Author's will *Evanesce*, when that part of the Address is *truly repeated*; For our Author has omitted one part of it, which will clearly Answer all the Objections he made against it, it runs thus 'We can't in Conscience neglect this opportunity of expressing our deep Regrate, that the Gentlemen and People of our Persuasion are depriv'd of that *Capacity* of serving your Majesty and their Country, which they so *successfully improv'd* upon all former occasions, especially considering the present Circumstances of this Kingdom'. This is a transcript of that Copy that was taken from the very *Original*, before it was sent off to her Majesty. And as I observ'd before, it clears the point to that degree as to refuse all

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Our Author has advanc'd against it: for all Men must own that the *Test-Act* depriv'd all that cou'd not comply with it, of that Capacity of serving their Queen and Country, which they had Succeedfully improv'd before. How often have common Centinels been prefer'd to Eminent Posts in the Army? And the Meanest among the Dissenters (for Station) were capable of being rewarded and prefer'd for their Services; which is a mighty Encouragement to People of all Stations and Circumstances, to Engage and Enlist 'emselves either in the standing Army, or in the *Militia*; and where, on the Contrary, Men's hopes of reward are sunk and bar'd by a positive Law, 'tis a vast discouragement to every brave Soul, and Man of Honour. But of this more afterwards, in the *last Chapter* of this Book.

'Tis certain that many worthy Gentlemen of the Establish'd Church did at that time heartily wish that the Protestant Dissenters were Reliev'd from the Disabilities & Incapacities put upon 'em, by the *Test-Act*; and some of 'em fairly insinuated this in their humble Address'es to Her Majesty, and particularly the City of *Dublin*, with which our Author is much offended *p. 33*, and bestows his Censure very Liberally upon them, and all who were of their Opinion, in these Words, 'But it seems these Undertakers for the Party, had less opposition in *Dublin* where they gained their point, and had this Grievance insinuated in the Address of that City, that Her Majesty might be induc'd to believe Her *Metropolis* had interpos'd in behalf of the Persecuted Dissenters of *Ireland*, to have them put in Places of Trust and Profit. This raised an Amazement and *Indignation* in all worthy and considerate Men, to observe how the City shou'd be Influenced to Act what was Judged so contrary to the Sentiments of a Majority of *Aldermen*, *Common-Council Men* and *Free-men*.

All those who were for repealing the *Test-Act* as a grievance to the Nation, are, in the judgment of this Author, *unworthy* and *inconsiderate* Men; For he asserts all *worthy* and *considerate* Men to be raised to *Indignation*, when it's but insinuated in an Address: But how far this Author has shown himself to be neither so *worthy* nor *considerate* himself as he ought to be, in making so bold with the Characters of so many *Excellent Worthy* Gentlemen, to whom he seems to be in all respects inferior, I won't take upon me to Determine. He that wou'd behave like a Gentleman, & Argue like a Scholar, ought calmly to Consider the Arguments of his Adversaries, and not to intermix *Personal Reflections* with the Debate, which very often *wreak* hot Men

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fall upon, for want of better reasons.

Our Author falls foul upon Mr *Adair* of *Carrickfergus*, for his unfair practices in procuring such an address in *Carrickfergus* as had been agreed to by the City of *Dublin*: In answer to which, I shall here insert a true Copy of Mr *Adair's* Letter to his Friend, which is as follows.

SIR,

*Carrickfergus 30th April 1713.*

In your last to me you desire to know, how far I am able to vindicate my self from what I am Charged with in that pamphlet, Called, *the Conduct of the Dissenters &c.* I shall therefore set what relates to me in such a clear light, as may undeceive those who have been Impo'd upon, by the Author of the said pamphlet & his Correspondents.

I am Accused by the said Author of 2 things, the first is represented (p, 32) in these words " Great art was used, and Application Made, wherever they had the least Influence to obtain Addresses to Her Majesty with *Innuendos*, that their Incapacities by the Test-Act was a Grievance to the Nation. Amongst the Managers in this Affair there was one *Adair*, the Presbyterian Teacher at *Carrickfergus*, who had Clandestinely procur'd an Address of his own to be subscribed by *some few of the Town-jury*, without the privity either of the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder or Burgesss of that Corporation; which they so highly resented, that they sent up the following Advertisement to *Dublin*, to be published in a Printed News-paper, which was accordingly done in the *Flying-Post* for *September* the 30th 1708.

The true state of the case is this: The Grand Jury of the County of the Town of *Carrickfergus* drew an Address to the same purpose with that of the City of *Dublin*; and it was presented to Her Majesty by the Earl of *Penbrook* at *St. James's* May 21 1708, and Her Majesty was pleas'd to receive it graciously, as appears from the *London-Gazette* Published by Authority from *thursday* may 20th to *monday* May 24. 1708.

As to the charge against me for manning the said adrefs, it consists of three parts; one is, that I should have Clandestinely procur'd an Address of my own; another is, that it was subscribed by a few of the *Town-jury*; a third is, without the privity of the Mayor:

Aldermen;

‘ Aldermen, Recorder or Burgesses of that Corporation. It is surprizing, to think with what Assurance the Author publisheth such mistakes; when they can be so Easily disprov’d, and my Vindication so well attested, as appears by the following Certificate.

‘ *WHEREAS, in a late Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Dissenters &c. it is set forth, that an Address to Her Majesty Entituled &c. wherein was signified the Grievances the Nation lay under by the Late Test-Act was clandestinely procured by one Atair (by whom we suppose they mean the Reverend Mr Patrick Adair and subscribed by some few of the Jury. NOW therefore we the subscribers being all (Except one John Macomb who is since dead) that were upon the Grand jury, Enquiring for our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and the Body of the County of the Town of Carrickfergus at the General Quarter-sessions of the Peace held at the Tholsel of the said Town, when and Where the said Address was made, do hereby Certify that the said Address was done by our order, and by each of us Subscribed, when we were all together convened, and upon our Oaths, at said Sessions Enquiring for our Sovereign Lady the Queen. Witness our Hands the 21<sup>st</sup> day of January 1711;*

|                   |                 |                |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| William McHendry  | James Irwin     | James Morison  |
| James Watson      | David Morison   | John Mathews   |
| William Fairfoote | Josiah Hamilton | Daniel Mckirk  |
| John Brown        | John Campbell   | William Jasrie |
| William Bell      | John Jackson    |                |

‘ From which you see, the Address was procured by the Grand Jury, and therefore, not *Clandestinely procured by me*, subscribed by every Member of the Jury, therefore not by a few only, and by Mr John Brown, Mr James Irwin, and Mr David Hood Burgesses, therefore not without the *privity of all the Burgesses*; withal the Address was put into a shop in the most public part of the Town, and there subscribed by the Gentlemen & Inhabitants of the Town without Distinction, as well those of the Establish’d Church, as Presbyterians.

‘ This might be done, without the privity of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder: the Grand-jury whose Address it was, very well knew they were bound by their Oath to do what might any way Contribute to the Interest of their Gracious So-

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vereign and those they represented; and therefore concluded, that they might frame an Address for these ends.

The second thing Objected against me is, with Relation to my Behavior at the time of the Array of the *Militia*, it's contain'd in a part of Mr. *Mathews's* Letter inserted by the Author (p. 39) in these Words; *You know what opposition the Commissioners of Array met with in the County of Antrim upon the Array of the Militia, which made our then Mayor Mr. Horsfeman, apprehensive of the same difficulties in Arraying the Militia of this Place; and therefore as the likeliest way to obviate them, apply'd himself to Mr. Adair the Presbyterian Teacher of this Town, desiring that he would with his Presence and Advice Influence those of his Persuasion, Peaceably to take the Oaths offer'd to them by the Commissioners; notwithstanding which Request, and that the Refusal of the Oaths in the County of Antrim made a great Noise, and was Spreading amongst the Crowds here, whether industriously or no, I cannot tell, That they must all swear to be Churchmen; when the prefixed day came, Mr. Adair, to the Mayor's great surprize, thought it most convenient to hide out of Town. This, Sir, is the plain matter of Fact, for the truth of which I will be answerable.*

I Communicated this part of my Charge to *Richard Horsfeman Esq;* the only Person that could fix it on me; if Guilty, and clear me if Innocent; he did not only tell me that he remembered no such thing, but has been pleas'd to favour me with the following Certificate,

**WHEREAS** in a Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *The Conduct of the Dissenters &c. it is set forth, that upon Arraying the Militia of Carrickfergus at the time when the Pretender Endeavour'd to Invade North-Britain, I being then Mayor of the said Town, should have applyed my self to Mr. Adair the Presbyterian Teacher, desiring that he would by his Presence and Advice Influence those of his Persuasion Peaceably to take the Oaths offer'd them &c. I therefore do hereby Declare and Certifie, that I do not remember that I did speak to him upon any such Account.*  
Dated this 27 April 1713.

Richard Horsfeman.

Which shows I might have gone out of Town any time that day the Militia was Arrayed without surprizing, disappointing or disobliging the Mayor: And if I had been spoke to by the Mayor, I gave him



him no ground to be offended at my going out of Town about six of the Clock Afternoon, seeing the Array was over about Noon the same day; for which I refer my self to the following Certificate. Part 2.

**I** Do hereby Certifie that the day the Militia of Carrickfergus was Arrayed upon the Pretender's pretending to invade Great-Britain, the Reverend Mr. Pat Adair was in Town in Company with Richard Horseman Esq; then Mayor, and Others, and did continue in the said Town till six of the Clock in the Afternoon of the said day, long before which time the Array was over. Dated this 14th of Febr. 1712-3.

Wm, Wilkison.

It had been the Author's Advantage, he had produced his Authority for what he advanced against me upon managing the Address, as he has done against me in my behavior upon Arraying the Militia, That of the Address falls upon himself, that of the Array upon Mr. Matthews. I hope when the Reverend Mr. Matthews hears any thing to my disadvantage, he will give me an Opportunity of Confessing if Guilty, or Vindicating my self if Innocent, this will be according to the Rule of the Gospel, and a kindness to himself as well as to me. I have sent you the Original Certificates, from which I drew the Copies Inserted in my Letter, I am, Sir, Yours &c.

PAT. ADAIR.

I have seen those Original Certificates refer'd to in Mr. Adair's Letter, and find the Copies he gives of them to be exact. And upon the whole, the Reader will see that our Author's Argument against Dissenters wou'd be very good, were it no for two things that are wanting in it, viz. Truth in Fact, and good Reasoning in his Consequences.

The fourth Fault our Author finds with Dissenters in Ireland, during this Period, is, Their joining with the Town of Belfast in defending a Suit against the Interest of the Church. He expresseth himself thus, (p. 42.) 'About this time the Minister of Belfast was cast in a Suit, which highly concern'd the Interest of the Establish'd Church of Ireland; the Judgments and Reasons upon which it was grounded having entirely defeated the Act of Parliament, for the Provision of Ministers in Towns Corporate, and affected most if not all the Commissions of Valuation which had been, or cou'd be granted by Virtue of that Act.

He first endeavours to make the Cause Odious, and then he purposeth to gain his End, by shewing the Dissenters engaged in it, of whom

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he says, (p. 43.) 'There never surely was any Suit, which the Dissenters in general made more a *Party-Cause*, and which they and their Advocates laid more to heart; and indeed (all things being consider'd) it is not to be wondred at, Being likely to prove of the last Consequence to the Interest of the Kirk, upon several Accounts.

As to the Merits of the Cause, our Author acquaints us that he intends very soon to publish a full Account of it: but I hope it will be a more just one, than what's contain'd in the little Abstract of it, he has given in his Book; the unreasonableness whereof will appear to such as seriously Peruse a Printed half Sheet, with the *State of this Cause*, publish'd before Judgment was given in the Queen's-Bench, in favor of the Town. The Town of *Belfast* (tho' a Corporation of an hundred Years Standing) never paid House-Mony to their *Vicar*, who was formerly call'd *Vicar of Schankill*, that being the Ancient Name of the Parish of *Belfast*: The late Incumbent Mr. *Echlin*, and his Successor the present Incumbent Dr. *Tisdall*, carried on a Suit against the Town, and Claim'd the House-Mony by Virtue of the Statute 17. & 18. *Car. 2di. Cap. 7.* Entitled, *An Act for Provision of Ministers in Cities, Corporate-Towns &c.* Whereupon, the Corporation of *Belfast*, being advis'd by Council, That they were not included in the Letter or Meaning of the said Act of Parliament, defended their Rights, and Pleaded from the Preamble of the said Statute, which runs thus. 'That whereas there are SMALL OR NO TITHES OR OTHER DUTIES settled by Law upon the Incumbents who have Actual Care of Souls in the City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, and the Liberties thereunto adjoining, and in other Cities and Towns Corporate of this your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*. Therefore be it Enacted &c.' That they were not Affected by it, seeing *Belfast* is a *Vicarage* Endow'd by Law with *Glebe-Land*, all the small Tithes, and a third of the great Tithes; and that by a modest Computation, the Product of these and of the other Dues paid by the Inhabitants of the Town of *Belfast* to their *Vicar*, will amount *Communibus Annis* to 180 *lb. per Annum*, which they Pleaded from Adjudg'd Cases was a Competency for the *Vicar*; and that therefore the Reason of the Law was not binding in their Case. And they farther Pleaded, that tho' the said Sum of 180 *lb. per Annum* shou'd not be look'd upon as a Competency, yet even in that Case, which is the most favorable supposition for the *Vicar*, he can't legally Recover House-Money from the Inhabitants of the Town, but must

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Sue for an Augmentation to his Maintenance out of the *Rectorial* Tithes, because he that receives the Impropriation of these Tithes ought to Endow the *Vicar* with a Competent Maintenance.

These were some of the Pleas made by the Corporation of *Belfast*, and upon which Judgment was given in their Favor, agreeable to the Intention of the *Act of Parliament*. And the same can never be *Prejudicial*, either in it self or it's Consequences, to the Establish'd Church, because it deprives 'em of no Right to which they have any Legal Title; nor can it affect any *Valuation* that has been made in any Town Corporate, according to Law. And shou'd our Author be able to produce any Instance of a *Valuation*, granted in a Case Parallel to that of *Belfast*. i. e. where the Minister has at least 180 *lb per Annum*, and where there are sufficient *Rectorial* Tithes to supply the Defects of his maintenance, if there be any, 'twou'd be no Injury to the Church that such a *Valuation* were made void, because not Legal. And in the mighty Noise this Author has made about this matter, he has not been so tender of the Reputation of the Church, as he ought to have been. For instead of it's being for the Interest of the Church, 'tis rather a *Reflection* upon 'em, to seek what is not their *own*, and not to rest Contented with the Provision the Laws of the Kingdom have made for the Clergy, which is as handsome and Generous in *Ireland* (especially for the inferior Clergy) as in any Establish'd Protestant Church in the World; and therefore our Author, if he had thought fit, might have forbore the heavy Complaints he makes of sinking the Income of the Establish'd Clergy, Calling it a *Dragonable* state, into which this Judgment wou'd reduce all Ministers in Towns Corporate in this Kingdom.

That the *Dissenters* in general made this Law-Suit in *Belfast* a *Party-Cause*, is utterly denied. And it can be made appear, from those who Collected the Money for defending the Right of the Corporation, that not one Penny was paid towards it by any, but by the Inhabitants of the Town of *Belfast*, who were all personally concerned in it, and were to be affected by the Judgment to be given upon it: And almost all the inhabitants of any Figure and Substance, of ALL PERSUASIONS, did with equal Cheartfulness make their Voluntary Contributions towards it. And the *Dissenters* were far from following the Example of the *Convocation*, who indeed made it a *Party Cause*, and warmly Recommended it to the Clergy for their Assistance, as appears from the

## Part 2.

Public Printed Paper of the *Lower-House of Convocation*, directly espousing it as the *Cause of the Church*.

The *fifth* Fault our Author finds with Presbyterians, during this Period is, their Insolent Behaviour about the Tithes, instanced in the Case of Arch Deacon *Ford's* Proctor & the People to whom he was setting his Tithes, where he tells a Ridiculous Story (p. 46.) in these Words ' it seems during that Struggle, they were spirited up to the same Height, that they had been, when they Petitioned the King for the Church-Livings, as before-mentioned. And this you may learn from the second Relation, given to me by the Revd. Mr *Ford* Archdeacon of *Derry*, with Authority to publish it *viz.* That when his Proctor *George Leake* was setting his Tithes in the Diocess of *Derry* for the Year 1710, several of the Parishoners demanded of the said *Leake*, that he should engage before Witnesses, to return the several Sums agreed for, provided that they, who were Dissenters should be Exempted from Paying their Tithes, before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due.

Our Author Compares this Instance with another he had Accused 'em of before *viz.* Their *Petitioning the King for the Church-Livings*; wherein I think he is very much in the Right; the Comparison is very apt, & well Chosen: For I have shown [p. 406. &c.] that they presented no such Petition. And 'tis probable, this Story of the Archdeacon's Proctor is either a *meer-Jest* of some of these Drolling *Country-Farmers*, or the Height of Folly, if they were in Earnest; which needs nothing else to demonstrate it, but the Terms of their own Proposals, *viz.* That he should return the several Sums agreed for, provided that they who were Dissenters should be exempted from paying their Tithes, before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due. For how could the Sums be returned before they were paid, or is it credible, that they would be paid before the Terms of their Respective Payments became due? And if they were not paid before that, in case the Dissenters should be Exempted from paying before the Respective payments became due, in that Case they needed no *Covenant* to secure 'em, because there would be nothing due by 'em. And therefore such a senseless Proposal could come from no wise man, nor cou'd it be the Effect of any general Concert or Resolution of the Dissenters.

What he offers about their *Synods*, and *Missionaries* as he calls them, invading the *Conformists* Congregations, and their Managements

ments in *Drogheda* (all which he touches shortly in this Period) shall be set in a *true Light*, when I come to consider his more Particular Account of these *Facts* in the *last Part* of this Book; Upon the whole, I must submit it to the Judicious Reader, whether our Author has not *industriously rak'd* into a Parcel of (at best) ill Attested and groundless Stories, unreasonably strain'd, to *sully* the Characters of *Loyal, Peaceable* and *Sound* Protestants. I have been oblig'd (by his Method) to mention some *few things*, particularly the *Instances* of Charity, under the former Reign, which Properly belong to this Period; which I did, to prevent the Trouble of going back to Review his Accounts of 'em, after I had finished what properly belonged to that Reign.

Part 2.



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PART

## PART III.


Wherein the *Second* and *Third* Parts of the Pamphlet Entitled, *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland with respect both to Church and State*, are Examined.

## CHAP. I.

*Wherein the first Four Facts Charged upon Presbyterians in the Second Part of the Conduct of the Dissenters viz, 1st. Their Synods and Assemblies. 2ly, Their Ruling Elders. 3ly, The private Philosophy-School of Killeleagh, and 4thly, Their Writing and Preaching against the Establish'd Form of Marriage; Are Set in a true Light, and a Modest Apology offered for them.*

Our Author Undertakes in his second Part of his second Letter to give an Enumeration of some particular Facts well attested, illustrating and confirming what is affirmed of them in the first Part. And therefore, the natural Method of treating this subject will oblige me, first,

to consider the *facts* by him alledged against Presbyterians. & then, 2ly, inquire how far they illustrate and confirm what he has affirmed against 'em in his first part.

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The first of these he sets forth in these terms p : 48.

## F A C T I.

' The Dissenters of this Kingdom (*says he*) presume so far to exert the inherent Right of *Christ's Kingdom*, as they phrase *Presbyterian Government*) that they convene *when and where* they please, form themselves into *Presbyteries, Classical and Provincial Synods*: in which Assemblies, by the principles of their Ecclesiastical Polity, they exercise a jurisdiction *superior to and Independant* of the Civil Magistrate, in Many Instances. These Assemblies are Frequent and Numerous of late, very publick, with an appearance of Authority, at some times: as private with doors and Windows shut, at other Times: insomuch that all *Considerate Men* are amaz'd at their Presumption, and Alarmed at the Manner of their proceedings.

Let us hear what the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* offer in their own defence, in their *humble Address and Apology to her Majesty*, with respect to this very fact (*Vide present State of Religion in Ireland p. 28*) ' That we not only meet for the Worship of God, but also in smaller and larger Societies, for preserving of Order, purging our Communion of Scandalous and irregular Persons, & for suppressing Immorality and profaneness, is what we freely acknowledge to your Majesty. And those Meetings (as their Lordships observe) are commonly called *Synods and Judicatories*, being so termed in these Churches where they have Civil sanction.

' These Judicatories in *North-Britain* being Established by the *British Parliament*, as a FUNDAMENTAL of that UNION which your Majesty has in your Gracious speeches from the *Throne* declared to be *One of the greatest Glories of your Reign*: We humbly hope, that your Majesty's *Permission* of them here, to those of the same principles, will not be Prejudicial to your *Prerogative*.

' And we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest Assured, that nothing derogatory to your Majesty's Honor and Safety, nor to the Royal Dignity and Prerogative of the Crown, was ever so much

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as once moved or thought upon in any of these Meetings. No Civil Affairs were ever under their Consideration: None but those who *voluntarily declared* themselves to be of their persuasion, were at any time affected by them. No Coercive power was ever exercised upon any, nor was there ever any Circumstance or Management in these Meetings inconsistent with the peace of the Kingdom, or with the Liberties, and Properties of your Subjects.

This Contains a full Answer to our Author's *general Charge*, about this *fact*: As to the principles of Presbyterians, about *Church-Government*, and the rules of their *Discipline*, and their opinion about the *Inherent* or *Intrinsic* power, I have considered them in the first part of this book, and Vindicated 'em from our Author's Calumnious Misrepresentations of 'em as injurious to the Civil Magistrate.

Her Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to allow her Presbyterian subjects in *Ireland* the Liberty of Meeting for the Public Worship of God, according to their Consciences: And therefore they Humbly hope, that her Royal *Wisdom* and *Clemency* will permit them to meet in those Assemblies likewise, which are necessary (in their humble opinion & according to the principles which their Consciences dictate to them) for the decent ordering of their *Worshipping* Assemblies, the purging of them of scandalous and irregular persons, for preventing the *sacred* and *solemn seals* of the *New Covenant* from being prostituted to the openly prophane, contrary to the Invariable rules of the Gospel, and the pious *Constitutions* of the *primitive*, & of all the *Reformed Churches* in the world; and for preventing the people from being seduced in their principles, and debauched in their Morals, by *Heretical* and *Scandalous* persons *creeping* into, and *continuing* in the Office of the *holy Ministry*.

How can they enjoy the Liberty of public Worship, unless their *Pastors* be allowed to Meet and to *Ordain* qualified Persons, to *preside* in it? How can they Administer the Sacraments to their People, without Encouraging Scandalous *Enormities*, unless they may be allowed a *Liberty of denying* them to impenitently Scandalous Offenders? and how can they do this without hearing them, and endeavoring to Reform them? Wou'd it not be a *Reproach* to the *Protestant Religion*, and tend to the Dishonor of God, to permit a Man that is an open *Heretick* or *lewdy profane*, to be a *Presbyterian Minister*? And how



shall Presbyterian Ministers shew their Regard to the Honor of Religion, to the Souls of Men whom they have the charge of, and to the Welfare of Civil Society and the Nation, if they shou'd not discountenance every such Person? Might not all Men think them *Partial and Base*, if they shou'd admit any one to be a Minister or a Member of any of their Congregations, or to *continue* such, merely because he *professeth* himself to be a *Presbyterian*, tho' otherwise void of all good Principles and Morality? This wou'd be the *wilest of Party-Interests*, and wou'd show Men to be more Zealous for *Presbytery* than for *Christianity*.

Wou'd it not be an *ungrateful Return* to Her Majesty's Royal Clemency, in permitting them to enjoy under her Auspicious Government, the Liberty of their public Worship, shou'd they allow their Worshipping Assemblies to be the Sanctuaries of Vice and Error, and their Pulpits to Chime the deceitful Notes of *Unsound Doctrine*, instead of conveying the *joyful sound* of the Gospel to Immortal Souls. Reformation of Manners is not so far advanced, as to supersede the necessity of a joint vigorous opposition, from Protestants of all Persuasions, to the *Rampant Wickedness* and growing Iniquities of the Age. I can't but conclude, that tho' her Majesty has given all the Proofs which the Church of *England* can desire, of her being entirely in their Interest, it would be very agreeable to a Prince of her Piety, to find that the *Power of Godliness* were Thriving and Cherish'd in the *Dissenting*, as well as in the *Establish'd* Congregations of her Subjects.

Both Churches, *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian*, are agreed, that *Godly Discipline* is very necessary in every Church; they are agreed, as to the true ends of it too; only they differ as to the Persons, with whom the Power of it ought to be Lodged. It is not my business, in this Book, to Debate which of their *Schemes* is the *best*; but I wou'd fain know, what harm wou'd there be, in a mutual forbearance of one another in this point. There is a great body of sound Protestants in *Ireland*, who, tho' they Love and Honor all good Men of the *Episcopal Communion*, yet never had *freedom and clearness* in their Consciences to join with *Episcopacy*; and who dare not, for fear of Sinning against God, forsake their Principles, until they be once *convinc'd* of their being in the wrong: These People are allowed to Worship God publickly in their own way; where can the harm be of allowing them to use *all the endeavors* they can, for *Reforming* wicked Men from their *sinful*

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Courses, and for preventing their Congregations from being infected by the *Contagion* of bad example? 'Tis true, their Brethren of the Episcopal Communion do think, that every one ought to submit to their Establish'd *Church-Government*, and that this wou'd Answer all the ends of Discipline; but I must observe that they are likewise of Opinion, that every one shou'd Joyn in their Worship too, and be constantly of their *Communion*; and yet considering that *Presbyterians* are sound *Protestants*, agreeing with themselves in all the *Fundamentals* of the *Reform'd Religion*, they must think that the difference is tolerable, and therefore that the *Dissenters* ought not to be *Persecuted* in that point, merely for *Conscience sake*. I must confess, I can see no reason why the same forbearance ought not to be shown 'em in the matter of their Discipline, as in their Worship: For in both, the Plea is the same. The *Presbyterians* think that their Worship is the purest and most *Scriptural*, and they have the same *Sentiments* of their *Discipline*. They think the Word of God obliges their *Pastors* to meet in *Collegiate* and *Associate* Bodies, for their joint Acting in matters merely Ecclesiastical; and that they offend God the *Supreme Legislator*, if they neglect this Duty: And while they and their People retain this Principle, they must Act in Pursuance of it.

Hereupon I wou'd offer to the Consideration of all *sober* and *moderate Conformists*, whether it were not better for the advancement of Piety and Religion, to permit the *Presbyterian Ministers* to Meet Peaceably for the ends abovemention'd, without *Molestation*; Whether it be not likely, that a Method which is entirely agreeable to the *Consciences* of the People shou'd do them *most good*, for Restraining them from Sin, and gaining all the ends of Discipline; or, whether a *forcible Compulsion* of Men's Conscience to submit to what is *Repugnant* to it's Dictates can have that Weight and Influence upon them, in the Exercise of Discipline, and for gaining it's valuable Ends.

The Question is shortly reducible to these terms, Whether seeing both *Episcopals* and *Presbyterians* are agreed, that for the suppressing of iniquity and immorality, there ought to be *Discipline*, and that it is a *great sin* to neglect it, and seeing *Presbyterians* declare that in Conscience they can't conform to the *Scheme* and *Model* of it us'd in the Established Church; whether (I say) in this case the *Presbyterians* shall have *no benefit* of any Discipline; or, whether they shou'd be forced to submit to one against their conscience; or, whether they shall be

be permitted to use it, as they have done above seventy years by past in Ireland? With submission, I think the Resolution very easy. For, to deny them the *Benefit* of all *Discipline* is to give *loose reins* to all kind of wickedness; and whether *Presbytery* or open *Immorality* be more tolerable, let the world judge. By forcing any one Scheme upon 'em against their Consciences, the ends of *Discipline* can never be obtain'd. Fines, imprisonment, & Banishment may make men *Hypocrites*, but will never make them *Good Christians* nor good *Church-Men*, as Experience abundantly shows. And therefore it seems plain to me, that 'tis better to permit them the Liberty of their own Scheme, than either to force another upon 'em that won't reach the End, or to deny them *Discipline* altogether.

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This fact set thus in a true Light, can never be *Prejudicial* either to *Church* or *State*, and therefore can never confirm what our Author has affirmed against *Presbyterians* in the first Part of his second Letter. Let him disprove (if he can) what their Ministers aver to her Majesty, in their above-mentioned *Apology*. And unless the promoting of *Piety*, and the consulting of the best *Expedients* they can think of for opposing *Sin*, be thought *Prejudicial* to the *Church*, I know no *Prejudice* they receive by such Meetings. Besides, 'tis Evident from the Reverend Mr *Hall's* Letter, in name of the largest Meeting of them, in the case of Mr *Liston*, which I have inserted p. 414. that such Meetings are useful and have been accordingly used, for correcting the *Indiscretions* of any of their own Members to the *Established Church*; so far are they from doing any thing, that is *unneighbourly* or *undecent*.

But our Author, from the General Account he gives of this fact, descends to a particular instance of the procedure of a Meeting of *Presbyterian Ministers*, in the case of Mr *William Gray*; (a Minister of their Persuasion, near the City of *London-Derry*) which he thinks may serve for all: He gives the Narrative of this Case, as (he says) it was read by the Reverend Arch-deacon *Andrew Hamilton*, in his information to the Convocation August 1715.

I shall give the Reader a short and true Account of it, from the *Minutes* of those Meetings who considered it, and show wherein the Reverend Doctor *Hamilton* has been *misinformed* in some circum-  
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raunces; and then *Vindicate* the proceedings of the Ministers, from the *invidious Reflections* cast upon 'em by our Author.

Mr *William Gray*, tho' a man of Good sense and a good *Preacher*, finding that he cou'd not obtain the consent of his Parents, *Marry'd* *Clandestinely*, and conceal'd it for a considerable time. As soon as it was discovered, the Presbytery reprov'd him, *suspended* him from his Ministry, and sent one of their Number to receive his *Penitential Acknowledgment* before his Congregation: which he made very readily, and very much to the satisfaction of all who heard him. In the mean time, they were under some difficulty about sustaining his Marriage, because he offer'd only *one witness* to prove it; and refused to acquaint them with the name of the Person, who Married him, being under some Engagements to conceal that, as he affirmed; but upon their Opinion of his *Veracity*, with the *concurrent Testimony* of that *one witness*, they believed he was really Married. In the mean time, One *Stephenson* who lived near *London-Derry*, accused the said Mr *Gray* of Notorious scandalous practices, which he with great *Assurance* and *Violence* offer'd to prove against him, and this laid the Presbytery under a necessity of hearing what the said *Stephenson* cou'd say: The fame of this being spread through the Country, Mr *Gray's* Congregation, which is very numerous, came to hear what cou'd be said against their *Minister*, whom they still believed to be innocent. The Presbytery were oblig'd, for *their* satisfaction, and for the satisfaction of many others who were longing to know the issue, to inquire into this Matter publicly in the Meeting-house of *London-Derry* with *open doors*, where they took an Account of what *Stephenson's* Evidences cou'd say. *Stephenson* alledging that they were partial in favor of Mr *Gray*, apply'd to a Meeting of all the other Presbyteries at *Atrim* in *June* 1706, Upon which that Presbytery stopt any further proceedings, at that time. The aforesaid Meeting in *June* 1706, finding *Stephenson* adhere to his Accusation against Mr *Gray*, and that he pretended he cou'd not bring his Witnesses so far abroad, but that he cou'd prove all, if some Ministers and Elders were allow'd by them to hear this Cause in some *convenient Place*, where they cou'd attend, I did therefore concert that *sixteen Ministers* and as many Elders shou'd meet at *Strabane*, and bring that matter to an issue: and that the Presbyterian Minister *there* shou'd be allow'd to signify to *all Persons of our Persuasion*, who either by *Stephenson* or Mr *Gray* shou'd be alledg'd capable of discovering the truth in that affair, that

that it was *their earnest desire*, they might appear and declare it before that *Committee*.

When this Committee met, they first spent some time in Prayer for Divine Direction; and there being a great Number of Mr. Gray's Congregation present, desiring to be heard in his case, and divers Gentlemen and others of the Country, and some of 'em of the *Establish'd Church*, who desired the favour of being admitted to be present as Auditors, The *Committee* cou'd not, in point of *Discretion* and *Civility* hinder them, which was the Cause of their Managing so publickly. They finding, that Mr. *Holmes*, Presbyterian Minister at *Strabane*, had sent *Advertisements* to some Persons who were Members of the *Establish'd Church*, did publickly declare, it was never *their Intention* to give him any Instructions to that purpose; and he as publickly declared, that he knew not of their being of the Communion of the Church.

After a full Hearing of all that was offer'd by Mr. *Gray's* Accuser, and his Defences (wherein they spent *several days*) they came to an *Unanimous* resolution, that there appear'd nothing from whence they cou'd conclude Mr. *Gray* Guilty of any of the Particulars laid to his Charge, by the said *Stephenson*. And Mr. *Gray*, to remove all ground of Suspicion, gave the most *solemn Declaration* of his Innocence with respect to those Facts, which cou'd be given by any Man.

There was one thing more, which this Committee did in Mr. *Gray's* Case; and that was with Relation to the Proof of his Marriage. Whatever Charity might be due to Mr. *Gray*, from their good Opinion of him; yet they concluded, that he himself being a *Party*, and having but *one Witness* that affirmed his being Married, it might prove a *bad Precedent*, to look upon the *Testimony* of a *single Witness* as sufficient Proof in such a Case; and therefore they came to a Resolution, that they wou'd not take off the *Suspension* under which he lay, until he wou'd either produce the *Certificate* of the *Clergy-man* who Married him, concurring with the *Testimony* of that *Witness*; or, make some other *good and sufficient* proof that he was married; and gave Instructions to some of their Number, to remove his *Suspension*, as soon as he did *either*. And accordingly in some short time after, Mr. *Gray* produc'd a *Certificate* of the *Clergy-man* who married him, and a Resolution of the *Official Court*, judging and approving the same to be a  
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Legal and Valid proof of his Marriage; whereupon, without *any* further Censure, he was restored to the *Exercise* of his Ministry.

The Reverend Dr. *Hamilton* has been Misinformed in some part of his Narrative of this Case (and his mistakes are imputed to nothing else) and particularly in what he offers in these Words ‘ The Committee, as I am informed, took an Oath each of them to examine, and judge Impartially, Swearing after the manner of *Scotland* with their *Right hand* lifted up—The Witnesses were called, and most of them Sworn after the same manner’. For tho’ the Committee made a Declaration to that purpose he mentions, they took no Oath, nor were any of the Witnesses Sworn, but made a *solemn Declaration* as in the sight of God, that what they spoke was true. And that this is the general Practice of such Meetings in such Cases, is plain from the following Paragraph of the *second Apology* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the *North of Ireland* to her Majesty (vide *Present State of Religion in Ireland* p. 34.) ‘ For we Administer no Oath (*say they*) to Witnesses examin’d by us, unless a solemn Voluntary Declaration of the truth before us may be accounted as such’. Neither did the Members of that Committee, nor the Witnesses who appear’d there *lift up their hands* at the making of these Declarations, neither was the Dissenting Minister of *Strabane* Clerk to that Committee, nor was there any such Resolution taken, that the whole expence that shou’d attend this Affair shou’d be defray’d out of the common Stock.

But there are some things in the Dr’s Narrative, which are true in Fact, but seem to be said (at least quoted by our Author) with an Air of reflection upon the Conduct of that Meeting at *Strabane*, as namely, *first*, ‘ That they continued sitting with their *doors open*, and vast crowds of People, and their whole Proceedings were as public as any Court of Judicature possibly cou’d be’. But this I have obviated already, and shewn the reasons why that was inevitable. ‘ And *2dly*, That one of the Articles of *Stephenson’s* Libel against Mr. *Gray* was, *that the said Gray* conversed much with those of a different Persuasion’. The Answer is plain; that was *Stephenson’s* Impertinence only, for which the Ministers were not to be blam’d, and they reprov’d him for it; and *3dly*, That they issued out Summons for Witnesses. The form whereof the Reverend Dr. sets down. But let us hear what the Presbyterian Ministers of the *North of Ireland* affirm to be their constant Practice in such Cases, in their last mentioned Apology to her Majesty (*Ibid.* p. 35) ‘ Nor do

we issue out Summons to any, but *earnestly desire* (without any Penalty) such as we suppose can give us a true account of Scandalous Immoralities in any of our *Persuasion*, to acquaint us with 'em, in order to the suppressing of Sin, and Convincing and Reforming the Guilty: These *earnest desires*, in compliance with the *Customary* way of speaking, are *sometimes call'd Summons*, being all we use instead of them'. And the very Copy of the Paper which the Archdeacon inserts is a proof of this: for it runs thus, 'These are therefore to *desire* and *obtest* you, as you value the Glory of God, the good of Religion, and the Maintaining of Truth, to appear before a Committee of Ministers at *Strabane &c.*' What can this be call'd but an *earnest desire without any Penalty*?

Our Author p<sup>l</sup>eth some Invidious Reflections upon this proceeding in Mr. *Gray's* Case, and he can't have patience till he come to the Case it self, but must prejudice his Reader with a *false State* of it, in the Contents prefixt to his Letter, in these Words, p. 3d. 'Fact I. Of their Synods and Assemblies, in what manner they Exercise their Illegal Jurisdiction, an instance given of their whole procedure in the Case of *William Gray* a Dissenting Teacher, for being Married by a Minister of the Establish'd Church'. This is a notorious Mistake in Fact, for Mr. *Gray* was never Censur'd for being Married by a Minister of the Establish'd Church, but because he Married *Clandestinely*, and because for *some time* he did not make *satisfying Proof* of the Marriage: so far was he from being Censur'd on the account mentioned by our Author, that it was agreed, that as soon as he shou'd produce a Certificate of his Marriage, from the Clergyman who Married him, his *Censure shou'd be taken off*.

He insinuates grievous reflections in two Questions propos'd by him. The first is 'if the Presbyterians of this Kingdom dare act with such an appearance of Authority in the Exercise of an illegal Jurisdiction; if they presume to act in so public & avowed manner as in the case mentioned, what may be reasonably supposed to be the subject of their consultations, when their assemblies are kept with the *greatest privacy*, with their doors and windows shut and guarded? if such be their works of light, what may we suppose to be their works of darkness?

Our Author is resolv'd to find fault with those Meetings, let 'em carry as they will: for if they do their business publicly in the face of the World, this is reckon'd a *daring* and a *presuming*. And

## Part 3.

if to prevent any One's taking *Umbrage* from their *appearing publicly*, they manage their affairs in a more retired manner, presently he is for infusing jealousies of there being some dangerous thing in these works of darkness; this is hard treatment.

But to satisfy all *sober Protestants*, that there are no bad designs hatched amongst Presbyterians in such *private Assemblies*, either against *Church or State*; I freely publish to the World the reasons of their holding their Meetings more privately upon some occasions. Sometimes such affairs come before them, as they cannot shun a more public way of hearing them, for such reasons as I have Mentioned in the case of Mr *Gray*. But then a great deal depends upon the prudent way of *concerting a Method* of treating such Affairs, that precious time be not spent by hearing *needless Altercations*, and multiplying Business unnecessarily. To prevent which, The Ministers usually *consult among themselves* how to Manage decently and expeditiously, and sometimes fall upon an happy *Expedient* for agreeing the Matter, and preventing trouble to themselves and others; and where is the fault of all this?

Frequently Vacant Congregations apply to such Meetings, for their Advice & concurrence, about fit Persons to be recommended to their Choice for Pastors: In such cases, Ministers think it prudent to consult privately amongst themselves, that they may use their own *necessary freedom* about the *Characters* of men; and it would be *imprudent and uncharitable* to use that necessary freedom *openly* before the World; what needs, or why shou'd the World know, what every Minister *freely discourses* about the *gifts, temper, and fitness or unfitness, of such and such* a man for *such* a Congregation? is not this a very Innocent secret?

The public *Gazettes* and other News-Papers show, that the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, have oft presented to her Majesty and her Royal Predecessors, most *Loyal and Dutiful Addresses*; and that when troubles were brought on them, upon account of their *Non-Conformity*, they have been obliged by humble Petitions to apply for Relief: And it being the *Right of the Subject*, to have a Liberty of Petitioning and Addressing the Civil Magistrate both *Supreme and subordinate*; I know no Law, to hinder Presbyterian Ministers to meet for that purpose. If they have a Right to Petition, must not they have a Right also to *meet*, in order to *prepare and Sign* their Petition,

and



and to consult of prudent Methods for Managing it? To deny them the *latter*, is to deny them the *former*, which is the *Right of every subje<sup>t</sup>*. Now the Presbyterian Ministers can't be blam'd, if they retire and consult amongst themselves upon these points; what Right has any man to be present with them? or what injury is done to any man by their being together without his presence, when they deliberate upon such matters? What reason has any man to take it ill, that the Presbyterian Ministers do not think fit, to let him in to their business with the Government? I'm sure the more *peaceable* and *modest* they are in their applications, not only in the *matter*, but the *manner* of 'em, they are the more Commendable; and the way to show themselves to be of that Temper, is not to make a noise with open doors about their Grievances, and their *Representations* of 'em to their *Superiors*.

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I hope this *Ingenious* and *Candid* account of what the Presbyterian Ministers Transact in their more private *Concerts* and *Assemblies*, will satisfy all the *Charitable* and *judicious* of another Persuasion, that there is no harm in them; tho' our Author has done what he cou'd to *foment uncharitable jealousies*, when he can prove nothing.

His *second* Question is of a piece with the first ' Since *(says he)* by these Synodical Meetings, as well as by their Monthly and quarterly Communion, the Dissenters take occasion of calling their Members together, *when and where* they please: whether this device seems not more *Political* than *Religious*, and whether this Liberty of Numbring their people, at such times and places as they shall judge convenient, may not prove of dangerous consequence?

Hardly can any thing be more uncharitable than these insinuations. For all Protestants look upon the *Lord's Supper* to be the most *solemn Act of devotion*, and Covenanting with their Blessed Redeemer; and to insinuate that Presbyterians call their Members together, and take a liberty of numbring their people at such times, and places, and more from a *political* device than from Religion, is to call them *abominable Hypocrites*: They can appeal to the searcher of Hearts, that they never had, nor have such a design in Meeting for the service of God, nor yet in (what he calls) their *Synodical Meetings*, the true ends whereof have been described above.

As to the business of *Pentland-hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*, and the Sanguinary Laws which occasion'd 'em, and the tumults in King

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*Charles 1st's* time, which, he says, were concerted at these Assemblies, they have been considered already in their proper place. All I shall say of 'em here, is, that what he calls Tumults in King *Charles 1st's* Reign in *Scotland*, were (in their opinion) nothing but the People's just defence of their Liberties, if he understands this of their assisting the Parliament of *England* in the Civil War: but he is wretchedly mistaken, if he thinks that either the Insurrection at *Pentland hills*, or at *Bothwell-Bridge* was concerted in any Synodical Meeting; for it's known, that before either of them, the Ministers were under such hor- persecution, that they could have no Synodical Meetings at all. And if they had been allowed to keep such Meetings, 'tis highly probable that they might have used such means for preserving the peace of the Country, as wou'd have prevented these Insurrections.

But it's time now to come to the second Fact, objected to the Pres- byterians, in our Author's 2d Letter p. 51. in these Words,

## F A C T II.

' In the several parishes of this Kingdom, where the Presbyterian Congregations are fixed, their Teachers have a considerable number of Auxiliaries, called *Ruling Elders*; a kind of Ecclesiastical Volun- teers of the *Kirk Militant*, who act as their Teachers assistants in propogating their Schism amongst the Common people. The eminent danger of these Ecclesiastical Officers to the Establish'd Church will appear, First, by the Description of them taken from their Books of Discipline, Acts of Assemblies and most Authentick Writers. Secondly, from some Practices in their Ecclesiastical Capa- cities amongst the People.'

The Presbyterian Ministers Judge it agreeable to the Word of God, and for Edification, to have some of the more knowing and discreet Peo- ple of their Congregations, to join in Consultation with them, for the better Ordering their Affairs, and advancing the Ends of Discipline; these are called *Ruling Elders*, and represented by our Author, as dan- gerous Auxiliaries; but if the Ministers themselves cannot be proved dangerous, then their Auxiliaries may pass without this Reflection.

In our Author's Description of the *Ruling Elder*, he sets forth his Inherent Power in Church-Assemblies, to excommunicate Magistrates, In- termeddle in Peace & War, abrogate all Laws, which are found Noisome and

Unprofitable, and agree not with the times, or are abused by the People, having an appeal to himself in those Assemblies, from the Parliament, with a Power according to their Discipline to declare a Law void when he's Over-ruled in Parliament. But I have fully Answered all this in the first part of this Book p. 56 &c; whether I refer my Reader.

Our Author having Describ'd an imaginary *Formidable Power* in these *Ruling Elæers*, with Relation to the Prince and Laws, he adds p. 53. 'Nor is this Power less exorbitant with respect to the People. It is plain to any Person acquainted with their Discipline, that the Common-people are *perfect Slaves* and *Vassals* to these Elders, especially when these Elders have a good understanding & Act in Confort with their Minister, they command not only the mind and boanes but the very *Substance* of the *poor people*, whom I take to be *Actually* in a *State of Persecution*, when ever their Elders please to be Tyrannical.

Here is a *bundle of uncharitable and unprov'd Assertions*. These Elders are all chosen by the People, are commonly of the *discreetest* and *nifest* among them, and neither have nor can have any *separate Interest* from them. Wherein then and by what possible Means, can they exercise this Tyranny over them? have they any *Compulsory Power*? they *can't Command* their Substance, nor do they ask them to employ it *any way*, but as they do themselves employ *their own*. He must have a very discerning Judgment, who can find *Persecution* in this.

He's Alarm'd (*Ibid*) at the Kirk of Ireland's endeavors for some Years, to *single out the most Considerable and Active Men*, and who have the *most Numerous Dependance in point of Trade*, to be Elders; and this in the Course of their History (*says he*) will be *generally found to Pre-  
sage some Attempt towards the Erection of Christ's Kingdom*. I cou'd heartily wish our Author had forbore, and that for the future he wou'd forbear, the scoffing Jears with which he Treats the *Kingdom of Christ*. But however that be, I can see no force in his application: For his meaning is, that whenever the better sort of the people are made Elders, then they must have some attempt for a *Legal Establishment* in View; as if none but *Legal Establish'd Churches* were to have any rich or wise Men to be of their *Officers*; and all others must content themselves with *fools and poor folks*.

He makes these Elders *Powerful Labourers in Building up the Kirk*, (p. 543) *taking for their Materials all the loose Stones and Rubbish they can pick from the Church*. No Church can be the worse to want her *Rub-  
bish*;

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bish: And for her *loose Stones*, the Church has more advantage to *Cement* them, than the Elders have to pick them out. And if any of them be so *loose*, as to fall by their own weight, and never stop till they get into a *Meeting-House*, I know no reason why the *Minister* and his *Elders* shou'd cast 'em out again. As for any *Industrious Practising* upon the Members of the Church, to draw them from her Communion; 'tis utterly deny'd, that the said Elders make that their business. The *Presbyterians* do generally in all mixt Companies forbear the raising of any *Debates* about their *Persuasion*; when they have been attack'd by others, they frequently have declin'd to engage 'em, for Peace sake: When they have been much *provok'd*, they have given a modest Account of the reasons of their *Dissenting* from the Church, but are seldom or never the Aggressors. And if any of 'em have at any time from *Indiscretion* begun such *Disputes*, or *Maintain'd* them with too much *Acrimony*, the Body of *Presbyterians* don't approve such Practices, and are not Chargeable with them.

But Our Author has found out the *Artifices* of those *intriguing Elders*, when he tells us (*ibid*) ' They level and adapt themselves to the failings of the Common-People, they *sigh* and *groan* to *seduce* the *Melancholy*; smile in the face of those *stubborn* and undutiful Children, at whom the Church *frowns*; and are ready, with open arms, to embrace those whom she *Excommunicates* ' I can't but call this *mere Calumny*, I'm sure it deserves no better name. For I neither know nor believe, that there is any Elder so *profligate* and void of *Conscience*, as to be guilty of this: If a man be excommunicated for meer *Non conformity*, for an *Escher-groat* or a *Trifle*, the Dissenters are not so very *scrupulous*, as to refuse to join in Communion with him: If the Excommunicated person has been a member of the Established Church, and Excommunicated by them for *notorious scandalous sin* Impenitently persisted in, tho' the *Presbyterians* can't shut their *Meeting-house* doors upon such an one, more than they can do upon a *Papist*, a *Jew* or an *Heathen*, yet they never admit such a person to fellowship in the *Lords-supper* with them, before he repent of his sin and become a new man. And our Author is *put to his defiance*, to show an instance to the contrary, unless it has happen'd thro' *Inadvertency* and *Ignorance*, and without any *design*.

Seeing *Presbyterians* neither confine *trade* nor *Charity* to themselves, nor are so *base* as to make quitting the Established Church and going to *Meeting*, the Condition of any person's subsistence among them;

as I have shown p. 433, 440 &c. the Author's pretending to fix these things upon their *Elders*, is a *groundless* aspersion. Part 3.

He is either mightily under the dominion of a *pannick fear*, or of a strong *propensity* to pretend it, when he tells his Reader ' that if ' some effectual care be not taken to protect the common-people ' from *these perverters* (i. e. the *Elders*) the *whole mass* must be in danger of being seduced from their *Conformity* to the Establish'd Church, ' to which end, that part of their Discipline seems principally calculated '.

He wonders great numbers are not drawn over, and he gives this reason ' For it must be considered, in the Conflict between the *Church* ' and the *Kirk*, in the preservation and enlargement of their respective Flocks, the Dissenting Teacher with his 18 or perhaps 36 *volunteers*, is permitted to engage with *one* Establish'd Minister, and his 2 Church-Wardens (both perhaps *prest-men*) ; and then it is ealie to see, what may be expected of this unequal Engagement ; neither is it consistent with the *Character* of a *true Minister* of Christ, to amuse ' the people by *pious frauds* and such *tricks*, as I am firmly persuaded ' many of the *Lay-Elders* do.

He must be *very Ignorant of History*, that thinks that part of the *Presbyterian Discipline* concerning *Elders*, to be calculated for the purpose mention'd by our Author. For there are Elders in many of the *Reform'd Churches* abroad, where neither the Establish'd Churches of *England* or *Ireland* ever had Footing, and the Elders in *Ireland* were calculated for the *same* and *no other* ends, than these design'd by Elders in *France*, *Holland*, *Geneva*, and other places.

Our Author speaks as if he were drawing out the Forces of the two Parties into the *Line of Battle* ; and indeed as he marshalls 'em the Engagement is very unequal, if they were going to blows in Earnest : But he may rest assur'd, the Dissenting Minister and his 36 or 18 Volunteers (which, by the way, is a *greater number* than I ever heard of in any Congregation in *Ireland*) will take no Advantage of his Brother, with his *two prest men*. And for amusing the people with *pious Frauds* and *Tricks*, they leave it to him either to prove the guilt in *them*, or to confess it *for himself*. Let him take his choice.

And upon the whole, I wou'd recommend it to the Author to review this *second Fact*. and consider what he has proved. Why, he has just prov'd, that, amongst the Presbyterians in *Ireland*, there are

Part 3,

are such Officers, as are in many excellent *Reformed Churches* abroad, called *Elders*: But that these Elders are dangerous either to *Church* or *State*, he has stoutly averr'd, and left it unprov'd as he found it, with many *Calumnies* and *groundless Jealousies* rais'd by him against an *harmless people*. I thought this second part of his Letter was to have given an *Enumeration of Facts well attested*; but if his bare Testimony be enough to do the work, he has got a *cheap* and *easy* way of attesting all he advances.

He closes his Narrative of this *Fact* with a grave Proposal, which seems to be his Principal Aim p. 55. 'Wou'd it not become the Wisdom of the Legislature, to preserve the Common People from the Contagion of that *Schism*, which is thus industriously spread, with a design to Corrupt the whole Mass of the Common people, to take the Firebrands from these Foxes Tails, and make any base Methods of perverting the People Penal, as they must be allowed Criminal.

This Gentleman not Content with the Penal Laws already in being against his *Dissenting Brethren*, wou'd have these *wholesome severities* increas'd. But we have too Gracious a Queen, and too wise a Nobility and Gentry, to listen to such *peevish unseasonable* Countels.

The Application he makes of the *Foxes* and *Fire-brands* had been more Judicious, had it pointed at the Jesuitical cunning of Popish Foxes, & their subservient Tools, who blow the Coal of Fierce *Contention* and *Persecution* amongst Protestants; the Restraining of whose Fury, were indeed a Work worthy of our Noble Legislature. But if the Presbyterian Ministers and their Elders must pass for *Foxes* and *Firebrands*; I hope they will be only such Foxes and Firebrands, as *Sampson* made use of against the *Philistines*; and that our Gracious Queen, and after Her, the illustrious House of *Hanover*, will prove *British Sampsons* in using them in Conjunction with all other good Protestants, for *extinguishing Popery* and all its Devices.

But I come next to consider what our Author Advances, with respect to

### FACT III.

' The Dissenters of *Ireland* (says he p. 55) in order to perpetuate their Schism by a Succession of *Planters* and *Waterers*, (as they usually phrase their Teachers) have Erected a Seminary in the *North of Ireland*

‘ Ireland, at a place call’d Killileagh, where Students are Taught their  
 ‘ Course of *Philosophy*, and afterwards have been sent to be instructed  
 ‘ in their Divinity Lectures by the great Professor Mr. *Mc. Bride* at  
 ‘ *Belfast*.

Part 3.  


The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland Answer to the  
 first part of this charge in their *second Apology* (vide *Present State of Re-  
 ligion in Ireland* p. 35) ‘ We own (say they) there is one of our Per-  
 ‘ suasion, who teacheth a Philosophy-School by Licence from the  
 ‘ Chancellor of the *Diocess*, under the Seal of the Court, and who hath  
 ‘ taken the Oaths by Law required. And as there is *no other Seminary*  
 ‘ amongst us to our Knowledge, so we are assured that *no Anti-monar-  
 ‘ chical Principle* is Taught either *there*, or by *any* of our Communion;  
 ‘ who are all according to our known Principles and Practice, *unani-  
 ‘ mously* for the Monarchy of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, as an happy  
 ‘ Constitution, which ought to be Inviolably preserv’d in these King-  
 ‘ doms.

If the Authot’s design be, that when any Presbyterian Minister  
 Dies, he shall have *no Successor*, let him speak out. But if Presbyteri-  
 ans be permitted to have a Succession of Ministers, they must either  
 have unlearned and unqualified Men; or, they must go abroad for  
 their Education. which, besides the carrying of so much Money out of  
 the Kingdom and putting *hardships* upon Loyal Subjects, won’t be very  
 Serviceable for the Interest of the Establish’d Church, unless they I-  
 magine that *Scotch* Presbyterian Education will make ’em less danger-  
 ous to the Church of *England*, than *Irish* Education wou’d; or, they  
 must be allowed some Philosophy-School at home, which is no singu-  
 lar thing in *Ireland*: For the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Gowan*, a Man of  
 bright Parts and Learning, for many Years Taught both *Divinity* and  
*Philosophy* in *Antrim* in King *Charles 2d’s* Reign, without disturbance,  
 & with great dexterity and success. And his printed Works are justly  
 valu’d, even in a time when Philosophy is much improv’d since they  
 were publish’d. He had a peculiar faculty of Managing a great Varie-  
 ty of business both in the exercise of his Ministry, and his public Pre-  
 lections; and acquit himself in every part with such Accuracy, as if each  
 Branch of his employment had engross’d the Studies of his Life. And  
 Mr. *John Hutcheson*, an Ingenious Man, and one not only of a very Phi-  
 losophical Head, but of Universal Learning, Taught Philosophy for  
 divers years at *Newtown* in the County of *Down*.

## Part 3.

The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. *James Macalpine*, who has for many Years Taught a Philosophy-School at *Killileagh*, hath given such Proof of his Abilities and fitness for such an employment, as gives his friends good ground for believing that he is able to stand the Test of the most *Critical* and *severe* *examen* that his Adversaries are capable of trying his Qualifications by. He is cordially satisfied, that the most narrow Scrutiny possible be made by his Accusers into the *Loyalty* and *Peaceableness* of his Conduct, and is persuaded that it wou'd Issue in his Advantage.

Our Author is much concern'd for the Number of Presbyterian Expectants, which he imputes to the Philosophy-School at *Killileagh*. But let him show any Disloyalty or Misdemeanor in these Expectants; & if he can't, I think he may make himself easie, if he pleases. But he's afraid that if they *be not employ'd*, they'll *quickly find Work for themselves*. I do not know what *Work* he means, but if he suspects they'll fall about any *evil Work*, he ought to give a better reason for it than his own Suspicion.

He's impos'd upon by his Informers, when he asserts that these expectants not only eat up a considerable proportion out of the 1200 *lb.* allow'd upon the Establishment but also of the *Sacrament-Mony* collected at their *quarterly Communion*s; for he may assure himself, that they never received *one farthing*, out of either of these funds. As to the first, the Presbyterian Ministers (who have better reason to know that matter, than the *Author* or his *Informers*) do in their *second Apology* (p. 36) *humbly take leave to acquaint her Majesty*, that no part of her *Royal Bounty* is given to their *Probationers*, as the *Convocation Alledges*; and they do all averr the same concerning the *Sacrament-Mony*, and are ready to Certify it under their hands, if it were worth while. But I come to the consideration of

## F A C T IV.

- ' The Dissenting Teachers (*says he p. 56*) do avowedly and publickly, both from the Press and Pulpit, assert the Unlawfulness of
- ' Marrying according to the form of the Church of *Ireland*.'

I never heard before, that they *managed* or ever *mention'd* this Controversie in their Pulpits; and I believe, there can be very few Instances given of it, if *any* at all. And there was but *one* instance of going



going to the *press* upon it, by a Pamphlet Entituled a *Vindication of Marriage as Solemnized among Presbyterians in the North of Ireland*, printed Anno 17. And that had not been published neither, but upon extreme provocation given (about that time) by numerous and violent prosecutions in the *Spiritual Courts* of many of untainted reputations, who were libel'd and prosecuted as *Fornicators*, meerly for *cobabiting with their own wives*, whom they had marryed according to the Presbyterian way. The Presbyterian Ministers in the *North of Ireland* represent this case in their *first Apology* p. 26. Tho' it has been our *constant custom* since our first Settlement in this Kingdom, to solemnize the Marriage of those of our Communion, who scruple that office in the Liturgie, (for which the Papists are seldom troubled) yet several of our Ministers and people have been prosecuted in the *Ecclesiastical Courts* for this cause, and some of 'em Excommunicated.

It is not my business, in this Book, to debate whether the scruples of the Presbyterians against the *Office of Marriage* in the Liturgy, be *sufficient* and *justifiable* or not. But I can see no Prejudice to Church or State, that the Consciences of People who have these Scruples be indulg'd so far, as to allow them to be married by their own Ministers; and there is a clause in the Toleration-Bill allowing the like Liberty to the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, whereas there is much more reason to allow it to the Dissenters of *Ireland*. For besides, that many more of the Episcopal Persuasion there marryed with the Establish'd Church before the said Act, than there are Dissenters in *Ireland* who now marry according to the *Liturgie*; The Presbyterian form of Marriage is exactly the same with the form that was practis'd by those of the *Episcopal Persuasion* in *Scotland*, when they were Establish'd themselves; and therefore, 'tis not possible that they can pretend any Scruple of Conscience against the practice of it now. And I am persuaded the Presbyterians in *Ireland* wou'd cheerfully comply with the terms upon which the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland* enjoy that Liberty i. e. that they wou'd be all willing that the *Banns of Matrimony* shou'd be proclaim'd in their parish Church.

And as there is (at least) a parity of Reason, from the nature of the thing, for extending Her Majesty's gracious connivance to the same Liberty to her protestant Dissenting Subjects in *Ireland*, as there can be for the above-mentioned Clause of the Toleration-Bill in *Scotland*;

## Part 3.

So it is evident to the world, that the Dissenters in *Ireland* being faithful Subjects, and true *Hanoverians*, have far better pretensions, on that score, to such a privilege.

And they can't but think it an hardship, that they shou'd be libel'd in the Ecclesiastical Courts as *fornicators*, and (by that means) their children declar'd *Spurious*, when their Marriages have all the *essentials* of Marriage. They enter into a solemn vow in these words, *I A. take thee B. to be my lawful Married wife, and I Covenant and vow in the sight of God, and before these Witnesses, to be a Faithful and an Affectionate Husband to thee, until God shall separate us by death*; and the Woman vows in the same words, *Mutatis Mutandis*; these marriages thus solemniz'd, and afterwards consummated are *indissoluble*, except for the causes of *Adultery* and *wilful Desertion*. And therefore, it is a trifling distinction, to say, that the persons cohabiting upon such marriages, tho' not guilty of *Fornication before God*, are guilty of Fornication in the eye of the Law; for that places an high reflection upon the Law, as if it declar'd that to be Fornication, which the Law of God declares to be *none*. Nothing can be *Fornication*, but what is declar'd by the Law of God to be Fornication; and all that humane Laws can do with respect to that crime, is to *detect* and *punish* it, but they can't *jure* make a new *Species* of Fornication, which is not so in it self by the Divine Law, Antecedent to any *Humane Constitution*. And it were in all respects as *rational*, to say, that such and such a practice is *Idolatry*, or *Murther*, or *Robbery*, or *Sabbath-breaking*, in the eye of the Law, tho' not before God (which every one must acknowledge to be absurd); as to say so of Fornication.

Upon the whole, it wou'd exceedingly become the *Charity* and *Moderation* of good Protestants, to be more cautious and tender of the *Reputation* of their Brethren, and of the *ease* of their *Consciences*, even in those points wherein they judge them to be *needlelessly* *Scrupulous*; while the Peace both of *Church* and *State* may be very well prefer'd, notwithstanding of such a *Condescension*. In a word, the *Presbyterians* are not only willing to be proclaim'd in their *Parish-Churches*, but to make proof of their being married by what number of unexceptionable witnesses the *Legislature* shall require, to be at the expence of having such *witnesses* *sivorn*, and such examinations *Registered* in what manner and before what Court shall be thought most proper, and to do every thing that can be reasonably requir'd of 'em in this matter.

matter, to procure a *Liberty of Conscience* to those, who scruple being married according to the Liturgy ; and therefore, humbly plead upon the great Law of *Charity* and *Brotherly Compassion*, and upon their Right by the *Law of Nature*, that they may not be depriv'd of the benefit of Marriage (which is one of the Rights of Mankind) meerly for their scrupling to comply with the Establish'd Form of it ; and that themselves and their posterity may not be declar'd *Infamous*, nor troubled with *Vexatious Prosecutions*, for a point of *meer Non-Conformity*.

Part 3<sup>d</sup>

CHAP.

## C H A P. II

*Wherein the last four Facts Charged upon Presbyterians in the second part of the Conduct of the Dissenters, &c. viz. 1st, Their erecting New Congregations, and particularly one in Drogheda. 2dly, Their disturbing the Establish'd Clergy in the Burial of the Dead. 3dly, Their Printing Books of bad Principles, against the Government, and, 4thly, Their Entertaining some Ministers amongst them who have not taken the Abjuration-Oath ; are examin'd, and answer'd.*

The Author of the *Conduct of the Dissenters &c.* gives the following Representation of the 5th Fact charg'd upon them p. 57.

## F A C T V.

‘ **F**ormerly the Seeds of *Non-Conformity* were scattered, and  
 ‘ sown through the conforming Congregations of this King-  
 ‘ dom; and grew under ground by imperceptible degrees, till num-  
 ‘ bers of the people were perverted, sufficient to support a Labor-  
 ‘ er in their Vineyard, and then they gave their Teachers *regular*  
 ‘ *Calls*, as their Discipline requir'd. There still remain'd several Towns  
 in

in this Kingdom, in which by the pious care of the Establish'd Ministers, with the concurrence of the Civil Magistrates or such places, the Conforming Congregations, were preserv'd entire, without any mixture of Dissenters. These Congregations had long stood proof against all their secret Attempts, and therefore thus finding themselves oblig'd to alter the nature of their attacks from a consciousness of their growing power and interest, they resolv'd upon an experiment *never before tryed* that we know of, which was, to send their *Missionaries* to pervert the Conforming Congregations, without any call from such places, which they had formerly expected.

This was done *generally through the Nation*; new Missions were ordered every day, by their Presbyteries and Synods, to unsettle and divide such of the Conforming Congregations of this Kingdom, as were hitherto preserv'd.

The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* utterly deny this to be Fact, in their *first Apology* to the Queen p. 26, 27. 'The said Presbyteries never sent any Minister to any place, but at the desire and Invitation of People of their Persuasion there. The Principal Occasion of their Preaching in several Places, where there were no Meetings before, is, that many parts of the Country were laid Desolate by the late War; whereupon, several Protestant Landlords (and even some of the Establish'd Church) encouraged those of our Persuasion to settle themselves and their Families on their Estates, formerly occupied by *Irish Papists*: And to draw 'em to such New Settlements, have assisted them in Entertaining Ministers of their own to Preach amongst them; and they hope it can neither appear reasonable, that such Protestant Dissenters shou'd be deprived of the same Liberty of Worshipping God in their own way, which their Brethren every where else enjoy, nor that it will be thought dangerous to Church or State, that *British and Protestant* Inhabitants, tho' Dissenters; shou'd be settled in Places that before *has scarce any but Papists*.

The Protestant Dissenting Ministers in the City of *Dublin* and South of *Ireland*, assert the same thing with their Brethren in th. North, in their Humble Address to her Majesty p. 44. 'We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that no Ministers were ever sent by us where there were not a Competent Number of those of our Persuasion, who gave 'em an Invitation and Call;

From

## Part 3:

From all which the Reader may Judge, that if all the Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland have any Truth and Veracity in them; Our Author asserts that which was *never done in any part of the Nation*, to be done generally thro' the Nation, and every day too. This is so bold a mistake, that nothing but Credulity and Ignorance can give it the extenuating Circumstances of an involuntary Error; and he must be allowed the benefit of his *Weakness*, to defend his *honesty*.

From his general Charge of this Fact, he descends to an instance of it in *Drogheda*; The true State of which case I shall give the Reader, as it is represented in the *first Apology* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* to Her Majesty p. 21.

' In the Reign of King *Charles* the second, Dr. *Daniel Williams* (now in *London*) was Dissenting Minister to a settled Congregation in *Drogheda*, and was succeeded by one Mr. *Toy*, who continued in the exercise of his Ministry there till about the time of the *Late Happy Revolution*: the Remains of that Congregation have several times, at their own desire, enjoyed the occasional Labors of divers Ministers of our Perswasion while they wanted a *fixed Pastor* of their own. And upon their Invitation and earnest Request in the Year 1708. Several of our Brethren Preach'd among them, of whom Mr. *Fleming* mention'd by their Lordships was one, who, for no other Cause pretended or objected against him, but that of Preaching, was bound over to the next Assizes at *Drogheda*: tho' there is a vast Number of Papists there, much superior to the whole Protestant Inhabitants openly going to *Mass*, undisturbed, while some of our Perswasion were obliged to pay *Twelve-pence* a piece, to prevent their being set in the Stocks as they were Peaceably going home from their Meeting, upon pretence of Travelling upon the Lord's Day; and yet others at the very same time were really Guilty of Profaning it by carrying Loads openly, with Impunity.

' Another of our Brethren Mr. *William Biggar*, who succeeded Mr. *Fleming* in Preaching to that Congregation, was on the same Account, committed by the Mayor of *Drogheda* to Prison, and after his Imprisonment for six Weeks, was Released by the Mayor without any farther Prosecution. Whereupon we had assurances given us, that the Prosecution against Mr. *Fleming* shou'd be Dropt. And tho' Mr. *Biggar* was advis'd that he might have had an Action for false Imprisonment against the Mayor, and the whole Proceedings

against

‘ against us in *Drogheda* seem’d to Thwart your Majesty’s Royal Inten-  
 ‘ tion of Protecting us in the free exercise of our Religion, signified  
 ‘ in your Gracious Answers to our humble Addresses; yet we were  
 ‘ so far from a complaining Temper, or from charging the Members  
 ‘ of the Establish’d Church with Oppression and Persecution, that we  
 ‘ were Patient and Silent; when we humbly conceive we had some  
 ‘ *just ground* for Representing to the Government, the hardships put  
 ‘ upon us.

‘ Mr. *Fleming’s* Prosecution being Reviv’d, and three Members of  
 ‘ the Presbyterian Congregation in *Drogheda* being Indicted only for  
 ‘ Hearing him Preach, after Amicable and private Measures taken on  
 ‘ our part for preventing any further trouble had prov’d unsuccessful,  
 ‘ we were Constrain’d in our own Defence to apply to the Earl of  
 ‘ *Wharton* then Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, who, by your Ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s Direction wrote to the *Lords-Justices* to Order *Noli-Prosequi’s*  
 ‘ for our Relief; upon which Account, we Crave leave to express  
 ‘ our Dutiful and grateful Sense of Your Majesty’s Princely Favor and  
 ‘ Goodness.

Let the Reader be pleas’d to take a farther Account of this matter  
 from the Reverend Mr. *James Fleming* (who was particularly concern’d to know it) in his Letter to his Friend, the true Copy where-  
 of is, as follows,

SIR,

*Lurgan 1st January 1712.13*

‘ Upon my Perusal of a late book Entitul’d *the Conduct of the Dis-*  
 ‘ *senters of Ireland with respect both to Church and State*, I was surpriz-  
 ‘ ed to find a relation of my Conduct and Management at *Drogheda*,  
 ‘ in the year 1708, which to me seem’d either *Misconstrued* or *not*  
 ‘ *fully* given; which has oblig’d me (according to my promise when  
 ‘ last with you) to set this affair in a true light, and give you this  
 ‘ *short and impartial account of matter of Fact.*

‘ On Friday the 27th of *August* 1708. I went to *Drogheda* with a  
 ‘ design to preach to those of our Persuasion there, upon the RE-  
 ‘ PEATED INVITATIONS of severals of them, whom I had oc-  
 ‘ casion to converse with, and hear from; who then again at that  
 ‘ time *pressingly renew’d* their former Requests to me. And accord-  
 ‘ ingly I did preach the Lord’s-day following to a considerable number  
 ‘ of people; most of them *Inhabitants of the Town, some of the Country*

## Part 3.

' about it, and *two* or *three* strangers, that were travelling that road, either to or from *Dublin*.

' And I was so far from taking such a number of strangers with me, as is alledged, that I had not the advantage of any company from the time I left *Lurgan*, till I came to *Drogheda*, but that of my servant only, so that it either must be a *Misinformation*, or a design to make the world believe, that there was not the face of a Congregation, without the addition of several strangers to make it up.

' But seeing they were giving the *number* and *Characters* of my hearers, I admire how they came to omit so many of them (unless willing industriously to avoid making their relation too bulky and tedious) being well assured, they might have inserted a *far greater* or number; who, tho' they were not of the *Rulers*, yet *honest* and I hope, *well inclin'd*, whose Souls are as precious to God (and shou'd be to us) as the greatest; And therefore tho' *Coopers* and *Shoemakers* and *Taylors* &c. (As they are at large distinguished, for what end, I shan't pretend to determine) yet no reason why the Gospel shou'd not be preach'd to them, nor why they shou'd be ashamed, these being lawful & necessary Callings; tho' they are reproached with 'em.

' On *Monday* the *30th* of *August* I was sent for by the *Major*, & *Town Council* then sitting in the *Tholsel*, I immediately waited upon them, was strictly examin'd, and the several *Questions* propos'd to me, with my *answers* to them, are as follows:

' The *Mayor* speaks;

*Quest.* I suppose you are Mr *Fleming*, the *Presbyterian Minister* of *Lurgan*?

' *Answ.* Yes, Sir, I am:

' *Q.* We are inform'd that you preach'd yesterday in this Town?

' *A.* Yes, Sir, I did.

' The *Dean* speaks;

' *Q.* Had you any call to come to this place, by the People of the Town?

' *A.* I had no formal call from them, but had their frequent and earnest *Invitations* and desires to come, with assurances of their readiness to entertain me. And therefore to oblige them and severals of our *Persuasion*, who frequently travel this road, I came here to preach, and accordingly did.

*Q.* By



Q. By what Authority did you come here to preach?

A. Sir, I am an ordain'd Minister, and so Authorized to preach the Gospel, wherever Providence may open a door for me.

Q. I am not in this place to dispute your Ordination, but were you sent or appointed by any to preach here?

A. Yes, Sir, I was.

Q. By whom?

A. By the Presbytery of Ardmagh, of which I am a Member.

Q. Have you any written Orders or Commission from that Presbytery?

A. No, Sir, I have not, nor did I require any from them, that not being usual with us in such cases.

Q. Who was Chair-man, when you were appointed?

A. I was Chair-man at that time myself.

Q. Oh! then you sent your self here?

A. No, Sir, I suppose it is proper for a Chair-man to hear, and receive the judgments of others; rather than give his own, and tho' I had not a Vote in my coming here, yet I readily obeyed the appointment of my Presbytery.

Q. Did the Presbytery promise, or give you for your encouragement in coming here, any of the twelve hundred pounds, allow'd by the Queen?

A. They neither did promise nor give me any, nor do I seek or expect the least reward from any person whatsoever, it was not gain nor advantage that I propos'd to my self in coming here.

Q. Have you any licence or orders from the Government to preach here; I am told by some that you have?

A. I wou'd look upon it as my honor and happiness, to have so much countenance and encouragement from the Government; but I assure you, I have no such Licence as you speak of; tho', Blessed be God, by their Mildness and Moderation we peaceably enjoy the Liberty of our Consciences.

Q. Why did not you upon your coming here, apply to the Magistracy of the Town, or come to me, and ask my leave to Preach, this being my Parish?

A. I never knew hitherto, what it was to ask leave from any Man to Preach, wherever I have been; and so look'd upon it no more necessary

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‘ necessary here than in other Places, and withal I am persuaded that  
 ‘ any Application to you or them wou’d have been unsuccessful.

‘ You came in here amongst us (said the Dean) to Create di-  
 ‘ vision and disturbance, where is nothing but Unity and Love, not  
 ‘ as it is with you in Lurgan, where are *Quakers*, *Presbyterians*, and  
 ‘ *Papists*, and all sorts.

‘ *A.* My design and business is not to Create division, nor disturbance  
 ‘ amongst any, but to Preach Unity and Love to all, and in Lurgan tho’  
 ‘ there are these several Persuasions, yet no disturbance; but Peace and a  
 ‘ good Understanding among them, and I’m sorry it is not so here too.

‘ *Q.* If you trouble us no more, we shall not trouble you; so you  
 ‘ had best make off with what you have done, and there shall be no  
 ‘ more of it; be plain, Sir, do you Resolve to settle here?

‘ *A.* No; Blessed be God, I have a more comfortable Settlement elsewhere;  
 ‘ but I told my Hearers yesterday, that I did resolve to Preach to them next  
 ‘ Lord’s-Day, and so God willing I intend to do.

‘ *Q.* I Sir. You had a parcel of sad fellows Hearing you, such as *J.*  
 ‘ *T.* &c. and it is no great Honour for you to have such?

‘ *A.* We look upon it as no Honour to have such of our Communion,  
 ‘ but it is our Grief and Trouble that there are any such, of our Commu-  
 ‘ nion, and we do therefore Pray for them, and Preach to them, in Order  
 ‘ to their Reformation and Amendment.

‘ *Q.* What! do you think by your Preaching to do any good to  
 ‘ such Men as these; No, you need not expect it!

‘ *A.* I design good to them and all to whom I Preach, by the blessing of  
 ‘ God, without which the Preaching of Men and Angels will be to no pur-  
 ‘ pose; and withal our Savior came not to call the Righteous but Sin-  
 ‘ ners to Repentance, so that such are to be Preached to as well as others.

‘ *Q.* Were you appointed to Preach here three Sabbath-Days?

‘ *A.* No, only Two.

‘ *Q.* And will you Preach here again next Lord’s-day?

‘ *A.* As I said before, I told my Hearers that I wou’d, and I resolve  
 ‘ God-willing so to do.

‘ *Q.* It is great Assurance in you to come here to Preach, and  
 ‘ to promise to Preach again; but you may depend upon it,  
 ‘ that I will oppose you with all my might, I will complain you to the  
 ‘ Government, and will put the Laws in Execution against you; so  
 ‘ that I shall prevent your Preaching here any more.

A. I

‘ A. I can’t but return you thanks, for so mild an Expression as Assurance; I am Subject to the Law and Government; & if they think fit to Punish me for what I have done or p<sup>er</sup>form’d in my preaching here any more, I must submit; tho’ I hope by the Queen’s Repealed promises of her Protection, and their own Mildness and Moderation, they will be led to do otherwise.

‘ This is what they said betwixt us, And I don’t doubt but these Gentlemen will readily acknowledge it, tho’ they have much abridg’d these Questions and Answers, probably for brevity’s sake: and with all the Reverend Dean & Minister of Drogheda may remember that when he was with his Grace the Primate (then one of the Lord’s Justices) tabling this matter before him, that these Questions and Answers as here inserted, were Read to him; And being asked by his Grace whether this was Matter of Fact, he acknowledged it was; and made not the least Objection against any part or part, except only to that of the Word (*formal*) in my Answer to his first Question, alledging that I did not say I had *no formal Call*, but that I had *no Call*; yet the latter part of the Answer shews that this could be no otherwise meant than that I had *no Call to be their Minister*, seeing I plainly asserted that I had the Peoples Desires and Invitations to come and Preach to them; And if this has escap’d the Dean’s Memory, there are some Gentlemen who were then present, who might confirm this passage.

‘ But now after all this Baffle, one might have expected that the Reverend Dean with a *Gambel-like* Mild and Moderate Disposition, wou’d really have given the Advice of that Grave and Learned Doctor, *to refrain from those Men and let them alone, for if this Council or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God we cannot overthrow it, least happily we be found even to fight against God*; but instead of this, he complains me to the Government, discharges me to Preach there any more, and threatens me with the Execution of the Law if I did; but I willing to do my Duty, and in this to obey God rather than Man, Preached the next Lord’s-day, upon which I was again sent for on Monday Morning the 6th of September by the Mayor and Town Council, and when I appeared before them the Mayor spoke to me as follows:

‘ Mr. Mayor. Seeing you have Preached here again, notwithstanding of the fair offers we made you before, we have sent for you in order to Bind you Over to the next General Assizes, to be held for this Town and County.

Fleming

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' *Fleming*. Pray Sir, what is my Crime for which I am to be bound over ?

' *Mr Mayor*. It is for your preaching in this place.

' *Flem*. That is what I hope I shall never be ashamed of, either before God or Man ; But, pray, *Gentlemen*, do you charge me with preaching any *Doctrin*e that is *Heterodox* or *Unsound*, or any thing against the *Queen* or *Government* ? if so, I think you have just reason to bind me over.

' *Mr Mayor*. No we don't charge you with any thing of that Nature.

' *Flem*. Then I think strange, that you will *bind any man over* for preaching the *Truths of the Gospel*.

' *Mr Dean*. No, Sir, it is not for that, but for *preaching to*, and *assembling* people together, *contrary to Law*.

' *Flem*. As it is *not contrary* to the *Law of God*, so I hope it can't be contrary to the *Laws of these Nations*, nor do I know any *Law* that this is a breach of.

' *Mr Dean*. Come, Sir, let us have *no further reasoning* upon it, you must be bound over (and so accordingly I was) and the Dean speaking thus so bitterly, as I apprehended ; I said, *Mr Dean, I admire to see you so eager in this matter, the Queen (may Her Reign be long and Glorious) hath given us so many gracious promises of her protection, which with the Clemency and Mildness of a very good Government in this Kingdom, might encourage to Moderation and Brotherly love.*

' *Mr Dean*. We have as well as you the promises of the *Queen's protection*, and the protection of the *Laws* too, which you have not.

' *Flem*. Sir, you have ; and I hope while we behave our selves as good and Loyal Subjects, we shall have both too ; which as we have *always hitherto done*, by the help of God we shall *still continue* to do.

' I thought not to have been farther tedious, but I can't omit some few remarks upon *their* relation of this affair.

' *1st*, It is observable, that they Endeavour to persuade the world, that it is our *great design* to pervert the *Conforming Congregations* : But whatever Credit may be given to this, our Consciences can bear us witness, that our study is to instruct and take care of our

own. And I know not, with what justice such a consequence can be drawn from our practice, Unless they hold it for a Maxim, that men can't mind their own Business, without being prejudicial to the Interest of Others; nor take care of Instructing *their own* Congregations, without (what they reckon) perverting the *Conforming* ones.

2dly, They assert that we had *no Call* i. e. *no Invitations* from the people of *Drogheda*. And yet it is *positive*, that we had, which I doubt not the people themselves will own, And if need were, it might be instructed under their hands; and therefore there was no ground for that Charge against us, of *resolving upon an Experiment never before try'd*; it being our *known constant* practice, that upon the Invitation & desire of any number of our people, we have sent Ministers to preach to them from time to time, before there has been any regular Call given to any one of them to be their Minister.

3dly, They say the Congregation there, was *partly made up of strangers* which I brought with me, which indeed was not so: and this can be confirm'd by the Oaths of several persons, if there were any thing in such a Circumstance to make it necessary.

4thly, They tell us there was a *cause instituted against us* and some of my hearers, & might as well have been plain in this, as in other things; and inform'd the World, that *I was Indicted, and three or four of my hearers for a Riot and an unlawful Assembly*: while in truth we only met together to *Worship God*, according to the rules of the Gospel, on the Lord's day; And behaved our selves *peaceably* towards all Men, *dutifully* towards our Superiors, praying heartily for the Queen and Government, and endeavoring to have *Consciences void of Offence towards God and Man*.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a true Account of this affair; which if it may be serviceable to you or the public, I shall be heartily pleas'd; & if I have used any freedom that any may take offence at, I do Declare it was far from my design to give it. I am

Your Affectionate humble Servant  
 J. A. FLEMING

As to the Discourse and Conference of Mr. Boyse and Mr. Fredel with my Lord Primate upon the Affair of *Drogheda*, I shall here insert the True Copy of a Letter which Contains Mr. Boyse and Mr. Fredels Sentiments.

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timents of that Affair, with a Vindication of Mr. *Boyse* in some other particulars laid to his Charge by our Author, it runs thus :

SIR,

‘ Since you desire my thoughts on what the *Author* of the *Conduct of the Dissenters &c.* has mentioned in that Book relating to Mr. *Boyse*, I have in Compliance with your Request, sent you all the Animadversions I can think needful, in Reference to those Passages wherein Mr. *Boyse* is concern’d.

‘ For what he speaks p. 39. of Mr. *Boyse’s* *Traducing the Establiſh’d Ecclesiastical Constitution, in an Uncharitable and Scurrilous Manner*, for which he appeals to Mr. *Boyse’s* Works, the Charge is too general, to deserve any other Notice than that he has offer’d nothing in Proof of it.

‘ That Mr. *Boyse* has *Misrepresented* the *Bishops* of the *Establiſh’d Church* as *Idle or Scandalous* (as this *Author* insinuates) is utterly groundless, as may sufficiently appear to any that consult the Printed Sermons he refers to in his Margin, and the *Postscript* in Defence of ’em, and the *Appendix* to a late *Account of the Ancient Episcopacy*.

‘ For the *Vindication of the Dissenting Protestant: Case*, which he saith was evidently confuted by the *Bishop of Down* p. 63 The Reader is refer’d to the Papers themselves that pass’d on that occasion. And if they do, perhaps what he is pleas’d to call an *evident Confutation* will appear but a *Long Answer* to more *Unbias’d Judges*. The only reason why the *Author* of the *Vindication* did not Answer the *Bishop’s* last Paper was, because there was no farther occasion to Prosecute that Debate.

‘ That Mr. *Boyse* ever Assaulted the *Doctrine* of the *Establiſh’d Church* (as he insinuates) is utterly false. What he has said in his *Sermon* of the *Scriptural Bishop* against the *Claim of a Divine Right for Diocesan Episcopacy*, was only in Order to the necessary defence of our own *Ordinations* as *valid*, in opposition to such as declar’d ’em *null and void*.

‘ For the Affair of *Dragheda*, and the Account this *Author* gives of what pass’d between my Lord *Primate* and Mr. *Fredell* and Mr. *Boyse* on that occasion, he has run into some *gross mistakes* as well as *Omissions* in matter of Fact, of which I shall mention the following particulars.

1st. ’Tis

'Tis utterly false, that any such Condition of Mr. *Biggar's* Enlargement was ever agreed on, as that *there shou'd be no more Preaching at Drogheda,* as he insinuates p. 96. The *Lord-Primate* himself proposing, that they shou'd Live Amicably for the future. And they never consented to any other Condition of that kind, than that Mr. *William Biggar* shou'd not Preach there for some time after his Discharge, so that Mr. *Ramsfey's* Preaching there was no breach of any Agreement they had come to with the *Lord Primate*.

' 2dly, There was no such thing propos'd by Mr. *Iredel* and Mr. *Boyse* to his Grace, as that he shou'd by any public *Instrument* signify his dislike of the *Presentment at Drogheda*, but only that he shou'd use his Endeavors with the Magistrates of *Drogheda*, to get the *Indictment* against Mr. *Fleming* and others (mentioned therein) quash'd, and to promote an Amicable Understanding between them and the Dissenters for the future. And the *Lord Primate* never signify'd to them, that he thought their *Proposals* Insolent or Unreasonable.

' The first Application by them to my *Lord Primate* was upon Mr. *Dawson's* Suggestion, that it wou'd not be unacceptable.

' Again this Author has been Guilty of Two Material Omissions in his Account.

' The first is, he do's not tell his Reader, how ill my *Lord Primate* Repented it that the *Dean* and the *Mayor of Drogheda* shou'd make use of his Certificate without his Knowledge or consent, in Order to Mr. *Biggar's* Imprisonment. And that he declar'd such Severity to his Dissenting Brethren, to be both against his *Principle* and his *Inclination*.

The second is, That he has not told his Reader, That one Condition insisted on by my *Lord Primate*, and agreed to by Mr. *Iredel* and Mr. *Boyse* was, that Mr. *Biggar* shou'd not Prosecute the *Mayor* for false Imprisonment, which he had all Advantage to have done, because the Clause in the *Act of Uniformity* on which he was Imprison'd, does not concern the *Protestant Dissenting Teachers* at all, of which I need only alledge this Demonstrative Proof, That that Clause is not Repealed in the *Engl<sup>sh</sup> Act of Indulgence*; And therefore if it extended to them, the *Act of Indulgence* in *England* cou'd not be Security for their Religious Liberty there.

' I shall only add, that the Prosecution of Mr. *Fleming* upon the first *Indictment*, was a real Breach of the Agreement made with the *Lord Primate*.

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‘ For the Passages this Author has quoted out of Mr. *Boyse’s* Writings themselves p. 113, 114. for which he refers us to Mr. *French’s* Collection; He need only consult the Answer given to Mr. *French* in a *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, wherein Mr. *French’s* Infincerity and Prevarication were so fully discover’d, and Mr. *French* in his Reply made so lame a Defence of himself, as shou’d have discourag’d this Author from Copying after him. And if this Author will undertake to refute those Passages, as they lie in Mr. *Boyse’s* Writings themselves, what he offers of that kind shall be Impartially consider’d.

‘ This is all I have thought needful to suggest in Reference to what concerns Mr. *Boyse* in that Book: if what he has said of others be with as little *Sincerity* and *Truth*, he will not much recommend himself to the World by Writings, that have so little of Candor or Charity in ’em.

I am,

Sir, Yours &amp;c.

I conclude upon the whole, that our Author’s Representations of this Fact being false & groundless, the pretended *Fact* it self can neither be Prejudicial to Church nor State; And therefore is so far from confirming what he has offer’d in the *first part* of his *second Letter* against Presbyterians, that it effectually refutes it, by showing that he has built upon a *Sandy Foundation*.

## F A C T VI.

But I come to consider the 6th Fact charg’d upon Presbyterians, which our Author represents thus p. 65. ‘ The frequent Disturbances given to the Establish’d Ministers of this Kingdom in their Burial of the Dead, is so well known, that I presume it may pass for a received Truth without Descending to particular Proofs.

‘ With respect to this point, the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* Vindicate themselves in their *first Apology* p. 25. ‘ We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we do not know any Instances whereever the Ministers of the Establish’d Church were openly and violently assaulted by us in the Discharge of their sacred Office, unless this be understood of some Acts of *Indiscretion*, whereof some few of the meaner sort were Guilty; while the Clergy were performing

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ing the Office for the Burial of the Dead, which Practice, as 'tis not approv'd by us, so we believe it has still been Punish'd by the Civil Magistrate upon Conviction.

Now this Fact being the Practice but of a few, and Disclaim'd and Disapprov'd by the Body of these of their own Persuasion, can never tend to any prejudice to either Church or State; and therefore 'tis not worth while, to trouble the World with a Teditious Narrative of the True State of these few particular Instances, mentioned by our Author under this Head: But I come to examine the Account he gives of the 7th Fact, which he expresseth thus p. 67.

## F A C T VII.

The next Fact I shall mention, which I take to be of the most Diffusive and dangerous consequence, is their Printing and Publishing Books, to Corrupt the Principles of the People, and prepare them for the old Work of Popular and Tumultuous Reformation; some of which are attended with such particular Circumstances, as may better discover the Artifice and design of these Incendiaries, who intend to ferment the Dissenters of this Kingdom.

The particular Instances he gives of these Books are the *Hind let loose Milton's Works*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, Mr. *Stewart's* Collections concerning the *Worship, and Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland*. Mr. *McC. Bride's* Writings, The *Parallel* by *Daniel DeFoe*, and Mr. *Boyse's* Writings. Out of all these (except *Milton*) he quotes Passages, to prove what he alledges. But the Answer is very obvious, viz. that no Church is Accountable for any Writings, but for those which are Written in their Name and with their Approbation, both as to matter and expression, and therefore supposing all that he says of these books to be true (which yet I don't grant) I can't see how the Presbyterians either in the North or South of *Ireland* are bound to Answer for them. Were it fair to make the Church of *England* answer for every Book written, printed, and publish'd by any of her Sons? No sure; must she answer for *Dodwel's* Impugning the Immortality of the Soul? for *Dr Brett's* popish Doctrine in his Sermon about the *Remission of Sins*, and for *hundreds more* that contain vile Errors and dangerous positions both to Church and State?

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If any body would charge her with these Books, she would no doubt reply, that she is accountable for nothing in them but what is agreeable to her *Articles*, and what has been espous'd by some publick Act or deed of the Church, That these Gentlemen's writings were not the *deed of a Convocation or Collective body* of Churchmen; and that they leave their Authors to make their own defence for themselves. If our Author has a mind to take these Authors he quotes to task, he may do it if he pleases; and let *him* and *them* deal it amongst them; but then I think as the Church is not to Answer for what he says, neither are the body of *Dissenters* accountable for *them*. It were easie to show, that he has Wrested both Mr *Boyse's* & Mr. *McBride's* Writings; but the doing it would lead me quite off the Subject of this *Historical Essay*, and therefore I Wave it.

There are some few Circumstances in his *Reflections* upon these Authors and Books, which seem to be mention'd by him, with a design to prove that what he quotes from 'em is approv'd by the Presbyterians or Dissenters in General; and I am only concern'd in *these*. And first with respect to the *Hind let loose*, after he had produc'd a Certificate from a *Clergy man* shewing that a Parcel of these Books were sent over to *Belfast*, and there seiz'd in the Custom-house, he concludes p. 71. That *this precious Cargo* (as he calls 'em) *could not be sent over by some Hair-brain'd Covenanters*, for which he gives this reason p. 72. 'When we consider, that Mr. *Shields* the famous Author of the *Hind let loose*, was made Chaplain to a Regiment in *Flanders*, and admitted a Member of the General Assembly of *Scotland* since the late Revolution, and that neither the Book nor the Author underwent any Censure by a Synodical Act of that Assembly, it gives us just grounds to suspect that some Project of popular Reformation, to promote which this Book was Writ and Publish'd, must have been concerted by a more considerable Number, than that *poor Remnant*.

But this reasoning is very inconsequential, being grounded upon this false Maxim, *viz. that a Church approves every book which she does not expressly pass some censure upon, by some special decree or decision*: Was it not mov'd in the lower house of Convocation, that Dr *Brett's* popish Doctrine in his printed sermon upon the *forgiveness of Sins*, shou'd be Censur'd; and yet it was not censur'd: but shall any man conclude from thence, that the House approv'd his Doctrine? Multitudes of Examples can be given of Books wrote by

Clergy-men in *England*, and Members of the Convocation too, which can't be said to be the *sense of the Establish'd Church* there, tho' they never pass'd any decree against 'em. But in this Case of Mr *Shields's*, there was a special reason which justified the Conduct of the Assembly. For he and two more had embrac'd too narrow principles, and headed that Faction which are commonly known in *Scotland* by the name of *Mountain-people*: The Assembly wisely concluded, that the best way to heal the Rent was to take off the Leaders, and therefore receiv'd those Ministers upon terms of Submission to them, and as a prudent expedient to gain the people as well as them. Entered no judicial process against 'em, for what had been formerly amiss in them; which had a good effect, for many of the people quit their *Schism*; and Mr *Shields* himself wrote an accurate refutation of the principles of those who continu'd in it. He show'd a peculiar *bravery* of Mind, and Loyalty in *Flanders* amongst the Soldiers, which King *William* took particular notice off. But tho' the Assembly (for the Reasons mention'd) did not Record any Censure of that book wrote by Mr *Shields*; yet, I am credibly inform'd, they testify'd their dislike of it to himself.

As to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, I refer the Reader to what I shall offer upon it in Answer to his first *Presumptive Fact*, in the next Chapter; and tho' the printing of it in *Belfast* was not the deed of the Presbyterians, yet I don't know how many *Histories* and debates that refer to it will be very intelligible, unless men may see and read it. And tho' it be against *Episcopacy*, I don't think it so ill, as our Author and many more represent it; it's but fair, that the World see what sort of thing this is, about which so much bustle is made, and for that end it must be publish'd somewhere.

The Clergy man, who informs Our Author of the seizing of a parcel of Cops of the Book, entitul'd the *Hinalet loose*, tells a story about *Milton's* works, with some air of reflection upon Dissenters as if they had been industriously spreading them: For his Letter begins thus, *since you desire an account of what I formerly told you, concerning the method, which the Dissenters take, to propogate their Republican principles, by dispersing up & down the Kingdom such books as manifestly avow the same, &c.* as one instance of this, he tells the following story, in these words p. 68. 'I further Certifie that about the same time the Right Honorable the Earl of *Donegal*, meeting me in the street of *Belfast* ask'd

## Part 3

me if I had seen all Mr *Milton's* works; I answer'd his Lordship, I had seen some but not all. His Lordship said he had them bound up in one *folio Volume*, and wou'd send it me to read, which he did: And sometime after meeting his Lordship, he was pleas'd to ask my Opinion of it: I told his Lordship, that *Milton* still stuck to his *King-Deposing and King-Killing Doctrine*, that I hoped his Lordship wou'd not spend his time so ill as to read so dangerous a Book: That I plainly perceiv'd one of the Methods taken by *Antimonarchical Men*, to debauch the Young Nobility and Gentry of these Kingdoms, was to Print, Publish and Industriously disperse these sort of Books among them; upon which his Lordship told me with a smile, that Mr *McBride* (the Dissenting Teacher of *Belfast*) had sent him that Book, and he doubted not but that other Gentlemen in the Country had received the like present.

Mr *McBride* do's positively averr, that he got *Milton's* Works from My Lord *Donegal* and not My Lord from *Down*; and that his Lordship told him he had the Book sent him from *London*; which Mr *McBride* did return to My Lord's Brother. And here fore I believe, the Clergy-man who asserts this, has either misapprehended that Noble Lord's words to him and their Meaning; or, if his memory be so exact as to remember them and be positive in them, that my Lord has only spoke the thing in jest; for he did it *with a Smile*, as the Clergyman himself observes. But 'tis certain, that the getting or giving of a book, which is Mr *McBride's* Case, can be easilier remembred, than words past about it can be, 14 or 15 Yars after they were said, which is the Case of the Author of this Certificate. But however that be, no Presbyterian will industriously propagate *Milton's* works; because he rails so much at them, and justifies the Regicide and Usurpation, which they condemn'd with all their might, as I have prov'd p. 240 &c. and 'tis a meer aspersion, to alledge they are men of *Republican Principles*: there being no party of men, who made a braver stand against the Republican Rectorian Usurpers, than they did, as I have shown from p: 284 to p. 304.

I come next to examine the *eight Fact* charg'd by our Author upon the Presbyterians in these words p: 79.

F A C T, VIII.

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When the Oath of Abjuration was enjoined by Act of Parliament, The Dissenting Teachers of the North had it under Deliberation, whether they might safely Qualifie themselves by taking that Oath. Mr *Mc Bride* the most Celebrated amongst them, both for his great abilities and Authority amongst the people, first advised them to abjure the *Pretender*, but was in some short time after taken with such Qualms of Conscience, that he could not digest that Oath himself, which he had so lately advised his Brethren to take; this occasioned no small Contention amongst them, and provoked Mr *Malcom* a Dissenting Teacher to tell him very freely, *That he was no better than a knave to advise them to take that Oath, and then refuse it himself.*

To support this Charge, our Author publisheth a long Letter from *Westera Warring* Esquire, containing an Account of three Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, who have not taken the Oath of Abjuration, viz Mr *McBride*, Mr *McCrackan*, and Mr *Riddal*, and of many passages relating to them and their Conduct: upon this Letter our Author builds his Argument both against these 3 Ministers, and the rest of their Brethren for countenancing them. I shall first lay before the Reader that part of the first Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland*, which relates to the matter in hand, and then shew the weakness of our Author's reasoning upon this Head. The Apology runs thus:

What their Lordships observe concerning a very few of our Number, who have not taken the Oath of Abjuration, is occasion'd by their Scrupling some Expressions only, and not the substance of that Oath. They have several years ago at our desire, solemnly declar'd before us their *inviolable Affection* and Loyalty to your Majesty their *Opposition* to the *Pretender*, and to all *Jacobitish* Principles, and their steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*. They daily Pray for your Majesty and the said Succession, and observe all publick Fasts and Thanksgivings with respect to the Success of the present War. From which it appears how unreasonable it is, that we and our Persuasion in General should be Loaded with Reproaches upon that Account by some (we don't mean

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mean their Lordships) who improve it as an handle against us upon all occasions.

To justify the above Apology, I shall trace our Author in what he proposes viz. 1<sup>st</sup>, in *his reflections upon the Reasons which induc'd those three Dissenting Teachers to Refuse the Oath of Abjuration.* 2<sup>dly</sup>, upon the Countenance and protection given them by the Northern Dissenters of all degrees.

The design of the first, is to prove them to be in the Interest of the Pretender; and first, he gives Mr *McBride's* reasons, and tells two stories of him; first a Conference between Dr *Ferguson* in *Belfast* & Mr *McBride* about the Oath, this he relates from Mr *Waring's* Letter, who says p. 80. About the time when Mr *McBride*, first scrupled the Oath of Abjuration, I happened to travel between *Carrickfergus* and *Belfast* with one Dr *Ferguson* a Physician and an Eminent Elder, on the road we fell into Discourse of Mr *Macbride*, the Doctor told me that he had talked with Mr *Macbride*, and asked him the reasons of his refusal of the said Oath of Abjuration; which as I cou'd gather from him were, that he thought it oblig'd Men to swear that the Pretender was not King *James's* Son, and that he had no Title whatsoever to the Crown of these Realms, and that he the said Mr. *McBride* was not a Judge of Titles, and also oblig'd them, as he conceiv'd to endeavor to support the Episcopal Church as by Law Establish'd, which he said he cou'd not in Conscience do. These were the Principal of his reasons, but he said he was advis'd by Friends not to Publish his Reasons against a Law in force. After I had Answer'd these Reasons, I asked the Doctor if Mr. *McBride* had not advis'd his Brethren to take the Oath? The Doctor own'd he heard he had. I further ask'd the Doctor if he did not think Mr *McBride* had seen and Read the Oath, before he advis'd his Brethren to take it? He said he believ'd he had. And also whether he did not hear that Mr. *McBride* had met Mr. *McCrackan* at his return from *Scotland*, before he declar'd his scruple against the Oath? The Doctor said he believed he might. The Doctor blamed Mr. *McBride*, said he endeavor'd to convince him, but to no purpose, and that it was an Unfortunate Business.

The Improvement our Author makes of this Story is p. 86. 'The Reasons with respect to Mr. *McBride* as appear by Mr. *Waring's* Letter, are first, he own'd to Dr. *Ferguson* he refused that Oath,

because he was *no Judge of Titles*, and that he apprehended the Oath obliged him to Swear that the *Pretender was not King James's Son*, which must amount at least to this, he did not know but the *Pretender* might be *King James's Son*; and if he were, he might have a *good Title* to the Crown, and therefore would not Abjure him. This it seems was one of the Reasons which he was *Advised* by his Friends not to Publish; and how far he followed their Directions, you may judge from what he told a *Reverend Clergyman* in the Diocese of *Down*, expostulating with him about his Refusal of the Oath *viz.* that he would tell him a Story, the Sum Total whereof was, *That once upon a Time there was a Bear, that could not be persuaded to bann the De'el, because he did not know but he might soon come into his Clutches.* By all which it seems, that *Mr. Mc Bride* has a particular Regard, not only for the *Hereditary*, but for the *Indefeasible Right* of the *Pretender*, and is in expectation of being soon in his Power.

Let us hear *Dr Ferguson* upon this Head, in a Letter to his Friend, the true Copy whereof I shall here insert;

SIR,

Belfast June 8. 1713.

Had I dream't that my two Neighbours and Acquaintance would, so *ungentleman-like*, have made use of my name in print, on a private accidental discourse in a mile or two's riding, I had rectify'd both their judgments, when I was inform'd this Author was penning the *Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*. And now I do assure you, I did not tell *Mr Waring* that I had discoursed *Mr McBride* concerning the Abjuration Oath, or the reasons of his refusal; but told him, others had; and that *Mr McBride* was advised not to vent his reasons, lest he shou'd give offence. And thus *Mr Waring* unjustly places on *Mr McBride* these things which *he and I* in discourse told each other, were the *common fame*, And shoves it in as *my Opinion too*. And this Author groundlessly descants upon it: for *Mr Waring* seem'd to me to believe, *Mr McBride* was as firm for the late *Glorious Revolution* against the *Pretender* & all his Abettors as my self. They must also find other Vouchers for that story of *Mr McBride's* and *Mr Mc Crackan's* meeting, which I *know nothing of*, & never heard till I perused *Mr Waring's Letter*. But O! that men would

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‘ look into their own Itate, and infirmities, and lay aside all this *Begony* and *unchristian Calumny*, and attempt more the Conversion of Souls by the *Gospel Rules*; which is the far better method to *winne* Protestants, and make them *truly Loyal*, than by these uncharitable aspersions. I am

Sir,

Your Humble Servant

VICTOR FERGUSON.

There is hardly any Gentleman in the North of *Ireland*, whose *veracity*, *probity* and *moderation* are more universally known and allowed of, than *Dr Ferguson's*; and whose testimony will gain more Credit, than his.

Upon which the Reader is desired to observe 3 things, 1<sup>st</sup>. That *Mr Waring's* Evidence is but a single Testimony. 2. That it was not from his own knowledge, but only upon *hear-say*, as *Dr Ferguson* told him. 3<sup>dly</sup>. That *Dr Ferguson*, from whom he pretends to have heard it, contradicts him. As to the other story about *banning the Deel*, all men who know *Mr Mc Bride*, know him to be of a *pleasant temper*, and that he can't *haulk his jest*. He declares this story was no more than a *jocular entertainment* in Conversation, and that he told it merely to divert the Subject, and avoid *entring seriously* upon the *Debate*, and that he was not influenced by any fear of, or regard to the *Pretender*, or any pretended *Title* of his.

Now it will be pretty hard to give a good reason, why these stories, the *first* whereof has no evidence to support it, and the *second* but a *Comical jesting* story, shou'd be allowed as good Arguments to prove him a *Jacobite*, contrary to his solemn Declaration before his Brethren and on many other Occasions, and contrary to his public prayers and constant profession. Our Author professeth, that he lays a greater stress upon what *Mr Mc Bride* has owned in this point, from the opinion he has not only of his *Veracity*, but courage to own his principles p. 86. I think this Observation of our Author's, which is very just, is an *undeniable* Argument to prove *Mr Mc Bride* to be no *Jacobite*; for he himself frequently, *publickly*, and *solemnly* has denied himself to be a *Jacobite*; and therefore if he be a Man of *Veracity* and *courage*, they Mistake him egregiously, who take him for a *Jacobite*.

He Offers 3 things to prove *Mr Mc Crackan* a *Jacobite* p. 87. the *first* is, that he was the person that influenced *Mr Mc Bride*, in their conference held upon *Mr Mc Crackan's* return from *Scotland*. Our Author

Speakes



speakes as if he had been at that Conference, & heard all that past, tho' he cannot prove anything of what he asserts of it; & if it cou'd be prov'd that Mr *Macrackan* did influence Mr *McBride*: 'tis nothing to the purpose, unless he can prove that Mr *McCrackan* dissuaded him upon *Jacobitish* principles: Cou'd our Author prove, that Mr *McCrackan* advis'd Mr *McBride* not to abjure the Pretender, because he shou'd rather bring him in to be King, and not to swear to maintain the *Hanover*-Succession, because he shou'd rather oppose that Succession as wrong and unjust; cou'd he (I say) prove any such thing, I shou'd be as ready as any man to conclude Mr *McCrackan* a *Jacobite*, but Mr *McCrackan* is so far from being guilty of any such absurd and Disloyal practice, that he desires it may be publish'd to the world in his name, that he joins with his Non-juring Brethren of the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, in the Loyal Declaration they have made, for the Queen, the House of *Hanover*, and against the Pretender. The Reader will find this Declaration insert'd afterwards in this Chapter; and will be satisfy'd, that words can't be contriv'd more significant and express against *Jacobitism*. And seeing Mr *McCrackan* approves all they have said (which is for substance the same with the Declaration made formerly by the 3 Non-juring Ministers in *Ireland* before their Brethren, to which they still adhere) Charity obligeth us to believe him to be no *Jacobite*.

But Our Author proceeds thus (*Ibid*) ' it must be remembred (says he) that the reason given by the Dissenters of *Lisburn* for the refusal of the Oath was the same with that given by Mr *McBride* to Dr *Ferguson*, God forbid that they shou'd swear that the Pretender, was not King *James's* son; by which it is plain, they were influenc'd by the same person viz. Mr *McCrackan*, he being Teacher in that Dissenting Congregation.

How inconclusive this Argument is, will appear if we consider 1<sup>st</sup>; That the Dissenters of *Lisburn* deny they gave any such reason for refusing the Oath, as I have shew'd p. 475 from Mr *Grainger's* Letter, and the rest of the Dissenters in *Lisburn* do all say the same thing for themselves, as Mr *Grainger* has said for himself. 2<sup>dly</sup>, If they had given that very reason, it wou'd not conclude them *Jacobites*: for a man may be a stout asserter of the Interest of the *Hanover*-Succession, and yet be unresolv'd and doubtful whether the Pretender be King *James's* Son or not, and therefore cannot swear that he is not his son, but are ready to abjure him, whoever be his Father. 3<sup>dly</sup>, It is no necessary

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consequence, that the people were in fluenc'd to give this reason by Mr *Mc Crackan*; because he is their Teacher; the most that can be made of it is that 'tis probable, and so it may be, or may not be, for any thing our Author knows, and consequently is not sufficient, to impeach any man's reputation upon, contrary to his own solemn Declaration, as above, but especially seeing 'tis not true in fact.

But it seems (says our Author) he has given another reason for himself for his Refusal of the Oath which concludes against him as directly as the former, viz. he wou'd not *Abjure the Pretender, lest he shou'd Abjure Divine Providence*. This I can prove by a Certificate Sig'd by the Reverend Mr. *Ratcliff*, a Person of Credit and Veracity, who undertakes to make it good, shou'd Mr. *Mc Crackan* deny it.

To this Mr. *Mc Crackan* Answers, that he wrote a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Ratcliff*, desiring him to favour him with an Account of the Time, Place and Witnesses, *when, where, and before whom* he had used the above Expression; and that he never remembered to have been in his Company, but once or twice; and does not in the least remember, that he ever spoke with him or in his Company, upon that Subject; but Mr. *Ratcliff* gave no written Answer to this Letter; but sent him a Message, by a Gentlewoman of the Communion of the Church who deliver'd his Letter, in these Words, or Words to this purpose (as that Gentlewoman said); *that as for what he (i. e. Mr. Ratcliff) had said of Mr. Mc Crackan, it was so far from an Accusation of him, that it was the most to his Advantage of any thing that had been said.*

And therefore Mr. *Mc Crackan* thinks, that Mr. *Ratcliff* never said any thing of him which cou'd fairly imply his being a *Jacobite*, because he has said, that *what he said of him was the most to his advantage of any thing that had been said*; and that Mr. *Ratcliff's* Testimony ought not to be turn'd into an Accusation, contrary to his own Intention. And Mr. *Mc Crackan* farther offers in his own Defence, that it is unfair in our Author or any one else, to bring in any broken expression of his, without shewing the Connection or occasion of it, and to make use of such an Expression as an *Imuendo* of his being a *Jacobite*, contrary to Mr *Mc Crackan's* deliberate, plain and full Declarations against the *Pretender*, and on behalf of the Queen and House of *Hanover*.

As to Mr. *Riddall*, our Author is so modest as to deliver his thoughts of his Principles, only as what he suspects p. 87, 88. 'I have never yet heard

heard the reasons (*says he*) given by Mr. *Riddal* for his not taking the Oath of Abjuration, but I here offer one Fact with respect to him, which may give us grounds to suspect that he also Acts upon the very same Principles with his *non-juring Brethren*. The Fact Certified by *Brent Spencer Esq*; is as follows *viz.* that Mr. *Riddal* came to the House of Mrs. *Jackson* of *Waterfoot* (as she assur'd the said Mr. *Spencer*) with Pistols before him; whereupon, she being surpris'd desir'd to know what was the Matter; to this *his Answer* was, that on the *Pretender's* Landing all Non-Jurors were to be taken up, and that he wou'd Defend himself, but that he kept out of all public Roads to prevent his being taken. As Mr. *Riddal* followed the example of Mr. *Mc Crackan* in his Refusal of the Oath, so do's *Mc Crackan* at this time follow the example of *Riddal*, in Riding Arm'd through the Country in an unusual Manner. This occasions no small Speculations &c.

The Strength of the Evidence runs thus, *he said, that she said, that Riddal said &c.* I shall envy no Man the Satisfaction (if he can find any) of Chasing those *diverting Tales*, and of finding out the Monstrous *Jacobitism* of Mr. *Riddal's* Pistols, and Mr. *Mc Crackan's* Sword; upon which our Author bestows a Paragraph, with many fine Speculations p. 88.

Before I leave this Head, I must make a Remark upon Mr *Waring's* Answer to an Objection he Represents against his own Ucharitable Opinion of these 3 Ministers. He represents 'em all as friends to the *Pretender*, and Answers this Argument advanc'd for them p. 85. 'I have heard that some Dissenters of substance and of no mean Condition, do take upon them to Answer for the Loyalty of these Men, by offering to enter into Recognizance of Twenty Thousand Pounds for their Fidelity to her Majesty, and their Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, as now settled by Act of Parliament, and presume that by this Method, they have answer'd all Objections against them, on account of their refusing the Oath of Abjuration.

Many substantial Reasons may be offered to shew the weakness of this Argument; to instance but one, Those *Recognizancers* for the Loyalty of the said *Non-Jurors* are pretty well assured, knowing their Craft, that they will not by any Overt-Act in favour of the *Pretender*, however sly their Insinuations may be, incur the Forfeiture

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of their *Recognizances*, unless the *Pretender's* Interest shou'd be Powerful enough to prevail in these Kingdoms (which God forbid); and in that case, there cou'd be no danger to those who enter'd into *Recognizance* for the *Non-Jurors*; on the contrary it's Rationally to be suppos'd, the *Non-Jurors* Interest would be sufficient to recommend their Bail to his *Pretendership's* Favour.

The Weakness of this Reply will appear, if we consider, that if these Men be suppos'd to be *Jacobites*, no body can have an assurance that they won't Forfeit such a *Recognizance*; If ever the *Pretender* shou'd make an attempt (which God forbid) upon these Nations, may not his Friends think that Attempt hopeful, when it may prove unsuccessful; & upon that hope, declare for him? And why may not these three Men (if they were *Jacobites*) be flatter'd into such an hope, and such a Declaration in that case, as well as others? do's any Man believe that ever he will or dare make such an Attempt, without Encouragement from his Friends in these Nations? And will they encourage a thing to their own Ruin, which they don't look upon as Feasible? And won't they endeavor to engage as many as they can into their Measures? And therefore, those Gentlemen who offer to enter into *Recognizance* for 20000 *lb.* for the Loyalty of those 3 Men, neither can nor wou'd be easie in their Minds, unless they were firmly persuaded, that they were Loyal in their Principles, and quite opposite to the *Pretender*.

But 2<sup>dly</sup>, Let us consider what our Author alledges, of these Non-juring Teachers being *Countenanc'd and Protected by the Northern Dissenters of all Degrees, and other Persons of Eminent Station.*

Seeing our Author goes upon a Mistake, as if these 3 Ministers were *Jacobites*, and had refus'd the Oath upon that Account, the *Odium* he endeavours to cast upon those who countenance them, has no *just* Foundation. For their being true Friends to her Majestie's Person and Government, and to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, do's Plead for Compassion, and that a difference shou'd be made between them and other *Non-Jurors*, whose Refusal of the Abjuration-Oath proceeds from a Zeal for the *Pretender*. And all the Countenance given 'em by the Northern Dissenters says no more. If we consider the Intention of the *Legislature* in imposing the Oath, which was to Defeat the *Designs of the Pretender*, we can't suppose that they ever mean'd to discourage those who were true friends to the *Protestant* and Enemies to a *Papish* Succession: But that the Penalties of this

Act were intended to Reach *Jacobites*, as dangerous Enemies to the Government. And therefore, tho' those who scruple the Oath upon *another Account*, may be so unhappy as to fall under the Penalties, if the *Letter* of the Law be consider'd *Abstractly* from the *Reason* and ground, upon which it was fram'd; yet it can't be deny'd, that the Case of such Persons Renders them fit Objects for Her Majesty's *Princely Clemency*, and consequently for the *Compassion* of their Protestant Neighbours, who know them to be Trusty Friends to her *Title* and Government. And this Remark seems to me to be a just Inference from what our Author observes as a *Seventh Instance* of the Countenance given them, which he finds fault with in these Words, p. 89.

' *Seventhly*, the whole proceedings of the Judges in Mr *McBride's* prosecution, Tryal and acquittal seems (from what account Mr *Waring* gives) to be so very extraordinary, that I purposely decline animadverting upon it, fearing that my Excursions might carry me too far, both with respect to *them* and my self; however, thus far I will Venture to affirm, that had not those non-jurors met with that countenance, Protection and support from all *Degrees* of People both *Dissenters* and *others*, they wou'd never have insulted the Laws as they did; nor have influenc'd such numbers of the Common people to follow their examples, in refusing the Oaths upon the *expected Invasion* of the Pretender.

I believe the proceedings of her Majesty's Judges in the above case can be very well defended, against those *undecent Insinuations* of our Author. And it is no great wonder, that *Presbyterians* should meet with his Censure, seeing the *Judges on the Bench* must not escape it, But I hope it will be allowed, that the Judges and other *worthy Gentlemen* of the *Establish'd Church*, don't deserve to be accounted friends to the Pretender and his *abettors*; and therefore, the *Northern Dissenters* who are reputed guilty of a *pretended* joint crime with them, are in less hazard.

And this will yet further appear, if we consider wherein the Countenance those 3 Ministers have met with, do's consist. No man that has any knowledge of the practice of the *Presbyterians* in the North of *Ireland* can affirm, that they in the least influenced these three Ministers to refuse the Oath. On the Contrary, all the Gentlemen of their persuasion, who being then in *Civil* and *Military* Employments were obliged to qualifie themselves, *cheerfully* took it; and so did their Bre.

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Brethren in the holy Ministry, conceiving it to be their duty so to do. This was as great a discountenancing & discouraging of those who refus'd it, as they thought was required, and as Christian Charity cou'd allow. But seeing those 3 Ministers who scrupled it, did well approve of the Substance of it, and their Scruples were founded only upon some little expressions, which neither cou'd conclude them to be *un-sound* in the Faith, nor *immoral* in practice, nor *disloyal* in principle, their Brethren cou'd not think that their differing from them in Judgment about so *small a point* was any just ground (according to the *Rules of Christian Discipline*) for casting them out of *Ministerial* Communion: notwithstanding whereof, they resolv'd in a general Meeting of all the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, that they wou'd Censure any of them who shou'd be found guilty of *practicing upon people*, either in *preaching*, *writing*, *private conversation*, or *otherwise*, in favour of their *own opinion* and *scruples*.

The present practice of the Church of *Scotland* is a Confirmation of this point; for those of their Ministers who have scrupled the same Oath have given a most *ample declaration* of their Loyalty, almost in the *very words* of it; and their Brethren have entred their Declaration in their Records; and both *they who have taken*, and *they who have refus'd* it, have join'd in a very strong and Express Act against the *Pretender*, and for the *Queen*, and *House of Hanover*: And I hope the Reader won't take it amiss that I present him with a true Copy of the said Declaration (the Act of the Commission having been inserted p. 456); the Declaration runs thus:

‘ We under Subscribers Ministers of the Gospel in the Synod of  
 ‘ *Lothian and Tweeddale*, considering that by an Act of the last Session  
 ‘ of Parliament, the Ministers of this Church are required to swear  
 ‘ and Subscribe the Oath of Abjuration, concerning which as it  
 ‘ stands, especially as relating to two Acts of the *English* Parliament  
 ‘ we were not clear, but that it might import a Consent unto and  
 ‘ Approbation of some qualifications requir'd of the Successor to the  
 ‘ Crown, not agreeable to our Principles.

‘ Wherefore to prevent all *Misconstructions* which may possibly be  
 ‘ entertain'd of our not taking the said Oath, We hereby declare  
 ‘ our *firm Allegiance* and *stedfast Loyalty*, in all Duties, and upon all  
 ‘ Occasions Incumbent on us, to her Majesty *Queen ANNE*, as our  
 ‘ only Lawful and Rightful Sovereign. We do also in the Sincerity

of our Hearts, Declare and Believe that the Person pretended to be the *Prince of Wales* during the Life of the late King *James*, and since his Decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of *Scotland* by the Name of *James VIII.* or of *England* by the Name of *James III.* or the Stile and Title of King of *Great-Britain*, hath no Right to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, or any Dominions thereunto belonging: Therefore we disown and refuse any manner of Allegiance or Obedience to him; as also we firmly resolve, through Grace, in our Stations to Maintain, Defend and Support the Succession to the Crown in the Illustrious Family of *Hanover*, for which we *MOST HEARTILY PRAY*, reckoning it next to the Preservation of Her Majesty, the only Support under God, of our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

And seeing we are heartily agreed upon all that's contain'd in the said Oath, which may be thought any real Security to the Government and Protestant Succession, which we judge to be a strong Bulwark against Popery and Tyranny: We earnestly desire and firmly hope, That our not taking the said Oath, shall not be thought to proceed from any Principles of Disloyalty and Disobedience to Authority but entirely from fear of Counteracting our known Principles, and Crave that this our Declaration may be inserted in the Records of the Synod. Written and Subscrib'd at *Edinburgh* the 5th of *November* 1712.

This is a Demonstration, that a Presbyterian may be a Non-Juror, and no *Jacobite*; And that it may be neither prejudicial to Church nor State, to give such all the Countenance that has been given 'em, either in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, in that Case. And this fully answers all that's advanced by our Author upon this Head, so far as his Assertions are true in Fact. But there are some of 'em which indeed deserve another Answer, and particularly his second instance of the Countenance given 'em p. 88. 2dly, *Mr. Mc Bride* having taken Sanctuary in *Scotland* upon a Legal Prosecution in this Kingdom, was recall'd to his Congregation by *Mr. Smith* a Ruling Elder Merchant in *Belfast*, Pursuant (as I am inform'd) to an Act of Presbytery, and conducted into *Belfast* in great Triumph, attended by numbers of People of all Degrees, and this while the Suit was Actually depending, all which appears by *Mr. Waring's* Letter.

*Mr. Waring* has been strangely impos'd upon in his Narrative of this Matter, as will appear by the following Certificates.

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WE do hereby Certify, That when the Reverend Mr. John McBride came to Belfast, after Mr. Samuel Smith Merchant had gone to Glasgow, to invite the said Mr. McBride (who was then at Glasgow) to return to his Congregation, the said Mr. McBride Landed in the Dock of Belfast about three of the Clock in the Morning, and walked straight to the House of Mr. John McMan Merchant in Belfast, being Accompanied by none but Sir James Agnew Heretable Sheriff of Galloway, our selves and some Servants: and all this we Certify from our own Knowledge, having been Passengers in the same Boat and Voyage with Mr. McBride, alongst with the said Sir James; and we are ready to confirm this our Certificate upon Oath, if requir'd. Given under Our Hands at Belfast, September the 25th. 1713.

James Adair.

William Mitchell.

I do hereby Certify when the Reverend Mr John McBride Landed in Belfast, at the time mention'd in the above Certificate he came to my House, while I and my whole Family were lying in Bed, & that I was waken'd by one of my Servants who acquainted me with it; and that I Arose & Entertain'd the said Mr McBride, and found no Company with him but one of my Servants. Given under my Hand at Belfast September 25. 1713.

John McMan.

I shou'd not have thought it worth while to have taken notice of this *small Circumstance*, were it not necessary to caution the Reader against that *excessive Credulity*, which is the *visible Infirmity* of our *Author* and his *Informers*; who are found accountantly mistaken in their History of the very Facts done in the places of their own residence, and in their own time, that it procures 'em no great Credit when they speake of things done *before they were born*, and in *other places* of the World.

While Mr Smith was in Glasgow waiting upon Mr McBride, the Pretender and his French Forces came upon the Scots Coast; upon which Occasion, Mr McBride gave as plain a Demonstration of his being no Jacobite, as any man in his Station. The Presbytery of Glasgow (of which he was then Moderator) drew a most Loyal Address to Her Majesty, expressing their *Abhorrence* of that Traiterous Attempt of the Pretender and his Abettors, and their Zealous Disposition and Resolution to *Oppose* it with their utmost might, and to adhere to Her Majesty's Title. This Address was amongst the very first that was sign'd upon that Occasion, and Mr McBride was the first



first man who sign'd it ; and the Man, to whom Mr Nairn, (sub-  
secretary at that time) return'd Her Majesty's Answer, wherein she  
express'd a particular Satisfaction with their Loyalty.

The Ministers of that City at the same time, made a Proposal to  
the Privy Council of Scotland, that they would raise men for her Ma-  
jesty's Service, and the Defence of their Country against the Pretender,  
and furnish 'em with Arms and Ammunition, and pay each of 'em  
8d. per diem, for 40 days, all upon their own proper Charge. Each Mini-  
ster propos'd to raise, arm and pay 5 men ; and Mr McBride offer'd  
his Proportion as cheerfully as any of 'em, & over & above his Proportion,  
offer'd to send one of his own Sons into that Service. This Loyal Propo-  
sal of the Ministers animated the People, And the Magistrates, University  
and Ministers of the City, were every day in Consultation, sending Ex-  
presses and using their utmost Interest for the Queen, and against the  
Pretender. And in all the measures taken, Mr McBride was as Active  
as any man of his Station. And it had been Rational, to have ex-  
pected, that those who are Accusers of Mr McBride for Disloyalty,  
should have first shown such seasonable and clear Demonstrations of  
their Zeal against the Pretender upon that Occasion, as he did, before  
they had laid Jacobitism to his Charge. If any one Contest these  
Particulars of his Behavior at Glasgow, he is ready to prove 'em from  
the Authentick Testimonies of the Magistrates and Ministers of that  
City ; and the Privy-Counsellors, and Subsecretary of Scotland.

His 5th Instance of the Countenance given 'em seems to me to be  
very confus'd ' Mr McBride (says he p. 89) is continu'd a Trustee  
' also in the patent for receiving the Royal-bounty of 1200 l. b. per an-  
' num, as was prov'd by Westerra Waring Esq: before a Committee  
' of the Right Honorable House of Lords' What Mr Waring offer'd  
to that Honorable Committee, I can't tell, but I am sure, all that's  
true in the matter is this, that in her Majesty's patent for that pension,  
which is dated March 11:th 1702, and consequently before the Oath  
of Abjuration was impos'd upon Ireland, Mr McBride is nam'd as  
one of the Trustees, but that since he scrupled the Oath, has never  
acted as a Trustee, and that all the other Trustees have taken the  
Oath. Wherein this can be a just ground of reflection either upon  
Her Majesty, or the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland,  
I can't discern. And I am apt to believe, that if Mr Waring's E-  
vidence was given to the Committee that prepar'd a Representation  
with relation to the Presbyterian Ministers, their Lordships wou'd

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have taken some notice of the matter of it in their *Representation*, had they found it any thing to the purpose.

That Mr *Malcom* told Mr *McBride*, that he was a knave &c. (which our Author asserts p. 79) is what both of 'em absolutely deny, and aver it to be a meer fiction.

## CHAP. III.

Wherein the four Presumptive Facts charg'd upon Presbyterians in the Third Part of the Conduct of Dissenters &c. viz. 1. *Their taking the Solemn League &c.* 2dly, *Their Common Funds against the Church.* 3dly, *Their Enslaving People by their Certificates ;* And 4thly, *The many Dreadful things, prevented by the Test-Clause, are Examin'd.*

The *first* of these *four* Facts is Represented by our Author p. 91. in the following Words.

### FACT I.

THE first Presumptive Fact I will mention shall be, that we have several Reasons, which may give us sufficient grounds for a violent Suspicion, that the Dissenting Ministers, if not their Ruling Elders are oblig'd to take the Solemn League and Covenant, before they

they are admitted to Teach and Govern the Northern Congregatio-  
 ns. Part 3.

The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* in their *Second Apology* to Her Majesty p. 33 give a full Answer to this Accusation. We are surpriz'd (say they) that the Convocation shou'd insinuate any cause of Fear, that our Ministers shou'd be oblig'd at their Ordinations to take the *Solemn League and Covenant*; seeing they can't but know that all our Ordinations are solemnly perform'd in the face of public and numerous Congregations, where generally divers of the Establish'd Church are present: And yet we are assur'd, that not any one Instance of that kind can be given, nor is it done either in the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, or amongst us.

And the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the City of *Dublin*, and South of *Ireland* agree with their Brethren in the North, in giving the same Assurance to her Majesty, as appears by their Printed Address in Answer to the Representation of the Convocation. And tho' neither the Address from the *North* nor *South* makes mention of the *Ruling Elders*, because the Convocation don't express the least Suspicion of their taking the Covenant; yet 'tis plain, from our Author's Reasoning upon this *Presumptive Fact* (as he calls it) that his greatest Suspicion is of the Ministers, for he speaks of a violent Suspicion that the Dissenting Teachers, if not their *Ruling Elders*, are oblig'd &c. And therefore seeing all reasonable ground is given for removing his Suspicion of the former, I think he needs not be in pain about the latter. But to show that there is no design to Wave a positive Answer about it; I do here for the Satisfaction of all persons whatsoever, who desire it, declare that no *Ruling Elder* amongst the Presbyterians, is ever oblig'd to take the *Solemn League and Covenant*, either before, at, or after their Ordination; and that all the Presbyterian Ministers and Elders in the Kingdom of *Ireland* are ready to Certify the Truth of this Assertion under their Hands.

But our Author perhaps won't be Satisfied with this Account, for if they assure him, they don't take the *Covenant*, he has another fear, that they do something like it. 'Wou'd it not be highly expedient (says he p. 94.) to require some public Assurance (which they never yet wou'd give) that they do not in their secret Assemblies bind their Elders with some such solemn Oaths as formerly &c. for my part I think it Prudent in them to give such assurance (if they be Innocent) and necessary for us to demand them.

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What he means by *some such solemn Oaths as formerly*, is very hard to guess, until he explain himself. But I shall inform the Reader faithfully of the *promises* made by the *Elders*, when they are set a part to their Office. They promise in *one word*, that they will be faithful in the Execution of the Office of an Elder, *i. e.* that they will be *Impartial* and *Diligent* in *enquiring* into, and Censuring the Scandalous behaviour of such Members of the Congregation, as shall be *known* to be *Guilty*; and for that purpose, they shall meet in the Associated Assemblies of *Ministers* and *Elders*, and therein *Act*, *Speak* and give their *Voices*, according to the *best* of their *Knowledge* for the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, and the good of the Church of Christ, according to the Word of God, and the Methods of Christian Discipline *Conformable* thereunto, and *Practis'd* amongst *Presbyterians*. The *Presbyterians* have not an *Invariable Set Form* of Words, in which they take these promises: But what I have Represented, is a just Account of the *Substance* and *matter* of them. If the fault of this be; that they have *Discipline* at all, or such People as *Elders* at all, that belongs to another Head, & has been consider'd in the former Two Chapters. But if they be allowed to have any *Elders* or *Discipline*, no body can reasonably find fault with them, that they take *some Engagement* of the Persons chosen to that Office, and entrusted with that Power, to be *faithful* and honest.

But Our Author has calculated some of the reasons of this *Violent Suspicion* about the Covenant, to serve *his turn* equally, whether the *Presbyterian Ministers* take the Covenant or not. And therefore I must Consider what he offers in his *1st* and *4th* reasons. First (says he p. 91) Because it must be allowed that they are from their principles obliged (when able) to *extirpate* Episcopacy, as a human Institution; and to enter into all Methods for a farther Reformation, and the Erection of the *Presbyterian Government*, as a *Divine Ordinance*, so that abstracted from any such Covenant *actually enjoy'd* to be taken, they are *Antecedently* obliged to the thing it self; from the *Stated* principles of the *Presbyterian Kirk*, and their obligation to prefer a *Divine* to a *humane Ordinance*.

In his *fourth* Reason he complains that Mr *Mc Bride*, the reputed Author of the *Animadversions* upon a paper of the Bishop of *Dromore's*, wherein the Bishop expresseth his apprehensions of the *Presbyterian Ministers* taking the Covenant, pretends to resolve the Bishop's doubt

in such a manner, that he plainly appears rather to allow than deny the Fact. He quotes the following words of the Author of the said *Animadversions* ' We suppose he (i. e. the Bishop) intends the Solemn League and Covenant, and here we believe he may be mistaken of their Zeal for that, as it is a League with *England* and *Ireland*, obliging them to a Reformation; seeing as a League it can have no greater obligation upon them than those Leagues formerly made with *France* oblige *England*, since the *French* have violated them. Upon which our Author Reasons thus p. 93. ' It was Impossible but he must know that the Bishop's fears were, that they were Zealous for a Covenant to extirpate Episcopacy &c. instead of denying which, he says he believes *he may be mistaken*, for their Zeal for that Covenant as a League with *England* &c. Which does not infer, but they may be Zealous for it, as a solemn Oath to, and Covenant with God, to extirpate Episcopacy; but he seems to me rather to imply it. when he pretends to Explain the matter more fully, and tells us, that as a League it can have no farther obligation on them than Leagues formerly had with *France*, oblig'd *England*, since the *French* violated them. Now, I desire to be resolv'd by this Gentleman, whether when the matter of any Covenant be of it self necessary, and Obligatory by the Command of God, and for the more effectual Obedience to that Command, several Countries should enter into a League, to promote an Universal Observation thereof; I say, I desire to be resolv'd, whether upon the Failure of one Party in that League, the Obligation upon the other party ceases? this I presume he is not so Ignorant to assert, and yet he answers the Bishop by drawing a Parallel, betwixt the Ancient Leagues with *France* and *England*, which were purely Conditional, and no farther Obligatory then as they were mutually kept, whereas the Covenants entered into to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, and erect Presbytery, and further a Reformation, are all of Eternal Obligation to all Presbyterians, from their Principles, Antecedent to and Abstracted from, any Conditional Leagues, or breach of them which can be made.

The Scope of all this reasoning, is to prove that the Presbyterian Ministers and People are a Society of Intolerable Men, and that the Magistrate shou'd neither Tolerate nor connive at their Religious Liberty, because their Principles make 'em dangerous to the Establish'd Church

## Part 3.

Church. That I may give a full and satisfactory Answer, I shall *1st*, give a true Representation of the Principles of Presbyterians with Respect to a *Reformation*, and the *Exirpation* of *Episcopacy*, and how far their Principles bind them to it, *Abstracting* from, and *Antecedent* to any Covenant for that purpose, and *2dly*, Show that their Principles in these Matters, do not render them *Intolerable* by the Civil Magistrate.

As to the *first*, I shall recommend to the Reader a paragraph of the *first Apology* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, to Her Majesty p. 24. ' That our Consciences do not allow us a freedom of conforming to the present Model of Episcopacy in the Establish'd Church, nor to Her Liturgy; and that we found our Dissent upon the Holy Scriptures, is as well known as that we are Presbyterian, and, under which Denomination we have always Humbly Addressed Your Majesty and your Royal Predecessors. But we humbly beg leave to be excus'd from giving your Majesty the Trouble of any Debate from us, upon points controverted among Protestants: A Mutual forbearance in those Matters, and a Christian Management, with a *Spirit of Moderation*, free of all bitter Invectives is what we highly approve; being Cordially agreed with all the *Reformed Churches* at home and abroad, in all the *Doctrines* held by them in *Common*, and in all that's Essential to the Reformation.

And let us consider what the Protestants Dissenting Ministers of the City of *Dublin* and South of *Ireland* deliver as their Sentiments upon this Head in their Address p. 43. ' It is indeed our known Judgment, that the Holy Scriptures, make not *Bishops* and *Presbyters* two distinct *Orders*; and our Opinion herein we humbly conceive, is conformable to that of *most* of the *Reform'd Churches*, declared in their *publick Confessions* of Faith, and 'tis no more than what many Learned Divines of the Establish'd Church, and even several of those that were Eminent Instruments in the *English Reformation*, have Asserted and Maintain'd.

From these Accounts it is plain, that they look Upon Episcopacy (as it is now model'd) to be an *Human Ordinance*; and so far our Author do's them Justice. There is a Consequence which follows Natively from this Principle, *viz.* That they think a *Divine Ordinance* better than a *human* one, and another from that, *viz.* That they cannot but heartily wish that all other People were of their Opinion too. Nay, it must be own'd, that their *Principle* inclines and obliges

obliges them to wish seriously, that the Queen and all the Peers and Commons of *Great-Britain and Ireland* were Zealous and Good Presbyterians: For he that thinks Presbytery the *best Government* of the Church, Condemns himself and acts uncharitably, if he do's not desire every one to *partake* of the *benefits* of it, as well as himself. If his Principle be good, he ought to wish that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Archbishops and Bishops in *Christendom* wou'd be contented to be Presbyterian Ministers; and in all this, he do's no more than to wish *every Man's Soul as well as he does his own*, which no body can take ill. He can't help believing that the Presbyterian Church is the best Reform'd of all Churches: and therefore he must sin against the light of his own Conscience, if he wou'd not Desire and Rejoyce in the *Reformation* of other Churches, and fain have 'em all to embrace the same Discipline and Worship as well as Doctrine in *common with her*. He must say to them all as the Apostle *Paul* said to *Agrippa*. *Acts 26. 29.* *I wou'd to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were almost and altogether such as I am, except these Bonds.* If this be reckon'd an *Extirpation of Episcopacy*, I won't contend about Words, the Presbyterians are oblig'd from their Principle to desire it, in the Sense I have explain'd.

• But there is another Sense wherein the Reforming or Extirpating of Episcopacy may be taken, wherein I don't think the Principles of Presbyterians oblige 'em to wish and endeavor it. And that is, by *Tumultuous, Oppressive, Persecuting* and other *Illegal* Methods. I don't see any thing in the Principles of Presbyterians, which oblige them by Force to *Invalidate Churches*, to possess themselves of *Church Livings* by Violence against the Laws of the State, to Rob the Clergy of their *Temporalities*, to ruine any Man for being *Episcopal in his Judgment*; and to Depose the *Prince*, and *insult the Legislature* unless they'll Establish Presbytery and lay aside Episcopacy. These are all unwarrantable Methods of Reformation, which no Presbyterian Principle gives any Countenance to. The Reader may perceive by Mr. *Hall's* Letter in Name of all the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* (inserted p. 414.) that they allow of no such things, and that they Reprov'd Mr. *Liston* for going into a Church to Preach contrary to Law. What is Objected against Presbyterians, as Counteracting this Principle, by Tumultuary Reformations and Persecution, is abundantly Answer'd in divers Books, written in their Defence; and belongs not to

my *Province* in this place, nor will I undertake the *Defence* of any who are Guilty of it.

But I come *eddy*, to show that the Principles of *Presbyterians*, notwithstanding of their carrying them so far as to desire and endeavor by *lawful Methods*, to have a *Reformation* and *Restoration* of *Episcopacy* in the Manner Explin'd, do not render 'em *intolerable* by the *Civil Magistrate*. And this must either be allow'd, or else *all Toleration* under a *Protestant Government* of any sort of *Protestants*, who for *Conscience sake* dissent from the *Establish'd Church*, must be *Refus'd* and *Condemn'd*. This is so narrow and uncharitable a Principle, that it wou'd be an *Abuse* put upon the *Reader*, to tire his *Patience* with the *Refutation* of it. In a *Calvinist Country*, shall all *Lutherans* be *Abridg'd* of the *Liberty* of serving God, according to their *Consciences*? In a *Lutheran Country* shall the *Calvinists* be *Treated* the same way? In a *Presbyterian Country*, shall none that are *Episcopal* or *Independent* be allowed *Liberty* of *Conscience*? The very *Naming* of these things is *Argument* enough against 'em to the *Moderate* and *Sober* of all *Persuasions*. And therefore I shall take it for granted, that *no such Principle* is *good*, as wou'd *exclude all Toleration* and *mutual forbearance* amongst *Protestants*: And yet without *Maintaining* that *unwarrantable Principle*, *Presbyterians* must be allow'd to be as *Tolerable* as other *People*.

For I wou'd fain know what *Argument* can any *Establish'd Episcopal Church* give against the *Toleration* of *Presbyterians*, but what will *serve a turn*, and prove as strong an *Argument* to any *Establish'd Protestant Church* whatsoever, for denying a *Toleration* to any of her *fellow Protestants* who dissent from her. Is it, because *Presbyterians* think their *Persuasion* the *best*; and because their *Principles* oblige 'em to *miss*, and by *all peaceable* and *lawful methods* endeavour, to have all others to be of their mind? This very reason wou'd infer, that those of the *Episcopal Communion* ought not to be *tolerated* in *Scotland*: For the *Established Church* there may say, that the *Episcopal Dissenters* look upon *Episcopacy* as the only *Apostolical Government* of the *Church*, and that therefore *Abstracting from* and *Antecedent to* any *Covenant* or *Oath*, their *Principles* oblige 'em to *Extirpate Presbytery*, and to *ruine* the *Church Established*, and therefore being *Dangerous people* they *Must not be Tolerated*. And 'tis certain, the *Argument* can be managed there with more *colorable* pre-



pretences against the *Toleration* of their Dissenters, than the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* can do against the *Toleration* of theirs. For, besides that a conscientious *Episcopal* Dissenter in *Scotland* is obliged from his own Principle to use the same Efforts for Purity in *Scotland*, as the *Presbyterian* Dissenters are, for *Presbytery* in *England* and *Ireland*, they are more dangerous in another respect; because the *Presbyterians* in *England* and *Ireland* are not such *High-flyers* in their Principle about *Episcopal* Ordination, as, the *Episcopal* Dissenters are about *Presbyterian* Ordination. The former, tho' they can't in Conscience Comply with *Episcopal* Ordination, yet they do not deny the Validity of it, nor of the sacred Ministrations of those who receive it; but many of the latter look upon *Presbyterian* Ordination to be null and Void, and therefore are more oblig'd from their principle to endeavour the subversion of *Presbytery*, than the Others are to endeavour the subversion of *Episcopacy*. And may not the *Established Church of Holland* argue the same way against tolerating *Episcopal* Congregations there? The *Lutherans* may tell the *Calvinists*, that they must not be tolerated, because they i. e. the *Calvinists* look upon their own Doctrine and Worship to be grounded upon the word of God, and that the *Peculiar Points* of *Lutheranism* are erroneous Tenets, contradictory to the Scriptures, and therefore ought to be extirpated Root and Branch, and all this is really true; For the *Calvinists* are firmly of that Opinion; and yet it would be unreasonable to infer from thence, that they shou'd not be tolerated in a *Lutheran* Country.

This kind of Argument is so far from being strong enough for refusing a *Toleration* or *Connivance* to any Party of Protestants; that on the Contrary, it is one of the necessary qualifications, which any party that demands a *Toleration* or *Connivance* ought to have. For those who think an *Establish'd Church* so well constituted, as they may join safely in *Constant Communion* with her without sin, dissent from her, not from principle but Humour, & therefore have no plea from Conscience to cattle them to the Protection of the Magistrate, in their separation from such a Church. In a word, No party ought to be tolerated except they think their own *Communion* better than that of the *Established Church*, and except they wish all other people whatsoever may approve of, embrace, and profess the same principles, and join in the same *Communion* with them. And therefore the *Presbyterians* having such a Principle, can never render them intolerable; of which her sacred Majesty and the *English* and *British* Parliaments were so fully convinc'd,

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that they have declar'd, that the Toleration in *England* ought to be *inviolably* Maintain'd, & yet the *Principles* of those comprehended in it are *exactly the same* with those of Their Brethren in *Ireland*.

But to return to the subject, that gave occasion for these observations, viz. the *solemn League and Covenant*, all I shall say for it is, that it was full of Loyalty to the King, and was a *particular Means* of the Restoration of the Royal Family, tho' it was against Episcopacy. The Presbyterians always *pleaded the Covenant*, as an unanswerable Argument to prove the Disloyalty of those who beheaded King *Charles 1<sup>st</sup>*, and opposed Monarchy. They thought they were oblig'd by it, to stand by the Royal Family; to *insist* upon the *Restoration* thereof, and to *deny* and *refuse* all allegiance and compliance with the *Usurper*: this abundantly appears from the Representations, Remonstrances, Reasonings and Actions of the Presbyterians, and particularly from Mr *Drysdail's* defences to Col. *Fenables*, & the other Papers of the Presbytery which I have inserted p. 285. &c. They were sworn in the Covenant to support His Majesty's Person and Authority, and that *they wou'd not diminish his just greatness and power*; and therefore their Loyal principles and affections were cherish'd by the Additional obligation of their Covenant; which they improv'd upon all occasions as an Argument for Monarchy, and the Right of King *Charles 2<sup>d</sup>* to the Crown, and for pressing all that had taken it, to do the same as they wou'd avoid the *horrid sin* of Perjury.

As for its being against Episcopacy, it being Foreign to the Design of this Book to enter into that Debate, I shall neither offer any thing for Justifying or Condemning it on *that* Head. Those who look upon *English* Episcopacy to be a Divine Ordinance, cannot but according to their own Principle, condemn the Covenant for having any thing in it that tends to the *Extirpation* of a *Divine* Institution, and therefore must look upon it to have been an Oath sinful in it self. On the other hand, those who are for the *Divine Right* of Presbytery, are not convinced that it was sinful in it self, because their Principle leads them to approve of the Matter of it as good and *Lawful*; they are all against Episcopacy, and they wish heartily that every Man in *England* were of their Opinion; But they don't think themselves oblig'd by the *Solemn League and Covenant* to do any thing more for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, than if there had not been such a Covenant. Our

Author

Author himself puts a Case in the Passage I last quoted from him, which is indeed the true State of the Case of those who were the first promoters of this *League*, and a very *Charitable Construction*, if he had stuck to it: For he says p. 93. 'I desire to be resolv'd, when the matter of any Covenant be of it self necessary, and obligatory by the command of God, and for the more effectual obedience to that command, several Countries shou'd enter into a *League* to promote an universal Observation thereof: I say, I desire to be resolv'd whether upon the failure of one Party in that *League*, the Obligation upon the other Party ceases.' This was indeed the case. For the Presbyterians thought it necessary, that there shou'd be a Reformation and Reduction of Episcopacy, and that the same was necessary by the command of God, and their *Covenant* was design'd for nothing else, but to bind Men to what they thought God had bound them to by his *Authority*, *Antecedent* to their *Covenant*. I think it would exceedingly contribute to the promoting of Christian *Charity* and *Peace* among Protestants, to put no other *Construction* upon the design of the *Covenanters* than this, which shows that they Acted upon a *Conscientious Principle*; and that they shou'd not upon all occasions be reproach'd, for following the light of their *Consciences*.

There are *two* Objections more against the *Covenant* made by our Author, in both which he is Mistaken. The *first* is contain'd in his *second* part of the *Conduct of the Dissenters &c.* p. 73, where (after he had given the Abstract of the *Covenant*) he calls it *that accursed Instrument of all our National Calamities in the former Rebellion*. But if he will be at the pains to look into the History of those times, he will find that there were many *National Calamities* during the time which he calls the *time of Rebellion*, (by which I suppose, he means the *Civil War* between the King and the Parliament) before ever the *Covenant* was fram'd. For it was not receiv'd by the Parliament of *England* before the Year 1643; whereas the *Civil War* had broke out a Year before that, and he must be very little acquainted with History and reason, who will say that there were *no National Calamities* while the Nation was groaning under the *Miseries of an Intestine War*; or, that the *Covenant* was the *Instrument* of those *Calamities* before it self had abeing: & yet one of these *two* must be true, or otherwise his Objection is groundless. The true *Instruments* of all these *National Calamities* have been laid open in my discourse upon that unhappy *Civil war*, Part 2d. Chap. 1. Where the Reader will see that those who put the King upon *Arbitrary Government*, that was destructive to Religion and Liberty

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erty were Instruments of all those Miseries, and by engaging *Laud* and the *High-Flying* Episcopal Clergy into the *Measures of the Court against the Interest of the Kingdom*, ruin'd Episcopacy it self, and brought on those Calamities on the Episcopal Church, of which the Covenant was the *Effect* and not the *Cause*.

His second Objection against the Covenant is set down in the close of his Reflections upon his *first Presumptive Fact* p. 94. where he affirms that the Covenant *makes it a Religious Duty to resist the Supreme Magistrate in his Defence of any other Church Government, but that of Presbytery*, he delivers this naked Assertion without any shadow of Proof, and I don't see that any *one* Article or *all* the Articles of the Covenant compared, give any ground for such an Inference.

But I come to consider his *second Presumptive Fact*, which he expresses thus p. 94.

## F A C T II.

\* The second Presumptive Fact is, that, they have common Funds  
 \* rais'd among the People and kept in Bank to defend any Advances  
 \* they can make upon the Rights of the Establish'd Clergy.  
 This Fact supposes that the Presbyterians do attempt to *make advances upon the Rights of the Establish'd Clergy*, which is utterly deny'd, unless their mere Non-Conformity be reckon'd such. I suppose the Clergy will pretend to *no Right*, but what the *Law has given* them, such as the *Tithes, the Churches*, and the *Execution of their Office*; and therefore what Right of theirs do the Presbyterians deprive them of? Perhaps our Author may say, that it is the Right of their Clergy, that there shou'd be *no separate Congregations*, nor *no other Ministers*, nor *Discipline*, nor *Worship* allow'd but *their own*; if this be all his Meaning, he has just told the World that there are such a People as *Non-Conformists*, which is no great discovery, and need not be call'd a *Presumptive Fact*, being known to the whole Kingdom. But then they must reckon it a great hardship, that they can't obtain Liberty of Conscience, but it must be call'd an *Invasion of the Rights of the Clergy*.

It is known to the World, that the Presbyterian Ministers in *Ireland* have no other way of subsistence to their families, than by Her Majesty's Royal Bounty, & the Voluntary Contributions of their Hearers.  
 And

And therefore, there are Methods laid down in their several Congregations for their support; and because some poorer Congregations are not able of themselves to *Maintain a Minister*, those whom God hath blessed with more worldly substance in other Congregations contribute towards their assistance, and think it their duty to do so: For Alms-deeds are not confin'd to the bodies of Men, but ought to be extended to the benefit of their souls too. And this is not done to new erected Congregations only, but to some of the *Oldest* Congregations in *Ulster*, and it seems a little unneighbourly and unkind, to envy poor People's getting a little Assistance from their friends, in order to their enjoying the benefit of the *free Exercise* of their Religion.

But Our Author insinuates several Reflections in these words p. 95 ' It is evident that no private Clergy-man whose rights they ' invade, is able to bear up against such public frauds; one suit gain- ' ed in her Majesty's Courts here, is made a *Precedent* through the ' Nation, and concludes all in the like case, who are not able to ' carry their appeal to the House of Lords of *Ireland*, or to the *Queen's* ' Bench in *England* ' All this is groundless, if they never join'd in any Law-suit for invading the right of any Clergy-man. When some Presbyterians have been violently prosecuted for *meer Non-Conformity*, at the Instance or by the Instigation of some Clergy-men, they have made all the legal defences they cou'd, to prevent the ruin of their families, and for securing the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religious Liberties; and who can blame them for it? and because some who have been thus prosecuted are not able to Maintain a *defensive suit*, and because the Consequence of their being cast in such a suit directly affects the whole Body of Presbyterians, therefore in such a case, if the rest of their Persuasion give some voluntary Contribution, to enable them to make the best legal defence they can, and to prevent the prosecution of themselves, I wou'd fain know where the harm of this lies? It is the right of every subject to be heard before he be condemn'd, and to be allowed a full Liberty of making his best defences; and if one man be prosecuted merely for being a Presbyterian, and for acting as a Presbyterian, it is consequently a prosecuting of all Presbyterians: and therefore if the whole shou'd contribute to support that one, they do no more than defend themselves; a priviledge which can't in justice be deny'd 'em.

But I can't see, how the Assisting of any one that may be thus prosecuted

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secuted can help him to gain his Suit, unless he has a *just cause*, & in that case it were *unjust* he should lose it. His having a money to defend the suit can enable him to employ Agents, and see Council, but can it prevail with the Judges and the Courts to pervert Justice? and therefore I can't comprehend his Meaning, when he insinuates the Necessity of carrying an *Appeal* to the *House of Lords*, or to the *Queen's Bench* in *England*. I'm sure he has no reason to suspect the Judges of *Ireland* of *Parliality* in favour of *Presbyterians*, against the *Establish'd Church*; or, that all the public funds the *Presbyterians* are capable of raising, shou'd be able to corrupt their *Judgment*, and make 'em give a *wrong Decree* against a *Clergy-Man*.

Our Author comes next to vent the frightful Ideas he has got of the *Royal Pension* of *1200 lib. per annum*, to the *Presbyterian Ministers* in the *North of Ireland*; he speaks of their misapplying it, and the substance of what he says is fully answer'd in the following Paragraph of their *first Apology* to Her Majesty, p: 27. ' *That any*  
' *even the least part of your Majesty's Royal Bounty* was ever apply'd either to the sending out such *Missionaries* (as they are called) or *Employing* any Agents, or supporting any Law suits, or *Forming*  
' *and Maintaining* any *Seminaries* for the instruction of Youth, is what we can by no means Assent to, believing their Lordships opinion in this Matter to be entirely owing to *Misinformation*; for that Fund has been *always divided* amongst the *Presbyterian Ministers Pursuant to Your Royal Letters*; as may be fully prov'd whenever it is desir'd, with all the *Demonstrative evidence* that any Matter of Fact is capable of.

He insinuates, that Mr. *Hugh Henry* *Presbyterian Minister* at *Drogheda* (whom he calls the *Present Missionary*, how properly let any Man Judge) was Order'd *18 lb. per Annum* out of this Fund by a *Synodical Act*, the contrary whereof will appear by the following Certificate: ' *Being Intrusted* by the *Presbyterian Ministers of Ulster* to receive and distribute her Majesties *Royal Bounty* to them, which I have done ever since *June 1708*. I hereby Certify that Mr. *Hugh Henry* *Presbyterian Minister of Drogheda* receiv'd no larger share (nor was he appointed to my Knowledge to receive any more of said Bounty) than any other *Presbyterian Minister of Ulster* since his being *Ordained Minister of Drogheda*. And I further Certify that the said Mr. *Henry* received none of the said Bounty before he was *Ordained*. All which

‘ I am ready to make Oath of, if needful. As witness my Hand at  
 ‘ *Belfast* the 3<sup>o</sup>th day of September 1713.

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*Bryce Blair.*

The numbers of Meeting Houses built and new *Conventicles* (as he calls 'em) Erected in *Ireland* since the late Revolution, is not owing to this Royal Bounty, as he alleges, but to other Causes. In divers places the Presbyterian Meeting-Houses were Old and Ruinous, and for that reason were Rebuilt; In some places the Leases of their Meeting-Houses cou'd not be renewed, because of the *Bigotry* of some Landlords who wou'd not suffer them to be Built on their Estates, and therefore the People (to their great Damage) were forc'd to Build them elsewhere. In some places there are *British* Inhabitants where there were scarce any but *Papists*, and many Families having come from *Scotland* that were Educated Presbyterians there, and continue to be of the same Persuasion in *Ireland* (as our Author himself has allow'd in his first part of the Conduct of Dissenters) and settled themselves within the Bounds of Presbyterian Congregations of an old standing, did so encrease them, as they became too great a Charge for one Pastor, and too numerous to meet in one place of Public Worship; and in such cases the Congregation has been divided, and a new one set up; And no Man who considers truly the Interest of *Ireland* can reasonably deny that it's for the Public Good, both of Religion and Liberty, that the Number of Protestants be Multiply'd there. The Presbyterian Ministers in the North of *Ireland* make an Observation in their first Apology, which ought to have great weight with all true Protestants.

p. 29.

‘ We Crave leave with all Humility to observe to your Majesty, that since our first Settlement in *Ulster*, an hundred Years ago, by Encouragement from the Crown, The *British* and *Protestant* Interest which was very weak before, has been considerably strengthen'd by our Means, to that Degree as to have a great Influence on the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom, of which your Royal Predecessors have been very Sensible.

He concludes his Reflections upon the danger of this Royal Pension, with this surprizing Remark p; 96 'It is Manifest that 1200 lb. per Annum in the hands of the Leaders of Any Faction, wherein No parti-

Part 3. ' ticular person has a peculiar Property, is likely to promote the Interest of that Faction, more than 12000 *lib. per Annum*, divided amongst and appropriated to different persons. ' According to this Argument 'twou'd be safer for the Church, that the Presbyterian Ministers (whom he supposeth to be the Leaders of a Faction) had 12000 *lib.* provided it be appropriated to them distinctly, and divided so as every Man have his own peculiar property, than to have 1200 *lib.* in Common : And if the Church be content with this Motion, and think it for her Interest, I will Adventure to say, that the Presbyterian Ministers *nemine Contradicente* will thankfully accept of it, And if it shall please Her Most Excellent Majesty to be of the same opinion with our Author, they had rather have 12000 *lib. per annum* divided amongst and appropriated distinctly to them, so as the whole shall have no power to touch one farthing of any Man's property ; than to have only 1200 *lib* with the utmost imaginable latitude of Discretionary power to themselves to divide it and apply it as they shall think fit

His 3d Presumptive Fact is expressed p : 96. in these words ;

### F A C T III:

' The Presbyterian Ministers of the North of *Ireland* have in my  
 ' Opinion made the whole body of their common People, so Depen-  
 ' dent upon them, that they are intirely in their Power, to  
 ' move and direct them as they please, and one main Spring which  
 ' seems to influence all the lesser Wheels in their Political Machine,  
 ' is the Certificates of their Ministers, and the manner of managing  
 ' them : For it is so contriv'd that there is not one of their Common  
 ' People who dare change his Master, or remove from one place to  
 ' another, but he must apply to the *Dissenting* Minister for a Certi-  
 ' ficate, and that under such severe Penalties, which neither the Laws  
 ' of God, or Man do justify ; for if they produce not such Credenti-  
 ' als, they are given to understand by their Teachers in their public  
 ' *Examens*, (as they call it) that they will not be received into Pres-  
 ' byterian Families, that they are to be Prosecuted as Vagabonds, and  
 ' sent to the House of Correction ; for the proof of which I here in-  
 ' sert an Affidavit, taken before two Justices of the Peace in the  
 ' Coun-



County of *Antrim*; the Original whercof I have in my Hands.

Our Author says p. 99. *It must be allow'd the Original and use of Certificates is very Ancient and Commendable.* Now the Question will turn upon this single point, whether *Presbyterians* pervert the *Original Design* of that *Ancient and Commendable Practice of Certificates*, which they humbly conceive they do not. They believe that every *Pastor* ought carefully to *watch over the Flock*, and acquaint himself with the *Spiritual State* of every *Soul* under his care, so far as he can; that as a *faithful and wise Steward of the Lord's Household*, he may give them their *Portion of Meat in due Season*, and may not give the *Children's Meat to the Dogs*. And they believe, That the *Original design and use of Certificates* was, to enable the *Minister* to observe the *Rules of the Gospel*. For when a *Man* that has *Lav'd in another place of the World*, comes to demand the *Priviledges of Christian Communion* from a *Minister* to whom he is a perfect stranger, that *Minister* must be persuaded that the *Person* has a *Title* (so far as *Men* can judge of such *Titles*) to *Christian Communion*, before he can in *Conscience* admit him to it: how shall he know whether he was *Baptized*, or whether he was not *justly suspended*, or *excommunicated* from the *priviledges of Christian Communion*, in and by the *Church*, whereof he was formerly a *Member*? And in *either* of these *two* cases, he ought not to be admitted to the *Lord's Supper* any where. For a *Man* that is *justly deny'd the Communion* in any *one* *Congregation*, ought not to be admitted to partake of it in any *other*, because the *reason is the same* in all places of the *World*; Now all these doubts are resolv'd by the *Person's* bringing alongst with him a *Certificate* of his good *Behavior*; if he deserves such a *Certificate*, 'tis a *kindness* done himself to bring it; if he do's not deserve it, why shou'd he *Claim Church-Priviledges*, in a place where he is *not known*, when they have been justly refus'd him by those who know him best. All this being a *Consequence* from the *Institutions* of the *Gospel*, there can be no *Hardship* put upon any *Man*; and this is all the *Intention* the *Presbyterian Ministers* have in *granting* and *demanding* such *Certificates*.

Our Author Much Misrepresents this Fact. For a man may change as many Masters as are Members of any one Congregation, and never be ask'd for such a Certificate at all, and the Reason is plain, because the person is still under the Inspection of the same Minister. The Law indeed requires such Certificates from their respective Masters,

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but the Ministers do not, except when they leave *one* Congregation and come to be members of *another*, and that for the reasons above-mention'd.

It is utterly deny'd, that persons wanting such Certificates are threaten'd to be prosecuted as *Vagabonds*, and to be sent to the *House of Correction* merely for wanting such Certificates, but the case often happens, that such persons of the Presbyterian persuasion as want these Certificates, are *profligate* and *scandalous*; and that, upon the want of them, Presbyterians make search into their former Conversation, and find them guilty of such *Crimes* as occasion'd them either to *fly from Justice*, or to remove because of the *just disgrace* their scandals had brought them under, in the former places of their abode; And for these reasons, they have refus'd to shelter them in their Houses, & have prosecuted 'em as vagabonds & public Nuisances to the Country; which, instead of being *criminal*, is very *Commendable*, as being *good service* to their Country, and shows an *Impartiality* amongst Presbyterians, in not Countenancing Men that are a reproach to Religion, tho' they profess to be of *their persuasion*.

That this practice of requiring Certificates, is so managed as to make the *Common people* entirely dependent on the *Presbyterian Teachers*, in all things both *Temporal* and *spiritual*: as our Author Asserts p. 99) is calumnious and false. Indeed if the Presbyterian Ministers made *their granting* Certificates, to such as deserve them, an *Arbitrary* thing, so as to grant or refuse 'em at pleasure without being *accountable to one another* for the reasons of their Practice; and at the same time refused to admit Men to Christian Communion who want them, this wou'd go a great way to prove them Guilty of enslaving the People; and of rendering *Christian Communion* a very *precarious* Thing; but their Practice is quite otherwise. They give such Certificates *ex debito* to all who deserve them; and if any Man be unjustly refus'd one, he has a Remedy according to their Discipline. And they are so *nicely exact* and *accurate* in this Matter, that in many Years there will scarce occur one instance of any Person's complaining of their being injar'd that way, whereas it were impossible to make the People bear such an *Intolerable Yoke* at their hands, as our Author represents it to be, when he Uncharitably calls it the *most refin'd Arcanum* of all their *Political Schemes*, to gain an *Absolute Power* over the *Common people*: And they are as sure as they can be of their own Hearts and Actions, that what they design

design by it, is nothing else but to bring Men into Obedience to the *Scheme* of the Gospel, leaving the *Refined Arcana* and *Political Schemes* to those who may have *more occasion* for 'em, and who Love to deal more in *that sort of Trading*.

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Our Author guesses at a great deal of *terrible things*, that may be the Consequence of this Presbyterian way of *Certificates*. ' This way (says he) effectually Terrifies Ignorant People who are *Conformists* from ' *Settling amongst them*". Pray how can it? Do the Presbyterian Ministers ever go to Conformists, to ask such *Certificates* from them? No, they leave their *own Ministers* to Treat them as they see Cause, without concerning themselves with them any further than as one Neighbour may do by another. ' This may (says he, *Ibid.*) be the great ' reason why amongst so many thousand Families who have come o- ' ver from *Scotland*, since the late Revolution; so few of them have ' Conformed to the *Establish'd Church*'. I can't well comprehend this way of Arguing; nor can I see any reason, why demanding *Certificates* from Presbyterians coming from another Kingdom shou'd hinder them from Conforming; they like the *Presbyterian* way better than that of the *Conformists*, and that hinders them from Conforming: But that *Certificates* shou'd do the Business, is pretty hard to Account for, especially, if those *Certificates* make them such slaves; for their Conformity will deliver them from that piece of slavery, if it be any: and 'tis rather a wonder that when they come to *Ireland*, they wou'd not desire to Breathe in a *free Air*, and go to Church, if they had been made such *Arrant Slaves* at home.

' These may also (says he, *Ibid.*) put many of the poor Tradesmen; ' and Labourers, who live in Towns where the *Presbyterians* prevail, ' under a necessity of procuring such Credentials, to which they cannot ' be Entitled but by frequenting the Meeting, in Order to get their ' Subsistence amongst them, so that in such places, where there are ' more Conforming Tradesmen and Servants than they of the Church ' Establish'd are able to employ, such poor People are Actually in a ' State of Persecution, for their Conformity to the Church.

The Presbyterians are ill Treated by our Author in this Account; for they disown it, that they Persecute any Man for his Conformity, or lay any under Temptations to *Non-Conformity* against his Conscience; They entertain Servants that are Conformists in their Families, without any such *Certificates*, and employ Conformist Labourers and Trades-

men

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men without them, of which Multitudes of Instances can be given, were it needful. How these Certificates shou'd be the *reason of sinking and depressing such Numbers of the Old Conformists in the North of Ireland, of turning them out of their Leases, and obliging them to quit their Farms,* (all which he greatly suspects p. 100) is such a *Resin'd Arcanum* indeed, as I believe no body will be able to find out.

But I must not neglect the Affidavit inserted by our Author p. 97. It was made by one *John White*, and has a passage in it, wherein the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Shannon* Presbyterian Minister at *Portaferry* is concern'd, and theretore I shall here insert the true Copy of Mr. *Shannon's* Letter to his friend, upon that Subject.

S I R,

I AM Surpriz'd to find in a late Pamphlet Entitled the *Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland*, my self Misrepresented in what is pretended to have been said upon Oath against me by one *John White* in these Words, (p. 97.) *This Deponent farther saith, that at the Examining, at which time the Servants generally shew these Notes, one Samuel Shannon the Pre-byterian Minister in Portaferry, did openly declare to the People that except they had their Certificates Signed by him upon their leaving the Parish, they wou'd not only be deny'd Admittance into any other Congregation, and to the Sacrament, but be turned out of such Parishes where they went, when it was known that they wanted such Certificates.* To which I answer, my constant Method at such occasions is this, if any Servants or others have lately come into the Bounds of my Congregation, professing themselves of our Communion, and that they have not before shown me their Testimonials, I do then demand them; and without these or something Equivolent to Satisfie me of their Christian Behavior, and that they are not justly excluded from Christian Communion, I do not admit them to Church Priviledges: But as for any such Declaration as the Deposition Mentions *viz. that they wou'd not be employ'd as Servants, but be turned out of such Parishes where they went, and that barely because they want my Certificate,* I do utterly deny it, and must look upon the Asserting of this to be, in the most favourable Construction, a mistake, I.e where it will; for I do very well know it, we have no Power to use such Measures for Reclaiming Offenders or Disorderly Persons.

I have been at some pains to Inform my self of what the above-  
menti-

mentioned *John White* says of the examination printed in the *Conduct* &c; and two very *Worthy Gentlemen of Good Credit* having **Part 3:**  
 Discours'd him, Returned me the following Account.

The said *White* acknowledges that he made an *Affidavit*, concerning some things mention'd in the Examination contain'd in the said Book, before Captain *Leathes* and Doctor *Tisdall*; and that he said, that he did apprehend there was no need of any other *Certificate* than that of the Presbyterian Minister of the Parish from whence he came, but he says he told the Doctor that his Master *Robert Welsh* gave him a discharge, which he gave to one in *Belfast*, tho' the Printed *Affidavit* imports that he did not get a Discharge from the said *Welsh*; and the reason (as he believes) why the Doctor inserted that in the *Affidavit* (which he wrote himself) was, because he the said *John White* told the Doctor, that tho' he got a discharge from the said *Welsh* he thought it not needful, seeing he had the Minister's Certificate, as above; not knowing, that by the law of the Land such a discharge was necessary. He owns that he said, that servants in the place from whence he came dare not quit Master or Parish without the Presbyterian Minister's Certificate, but says that he understood this of *Scotland*, he having formerly liv'd there. He acknowledges, he said he had heard Mr *Samuel Shannon* say at the examining that unless servants and others brought Certificates from the Congregations where they had been before, he wou'd not admit them to *sealing Ordinances*; but utterly denies, that ever he heard Mr *Shannon* say; that *unless they got his Certificate, they would not be Employed as servants, but be turned out of such Parishes where they went*: and denies, that he asserted any such thing in his said Oath. And he farther asserts, that all the *scope and meaning* he had in the whole Oath was, to show that so far as he knew or cou'd observe, that the practice of Presbyterian Ministers was this: that servants of their Communion when they remove from one Congregation to another, ought to bring Certificates of their good behaviour with them, otherwise they wou'd not be admitted to Christian Communion, and gave an Instance of this in what Mr *Shannon* had said at the *Examining*, and that whatever words are in the printed *Affidavit* which import any more than this, were either none of his words, or not understood by him at that time, to import any more. And the said *John White* farther  
 add

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adds, that the Occasion of his making this *Affidavit* was some debate that he had with the *Doctor* (whose servant he had been about getting a Discharge from him, when he was leaving his service, which brought on the discourse about the *Certificates of Presbyterian Ministers*, whose Custom in that matter he told the *Doctor* as above, and the *Doctor* asked him if he was willing to swear to it, which he complied with.

I think, from this account there can be nothing infer'd against that commendable practice of *Certificates*, as it is used at present amongst the Presbyterian Ministers, and has been generally practised in the purest and best Churches of the world.

I am,  
Sir, Yours &c  
SAMUEL SHANNON.

There is one Instance more with relation to *Certificates*, contained in a Letter from a Clergy-man in the Diocess of *Down*, viz. the Reverend Mr *John Finniston*, published p; 98, wherein Mr *Finniston* alleges, that the Presbyterians look upon the want of these *Certificates* to be more terrible, than permitting their Children to die unbaptized; to support which opinion, he tells a story of one *James Moor*, who had a new born Infant in the Agonies of Death, who seemed inclinable to send for him to baptize the Child, as he asserts, until he was observed to be taken aside by one of the Elders, that was then in the House; after which, he wou'd not suffer any one to call him; and when Mr. *Finniston* was expostulating the Matter with him next day, and asking him the reason why he wou'd suffer his Child to die unbaptized, while he was so near him, he says, the said *Moor* answer'd in these words, 'why then says he, I will confess to you, I durst not do it; for if I did, I shou'd neither be admitted to the Ordinations, nor have the benefit of a Certificate from the Elders, in case I shou'd have occasion to remove out of this Parish into Another.

I have seen a Certificate under *James Moor's* own hand, wherein he gives such an Account of his own words, and of the meaning of 'em, as clearly shows that there is no sufficient Foundation from this fact for the Observation that is made upon it: and tho' I am far from accusing Mr *Finniston* of any wilful perverting, or wrong Recital of *James Moor's* words, yet I think every man is able to explain his own Meaning best. The Certificate is as follows:

I *James Moor* of *Castle reagh* solemnly declare that about *June* the 10<sup>th</sup> of 1711. my wife was delivered of a very weak Child six or eight Weeks before her time, and that I was urg'd by Mrs *Woods* and *Jane Stanhouse* to have it baptized by Mr *Finnyson*, then keeping Court in Mr *Wood's* House, but I ever refused to do it: There was then no Man in my House but my self, and seeing *John Montgomery* (Who is no Elder) pass by the Road, I went out and ask'd his Opinion, and found it the same with my own Judgment, and spoke to no man else, and the Child died within three hours after it was born, and I buried it at *Knock* that Evening.

Next Morning Mr *Finnyson* coming by my house challeng'd me very severely for letting my Child die Unbaptized, and asked me the Reason, why I did not employ him who was my Minister to baptize it; I answer'd I knew indeed he was the Establish'd Minister of *Knock Parish*; but that I was none of his Communion, nor was he my Teacher, and unclear in my Conscience to have my Child baptized by him, and that I did not understand how, if I had gone to him for Baptism to my Child, I could expect Ordinances from these of my own *Perjury*, but might take the rest of the Ordinances from him as well as that to my Child, and so leave my own People altogether, which I was not resolv'd to do, having found no fault with 'em: Nor could I expect a Certificate in that case from the Elders shou'd I remove, seeing that supposes me to have left their Communion, or words to this purpose; But I utterly deny, that I used in this discourse these words, *I Confess to you I durst not do it*, or any words, that cou'd imply that I was overaw'd by the Elders; or for fear of being deny'd a Certificate, and what I said about a Certificate, was only to show that I wou'd not change my *Perjury*; and I declare it was nothing but fear of sinning against God that made me not employ Mr *Finnyson* to baptize my child: Given under my hand this 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1713.

*James Moor*

Our Author's last *Presumptive Fact* is express'd thus, (p. 109) Fact IV. Had not the Legislature timely interpos'd with the Test-Clause, as a fence against the Encroachments of the Dissenters, the Presbyterians, wou'd in all likelihood have been wrought themselves into most of the Corporations of this Kingdom, and insensibly worm'd out the Conforming Burgesses, Aldermen and Freemen, till they had obtain'd a Majority of the Corporations of this Kingdom, and chosen such Magistrates, and sent up such Representatives to Par-

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liament as wou'd list in their Service.

' In what manner and by what Degrees the *Dissenters* wrought themselves into the Government of so many of the *Northern Corporations* in a few years, I shewed fully in the *first part* of this *Paper*; and from what I have there prov'd I wou'd gladly be resolv'd by the Learn'd in *Political Arithmetick* in this one Problem. If in—o Years the *Dissenters* of *Ireland* gain'd a Majority of *Aldermen, Burgesses, and Freemen* in—o Corporations, how many years wou'd gain a Majority of voices in the Majority of the Corporations of this Kingdom? and if such a Computation can be reasonably made, the following *Corollaries* may as reasonably be infer'd.

This shou'd have been call'd rather a remote *Presumptive Possibility*, than a *Presumptive Fact*. And all these *guesses* of what might have been, are built upon the *mistaken Account* our Author has given of the unfair Practices pretended by him to have been used by the *Dissenters* for getting themselves into Offices in Corporations. And therefore the Learn'd in *Political Arithmetick* may easily answer his Problem from the Refutation I have given of those *Mistakes* of his, upon which it is built. His *four Corollaries* have been all considered already, For the *first* relates to the Principles of Presbyterians about the *Extirpation of Episcopacy*; The *second* to their pretending to make Presbytery the Condition of their Allegiance to Princes: The *third* to their setting up for a Power to *Abrogate such Laws as are judg'd Noisom and unprofitable*: &c. and the *Fourth* to their claiming an inherent Right to *intermeddle in all points Relating to War and Peace*. All which have been vindicated already from our Author's *gross Misrepresentations* of the Principles and Practices of Presbyterians, with Respect to these Heads.

And therefore when he pretends by the help of his *Problem* and these *Four Corollaries*, to prove that many dreadful Evils and bad Consequences to Church and State have been prevented by the *Test-Clause*, his whole reasoning is groundless, being founded upon palpable mistakes.

I am not resolv'd in this Book to debate that Point concerning the Continuance or the Repeal of the Law that Enacted the *Sacramental-Test* in *Ireland*: But thus far I must affirm, that the *Dissenters* in *Ireland*, tho' they have always look'd upon it as not only a Grievance to themselves in particular, but a sensible weakening of the Protestant and *British-Interest* in that Kingdom, have behav'd modestly and peaceably under that Pressure. Tho' I won't meddle with what parti-



Particular Authors have publish'd upon that Subject, yet I shall here insert a true Copy of two public Papers, which express the sense of the Dissenters in Ireland as a Body; the first of 'em was offer'd to the late House of Commons 1704, and is as follows:

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To the Honourable, the *Knights Citizens and Burgeses* of Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of *Arthur Upton, William Hamilton, Archibald Edmorston, William Cunningham, William Cairnes, David Buttle, and William Mackie Esquires*, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Dissenting Protestant Subjects of Ireland.

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners Unshaken Fidelity to the Crown of England under all Revolutions, their Peaceable Submission to the Laws, and their Readiness to expose themselves and employ their all in the Defence of the Protestant Interest, their Lawful Sovereign and the Liberty of their Country, have been Evidenc'd by many plain and undeniable Instances, not only in their Sufferings for the Royal-Family, but also in their Signal Services and Sufferings in the City of *London-derry, Inniskilling*, and other places, upon the late *Happy Revolution*. The Truth whereof hath the vote of the Honourable House of Commons in this Kingdom, Anno 1695. for it's public and Authentic Voucher; And was farther confirm'd by the Vote of the House of Commons of England, Anno 1698, wherein it's Resolv'd that the Services and Sufferings at *London-Derry* were very Eminent and of great Consequence to his Majesty's Service, and the PRESERVATION OF THE THREE KINGDOMS. which is also further Evident from the marks of Royal Favor, which their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* of Glorious Memory, & our present Gracious Sovereign Queen ANNE, were pleas'd in their Great Goodness and Wisdom to confer upon your Petitioners, by allowing divers of 'em to partake in Common with their fellow-Protestants in places of *Public Trust*, both *Civil* and *Military*; to the *Uniting of the Hearts* and cherishing the *Mutual Affection* of all her Majesty's Peaceable and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom; none of your Petitioners having been declar'd Incapable of promoting such Bless'd & Glorious Ends & which their Principles naturally inclin'd 'em to.

And your Petitioners further Crave leave to represent to your Honors, that when the Bill Entitled, *An Act to prevent the farther Growth of Popery* was return'd from England, your Petitioners (to their Great Surprise and Discouragement) found a Clause inserted therein, which had not it's Rise in this Honourable House.

abled from Executing any Public Trust for the Service of Her Majesty, the Protestant Religion and their Country (tho' as Willing & Ready to do the same as ever) unless contrary to their Consciences they shou'd receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, according to the *Rites and Usages* of the Establish'd Church.

That Your Petitioners Case, as they humbly conceive, is Different from that of the Protestant Dissenters in *England*, who have not so Numerous and inveterate an Enemy in the Bowels of the r Country as the *Irish Papists* are; who by the most modest Computation are suppo'd to be six to one to the whole Protestants of this Kingdom; whose Common Safety and not the interest, Gain or Mercenary Ends of a Party, can only weigh with Your Petitioners.

May it therefore please this Honorable House to Order a Bill for Restoring such a CONSIDERABLE Part of the PROTESTANTS of this Kingdom to a Capacity of defending Her Maj. It.'s Sacred Person and Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd; and your Petitioners shall ever pray &c.

The *second Public Paper* I shall insert is, The *first Apology* of the Presbyterians in the North of *Ireland* to Her Majesty: That part of it which relates to the *Sacramental-Test* is in these Words, p. 25.

We must acknowledge to your Majesty that the *sacramental-Test* (of which their Lordships are pleas'd to take notice) is such a grievance, as doth in the *most sensible manner* touch us and all others of our Persuasion: The Clause imposing it hath plac'd an *odious Mark* of infamy upon at least the *one half* of the Protestants of this Kingdom, whose *early, active and successful Zeal* for the *late happy Revolution* gave 'em hopes that they wou'd not have been render'd incapable of serving your Majesty and their Country, where the *Papists* are Superior in Number to the whole Body of Protestant inhabitants, in the Proportion of *Eight to one* by a Computation allow'd in the Honorable House of Commons of this Kingdom.

And they hope, that dutiful and Loyal Subjects may modestly set forth the Inconveniencies and Hardships put upon 'em by a particular Law, especially when the *Safety of the whole Kingdom* is concern'd, in order to show the Reasonableness of Repealing it, without being guilty of censuring the Legislature: & how far the Author mention'd by their Lordships may be charged with this, in asserting what we believe is *not peculiar to a Dissenter*, we humbly submit it to your Majesty.

And we beg leave with all Humility to acquaint your Majesty, that our *Non-Conformity* in this particular, among other reasons is founded upon this, that, we believe that holy Ordinance by the Institution of Jesus Christ, was never design'd for a *Civil-Test*, and that none ought to be excluded from a Capacity of serving the *State* for their scrupling Forms *not commanded in the Gospel*.

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